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# TRAVELS IN CRETE

BY

ROBERT PASHLEY ESQ.

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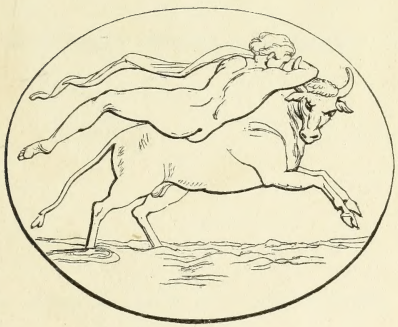
VOLUME I



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TO

HENRY MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE

AS A SLIGHT TESTIMONY OF RESPECT

FOR

HIS LITERARY TASTES AND ACQUIREMENTS

# PREFACE.

I SPENT the spring and summer of the year 1833 in the Ionian Islands, Albania, and Greece; its autumn in some of the north-western parts of Asia Minor and at Constantinople; and the following months of December and January at Malta.

Before I left England, towards the end of 1832, the Lords of the Admiralty had given an official order to Captain Copeland, R.N. who was likely to be engaged, the following spring, in surveying the Asiatic coast, between the Dardanelles and Mytilene, to render me every assistance in his power, consistent with the due progress of the Survey, in my travels and researches.

Captain Beaufort, Hydrographer to the Admiralty, at whose instance the order of the Board was given, was anxious to make the Survey in some way subservient to the advancement of our knowledge of ancient

topography. It is easy to conceive, that the author of "Karamania" must have regretted that so excellent an opportunity of learning something about the antiquities of the more northern parts of Asia Minor, should be lost. The Admiralty order, however, in my case, led to no results worth speaking of. On joining Captain Copeland, in the Beacon, at Mytilene, after my visit to Constantinople, I found that he was on the point of sailing for Malta, to winter there: and the season was too far advanced for me to have any prospect of being able to travel much in Asia Minor, if I remained. Still I was reluctant to go to Malta unless I could ensure my return to Greece or Turkey very early in the spring.

It had been my good fortune, some months before, to become acquainted with Vice-Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, whose long-continued presence in the neighbourhood of Greece and its Islands, as Commander-in-chief of the British Naval Forces in the Mediterranean, has communicated to him a degree of zeal for antiquarian pursuits, even something like that for which he is so highly distinguished within the sphere of his own profession.

On sailing in the Beacon, from Mytilene to Vurlá, I found the British Squadron at anchor there, under Sir Pulteney's command. My hesitation to accede to

Captain Copeland's proposal that I should accompany him to Malta, was at once removed. The Admiral kindly promised that he would take care to furnish me with the means of returning to Greece as soon as I should wish.

I therefore went to Malta, and remained there several weeks. My residence at La Valetta rendered me as much Captain Copeland's debtor, for kindness and hospitality while on shore, as I had been when at sea.

Circumstances, which it is unnecessary here to state, made me very anxious to return to England; and it was with extreme reluctance that I prepared to go back to the East, even for the few months the result of which is partly exhibited in these volumes. I felt, however, bound at least to visit Crete. Had I not done so, the greater part of a twelvemonth spent by me in Greece and Turkey, would have led to no useful or permanent result.

On the morning of Wednesday the 5th of February 1834, I left Malta, in the Hind Cutter, commanded by Lieutenant Coleman, who was under orders to land me at Khaniá. Early the following Saturday, I saw the blue mountain-tops of Greece, and, in the afternoon of the same day, landed in Crete.

I was accompanied by Signor Antonio Schranz, a native of Spain, who has been long domiciliated with his family at Malta, and to whose pencil the reader of these volumes is indebted for nearly all the engravings which they contain[1].

Early in the following September I hired a Greek schooner of Hýdhra, at Khaniá, for my voyage to Italy. After a very bad passage, of nearly thirty days, I landed at the lazaretto of Ancona, in the beginning of October. I spent part of December at Venice, and the reader will find sufficient evidence of my employment there, in the extracts from unpublished manuscripts, which are occasionally given in the notes to these volumes, and more especially in the Appendix.

I arrived in London on the 1st of February 1835, and in the course of that year had almost prepared my Travels in Crete for the press, when events occurred in consequence of which I spent a considerable part of the ensuing winter in Germany. Thus I could not go to press till the last summer: and, even since I began to print, I have experienced some interruptions, which have compelled me, however reluctantly, greatly to curtail my work.

[1] Mr Glasscott, R.N. also went with me to Khaniá from Malta, but was unable, from indisposition, to travel in the island, and, after staying at Khaniá for about two months, rejoined his ship the Beacon on the coast of Asia Minor.

My acknowledgements are due to the Syndics of the Pitt Press, in the University of Cambridge, for a very liberal contribution, out of the funds at their disposal, towards the typographical expenses of the present publication.

I have also to express my grateful acknowledgements to the Reverend Frederick Field, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, for the aid which he has kindly rendered me in correcting the sheets of these volumes as they passed through the press.

LONDON, *Jan.* 3, 1837.

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# INTRODUCTION.

Nel mezzo 'l mar siede un paese guasto,
Diss' egli allora, che s' appella Creta.
DANTE.

BEFORE the outbreaking of the Greek revolution, Crete was the worst governed province of the Turkish Empire; the local authorities were wholly unable to control the license of the Janissaries, who consisted solely of Cretan Mohammedans, and made it a point of honour not to suffer any one of their members to be brought to justice for any ordinary crime. So completely did every Pashá, appointed by the Sublime Porte, depend on this turbulent militia, that his authority always ceased as soon as they resisted it; which, on several occasions, they did, so far as even to depose him and to send to Constantinople in order to obtain the confirmation of his successor's election as made by themselves. In one or other of their regiments almost every Cretan Mohammedan was enrolled; and it is easy to conceive what must have been the condition of the Christian population.

Besides the grinding oppressions of the regular authorities, and of the different corps of Janissaries, every Greek was also at the mercy of the lowest Mohammedan of the island, who, in consequence of the weakness of the local government, could make any demand, and perpetrate any enormity with complete security. Thus, literally, no Christian was master of his own house: any Mohammedan might pass his threshold, and either require from him money, or, what was far commoner, send the

husband or father out of the way, on some mere pretext, and himself remain with his wife or daughter. So atrocious and frequent were such acts of violence and oppression, that I have been assured, by persons well acquainted with Turkey, and certainly favourably disposed to the Turks, that the horrors and atrocities which were almost of daily occurrence in Crete, had hardly a single parallel throughout the whole extent of the Ottoman Empire.

From the number of the suffering Christians of the island, up to 1821, we must except the hardy and courageous Sfakians, who had preserved amid their native mountains a wild independence, and the right of wearing their arms, in the use of which they were eminently skilful. They became the nucleus round which the revolt in Crete formed itself; and though the Mohammedans were all armed, and were nearly 30,000 in number, at the outbreaking of the Greek revolution, yet, such was the superior activity, courage, and address of the Christians, that in less than a year after they had raised the standard of the cross, their foes were almost all driven into the fortified towns.

From 1822 to 1830 Crete was an object of peculiar attention to the Viceroy of Egypt. In 1822 he dispatched 7000 Albanians, under Khassán-pashá, to aid the native Mohammedans; but the difficulties which these troops encountered were such, that, before their general's death the following year, they had most of them fallen, either by the sword or by disease, without having gained any important advantage over the insurgent Christians.

Khuseín-bey, who afterwards fell at the siege of Mesolónghi, was now sent with still greater forces, and in 1824 the Greeks were compelled to submit. Thousands of them left the country; and the Cretan Turks, it would seem, wreaked their vengeance for the sufferings they had endured in the war, on such as had no means of flight from the island. The Mohammedans, in short, had learnt no lesson of justice or of moderation by the

events of the previous war; and, consequently, the smothered flames of insurrection, which again burst out soon after the battle of Navarino, blazed more widely and more fiercely than those of the first revolt. The Christians reaped the harvests of 1828 and 1829 unmolested by the Mohammedans, who were again cooped up within the walls of the fortified towns, and would soon, in all probability, either have abandoned the island, or have perished in it, had not the three Allied Powers decided, that Crete should be united to the government of Mehmét-Alí, and notified their decree to the Christian population.

With the deep wounds of mutual hatred, engendered by so long and so bitter a strife, still open, the Christian had to regard as his master a Turkish Pashá sent from Alexandria, instead of one from Constantinople, and thought his condition but little bettered by the change; while the Cretan Mohammedans, who had cordially hated the Egyptians from the very moment of their landing in Crete, were to submit to a power which was hardly considered as dependent on the Sultan; and, what was still worse in the opinion of the majority, one which would be able to enforce its own decrees, and to treat with equal rigour all the inhabitants of the island. Both parties were therefore disappointed and disgusted at this termination of the struggle, the Christians having expected to shake off the Turkish yoke, and the Mohammedans having hoped to re-establish their old lawless independence.

The Greeks, who had long looked up to the Allies as their protectors and benefactors, now saw that a decision fatal to all their hopes was taken. Nevertheless they received from Captain Yorke, (now Lord Hardwicke), who then commanded a frigate at Grabúsa, assurances respecting both the sympathy felt for them by the British Government, and the legal and orderly system about to be established by the Viceroy of Egypt. They therefore abandoned a contest in which they had supposed themselves countenanced by the Christian powers, and the

end of which would plainly have been favourable to themselves, soon after they first raised the standard of the cross, had not a great foreign force been called in to support the Cretan Mohammedans.

Thus the Greeks submitted; and it appears undoubted that the number of those among them, who went into a voluntary exile from their native land, at first exceeded 30,000 souls. The Viceroy of Egypt, however, did all he could to appease their terror and to inspire them with confidence in his government. He assured them, in his first proclamation, that he had intrusted to his Major-General Osmán-Nuredín-bey, the organization of the island, because that officer was well acquainted "with European usages," and would thus be able to arrange everything in a manner answerable to the paternal views of the Viceroy. The complete pacification of Crete was effected in a few months, without bloodshed; and it must be said, in favour of the Egyptian rule, that law and order obtained a dominion, which had in all probability hitherto been entirely unknown in the country, even from the time of its conquest by the Venetians more than six hundred years ago.

Two Councils were now established, one at Megálo-Kástron, the other at Khaniá, composed partly of Mohammedans and partly of Christians, and designed for the administration of justice in all ordinary cases. The effect of the institution of these Councils was most salutary, as far as the sentiments of the Christians were concerned; for it was soon found that they obtained at least equal justice, perhaps at first rather more, in all disputes with Mohammedans of the island. This is easily understood, for, since the Egyptians knew the impossibility of *any* system of government ever reconciling the Cretan Mohammedans to their transfer from the easy rein of the Sultan to the iron bit of his Egyptian Satrap, they endeavoured to obtain a hold on the good wishes of the Christian population, about whom alone they supposed that the Allies too interested themselves.

The Governor-general Mustafá-pashá, and his co-adjutor Osmán-bey, early this year also issued a proclamation to the Christians of the island, who had already delivered up their arms, telling them "that the sole "object of their Master, Mehmét-Alí-pashá, was to es- "tablish the tranquillity and to cause the prosperity of "Crete, and to deliver the Christians from the vexations "to which they were formerly exposed." Many of the ordinary oppressions exercised against them before the revolution, were enumerated and prohibited: order was established: Greeks from other parts flocked to the principal towns, and fixed themselves in them as traders; many of the exiles returned; some being compelled to do so by the impossibility of finding the means of subsistence in Greece, while others were glad again to seek their natal soil the moment they could persuade themselves that the Egyptians did not design their utter extermination. In April the object of Osmán-bey's mission had been so far attained, that his longer presence in the island was judged unnecessary. The establishment of a lazaretto at Súdha, and the erection of a set of barracks in Khaniá, were additional indications of the difference between the systems of Alexandria and Constantinople.

In October 1831 however, the period of what may be called good government was to cease: considerable changes of system, such as indicated a determination, on the part of the Viceroy, to convert the island into a source of revenue, were adopted.

One most important innovation had already been effected. The Viceroy had taken possession of most of the mukatás. These mukatás are the proprietorships of the seventh of all the produce in any parish or district, and used to be granted by the Porte to a Turkish Agá for life; and at his death the possession was ordinarily continued to his heir, who paid a small fine on the occasion. Thus these gentlemen in some measure represented, in Turkey, the feudal proprietors of our own middle-age

history. No doubt the system of the Porte was a very bad one, suffering, as it did, this source of a great territorial revenue to slip entirely through its fingers. The Viceroy of Egypt, on pretexts of one kind or another, (for who dared dispute a title which his agents maintained to be legal?) deprived most of these gentlemen of their fiefs, so that at the present moment the Government receives the main amount of the tithe, (the seventh that is,) of all the produce of the island. This grand extension of the Sovereign's rights and possessions in the country was an indication that other measures of the same nature might be expected: and we shall see that they soon followed.

Still no measure had as yet been directed against the Christians, and exiles continued to return, especially after the death of Capo d'Istria, which had thrown affairs into great anarchy and confusion in Greece. It was rumoured in Crete, that in consequence of Capo d'Istria's death, the Allies would re-construct the chart of free Greece, and that Crete would be included in it. The Christians nevertheless continued to be favourably regarded by the government, especially after the commencement of hostilities between Mehmét-Alí and the Porte; from which time a very jealous watch was kept over the Cretan Moslems, by the Egyptians, who knew well that if a descent were made by the Sultan on Crete, his forces would be immediately joined by all the Mohammedans of the island.

Mehmét-Alí at this moment possessed a fertile island which remained tranquil under the sway to which it had so reluctantly submitted: many of its exiles had already returned: its villages were re-peopling: some of its fertile and uncultivated plains were again tilled, and the rich annual produce of its countless olive-trees was again gathered by their owners. Had the Viceroy been contented with affairs remaining on their then footing, everything announced the rapid restoration of this fine country to a prosperous state: but those very indications

of renascent prosperity and of still greater dormant capabilities, awakened his attention and excited his cupidity. Receiving as he did already the seventh of nearly the whole produce of the island, he saw how great a revenue might be derived from it, if it were governed by him like his African dominions; and he reflected but little, it would seem, on the difference of character between the warlike mountaineer of Crete and the miserable fellah of Egypt, but simply looked forward to rendering himself the sole territorial proprietor of the country which now politically belonged to him.

Entertaining such designs as these, (designs which were soon to be developed,) it was plainly necessary to neutralize the effects produced by the institution of the municipal councils, and to convert them into mere organs of the sovereign will. This was effected. A distinguished Mohammedan was executed on a slight pretext, and two members of the council were banished to the solitary and barren rock of Grabúsa.

From this moment it became understood that the views of the "President" of the Council, an Egyptian Turk with a salary exceeding that of *all* its other members together, were always those of the Viceroy, and were to be acted upon on every occasion. This conviction became the guide of all the future conduct of those boards. No tax was ever proposed, how impolitic soever the councillors might regard it, to which they did not give their eager assent, even sometimes vying with one another for the praise of devotedness to the Viceroy, when they found that he not only possessed, but exercised, the power of rewarding subserviency, and of punishing independence. The system of terror, thus commenced, was highly increased by a regulation, introduced during the continuance of hostilities with the Porte, according to which all letters coming to the island addressed to Cretans, whether Christians or Mohammedans, were conveyed to the Council and there opened. Such a proceeding in Turkey has a very terrible

character, since a word in a letter may easily suffice, even under Mehmét-Alí's government, as the death-warrant of its receiver. After this epoch no councillor ventured to give an opinion at the council-board: they merely expressed their assent to the wishes of the President.

The Pashá now imposed on all wine a duty of four parás the oke, or about one-eighth of its value, to be paid by the owner of every vineyard, even for the wine which he consumed in his own family, as well as for what he might sell. This caused great and universal dissatisfaction. The export duty on oil was at the same time increased, as well as those on several other articles of exportation, as, at Megálo-Kástron, on wax, carobs, &c.; and duties were imposed on many things which had never before paid anything. All supplies too, wanted either for the regular Arab troops in the island, or for Egyptian ships of war putting into the bay of Súdha, were to be furnished, according to a tarif of the government, at prices very much below their real value. A tax similar to the "octroi" of the French, was also introduced into Crete, and duties were paid at the gates of all the large towns on many articles of consumption. From this source and from some monopolies, farmed by contractors, an annual sum of £6000, which is considerable in Crete, as an addition to the already existing taxes, was obtained.

While all these new and previously unheard-of imposts served to demonstrate the Viceroy's attachment to European institutions, and his wish to extend the improvements and discoveries of civilization to the soil of Crete, he made no attempt whatever to give the Cretans any of those returns for their money, which people ordinarily have in the heavily taxed countries of Europe. The roads which the Turks of Constantinople had never once caused to be repaired since they took the island, remained equally neglected by their successors of Alexandria. The progressive filling up of the ports of Rhíthymnos and Megálo-Kástron, although so serious

an evil as to threaten the commerce of those places with destruction, remained unarrested.

Not long after the commencement of hostilities between Mehmét-Alí and the Porte, two Cretan Turks of rank were arrested and executed, without any form of trial or condemnation: one, because he had been to visit a relation, formerly a Pashá of Crete, and then in the employ of the Sultan; the other, because he had made application for a mukatá at Constantinople; although he might have known that the Viceroy meant to seize on all the mukatás for himself, at least as fast as they became vacant, if not faster.

In July 1832 a bujurdí of Mehmét-Alí was received, in which he replied to the Sultan's firman against him, and ordered the Pashá of Crete "to put to death every Mohammedan who should either entertain projects against the Viceroy, or should spread bad news in the island."

We may observe that all these resumptions of the old arbitrary system were directed against the Mohammedans exclusively, and mainly against the higher classes; and that, so far, the Christians had only to complain, as of evils actually endured, of the many new taxes by which they were oppressed. Perhaps to set his conduct towards the Mohammedans in contrast with his intentions towards his Christian subjects, Mehmét-Alí caused the rumour to be generally spread, during the continuance of the campaign in Asia Minor, that, if he succeeded in establishing his independence, his first act would be to affranchise the Christians, in every part of his dominions, from the payment of the poll-tax, and to establish complete civil equality between them and the Mohammedans.

The young King Otho's arrival in Greece, in January 1833, produced no important effect in Crete, where however the discontent caused by the new taxes was high enough without any addition to it. In April 1833 the authorities, who knew how widely diffused and general this discontent had become, were alarmed by clandestine

disembarkations of Greeks on different points of the coast. It was reported too, that the Virgin and several Saints had shewn themselves in various churches and monasteries of the island, and this rumour soon gained credit with the Christian population, who assembled, sometimes in bodies of several thousands, at the holy places which had been favoured by these miraculous appearances. These meetings naturally awakened the anxious attention of the local government, several members of which suspected them to be connected with some revolutionary design.

Before the religious enthusiasm thus excited had subsided, it was announced that the Viceroy intended to visit the island in person: although the assertion was not at first believed, it proved true, and on the 12th of August 1833, the Ruler of Egypt, Syria, and Crete, arrived.

We have seen that the European principles, which were held out as the basis of the Egyptian government in Crete, when the people gave up their arms in 1830, and of which England and the other two powers were considered as the guarantees, had been sufficiently departed from in 1833. A published declaration of the Sultan, on abandoning Crete to his powerful vassal, that "no taxes should in future be paid by the Cretan Greeks, excepting the tithe and the poll-tax," had been so totally disregarded, that duties had been imposed on almost every article of both exportation and importation, and even on some articles of produce, as wine and spirit, when consumed by the grower on the spot. Although much had been said of introducing European institutions into the country, yet whenever it was desirable to put a man out of the way, he was still disposed of with the ease and indifference of the older Turkish times.

When all this had taken place, the Viceroy arrived in the island, accompanied, as is usual in his progresses, by the British Consul-general, or Diplomatic Agent, Colonel Campbell, in whose eyes he of course intended to

display himself in the paternal character, which he is said not unfrequently to assume, in his intercourse with the representatives, at Alexandria, of both England and France.

Mehmét-Alí now published a proclamation, telling the Cretans how much he had occupied himself, both when at Alexandria and in Upper Egypt, with plans for promoting their welfare; and intreating them to approach his person, to tell him their wants, and to teach him every thing they might wish about their condition. The peasants were simple enough to take him at his word; and after embodying, in a respectful petition, an enumeration of some of the many unpopular innovations which had marked the history of the two previous years, they delivered it to Mustafá-pashá, in order that he might present it to the Viceroy. They mentioned some of the most oppressive of the many new taxes; the arbitrary mode in which the poll-tax was exacted from them; and the presence of irregular troops (Albanians) dispersed in small parties of ten or twelve through the villages, where, having nothing to do, they had caused much domestic disquiet, and many divorces: they also complained of the severity with which the punishment by bastinado was applied. Such a document as this was what the Viceroy had never calculated on receiving, and the Pashá of Crete told the petitioners that he dared not present it to his master. Thus the people returned to their homes, far more disgusted than if no such professions of a wish to know their condition had ever been made. But the matter did not rest here; for the Viceroy having invited a declaration from the Cretans, it was determined to procure one. The Pashá's secretary therefore drew up a fulsome petition, expressive only of happiness and affection: the document was signed by forty or fifty Greeks in the pay and about the person of Mustafá-pashá; and this wretched trick was meant to be played off as an expression of the sentiments of the Cretan people, and may, perhaps, have been so regarded by Colonel Campbell.

The Viceroy, after a short stay, caused to be given to the Council of Khaniá instructions for a proclamation, which they consequently published the day after his departure from the island. Some of its most remarkable provisions were the following:—

Two persons acquainted with the laws of Egypt were to act as Commissioners, and to visit each village in the province of Khaniá, with the following objects:—

1. To make a list of the rich and the poor in each village, and to endeavour to effect an arrangement between them, so that the rich man might aid the poor with his money, and the poor the rich with his labour.
2. The members of any numerous families possessing but little property, were to be employed in cultivating the ground of their wealthier neighbours.
3. When the number of labourers was very great in a village to which but little land belonged, they were to go and labour in neighbouring villages.
4. Where grounds were near rivers, the Government was to indicate the most advantageous kind of cultivation.
5. Every one was to sign an undertaking to conform to all these regulations.
6. Lists were to be formed of all members of families not residing with their parents in the country, in order that, if found in the towns, they might be sent to their friends, that they might labour.
7. For all land left uncultivated after the publication of the ordinance, there was to be paid the seventh of that produce which might have been obtained from it, if it had been cultivated in the best way.
8. All persons leaving any part of their land uncultivated, for one, two, or three years, were to be "punished;" and, the fourth year, all their lands were to be taken possession of by a person named by the Government, and only one-fourth of the produce given to the old proprietors.

It must be borne in mind that the present population of Crete is quite inadequate to the cultivation of the country, and that in some parts, for instance, near the great plain of Mesará, formerly of Gortyna, full seven-eighths of the land has never been cultivated since the beginning of the revolution: so that the preceding provisions amounted absolutely to a confiscation of at least half even of the best land in the island.

When these extraordinary regulations were to be executed by two persons acquainted with the laws of Egypt, we need not wonder at the alarm which the publication of them excited. We may, however, be surprised at the persuasion of the Greeks, that a paragraph which ordered the building, near Súdha, of two schools, one for Mohammedan and the other for Christian pupils, was merely a pretext for collecting their children together, that they might all be seized and put on board a ship of war at Súdha, in order to be conveyed to Egypt. Perhaps the paragraph about the schools was merely meant to keep up the Viceroy's character before Colonel Campbell and M. Mimaut, as an enlightened prince, who wished to bring the civilization of Europe into every part of his dominions

Certainly more extraordinary provisions could hardly have been conceived, than some of those of the proclamation; and any one, who is acquainted with the practical working of a Turkish government, will at once see what terror and dismay must have been felt by every Cretan on its publication. The tendency of the measures, if executed by persons "well acquainted with the laws of Egypt," would be to make the Viceroy proprietor of a great part of the landed property of the country, and would thus enable him to apply the Egyptian system to Crete, and to reduce its independent mountaineers to the wretched condition of the fellahs.

These fears and forebodings immediately spread through all the villages in the neighbourhood of Khaniá;

until on Sunday, the 8th of September, an Albanian Bímbashi, (Lieutenant-Colonel,) accompanied by a few men, presented himself in the church of a village, situated on the lower acclivities of the great Sfakian mountains, and about ten miles from the city. Divine service being ended, he read over the proclamation: it was written in Greek, the common language of the island, and was therefore intelligible to his audience. Some of its many extraordinary and alarming provisions elicited an observation from a Christian peasant: the Turk replied to the remark by a blow. Thus began a tumult, which ended in the soldiers being compelled to retire on the city. The peasants descended into the plain which surrounds Khaniá, accompanied by their wives and children, demanding justice. Their assembly became very numerous, and they immediately sent a deputation to the Consuls of England, France, and Russia, at Khaniá, considering that the three nations, which in 1830 had placed them under the government of the Viceroy of Egypt, guaranteeing to them the enjoyment of their property, would protect them against all these alarming innovations. The Consuls suggested, that the best course for them to adopt would be, to return peaceably to their villages, and await the arrival at Khaniá of Mustafá-pashá, the Governor-general of the island, who was then unfortunately absent at Megálo-Kástron. The fears, however, excited in the breasts of the people by the proclamation, were so strong, that instead of dispersing, they constituted themselves a permanent Assembly; and the number of them thus congregated together soon amounted to several thousand men, who dwelt quietly under the trees in and about the village of Murniés, only three miles from the city of Khaniá. They consisted partly of Mohammedans, the fears of the true believers being as completely roused as those of the Christian population. The assembly dispatched memorials to the ambassadors of the three powers at Constantinople, and to the residents at Nauplia; at the

same time determining to remain assembled till they obtained answers from the respective governments to which they thus appealed. The Consuls in vain exerted themselves to persuade the people that the Pashá would satisfy them and remove their fears. No persuasions could induce them to break up their assembly, which, however, was perfectly peaceable, all the men being so completely unarmed, that they did not carry even the long knives which they ordinarily wear in their girdles. A single case of the theft of a few figs or grapes from a neighbouring vineyard, committed by one of them, was severely and publicly punished: and those who from time to time witnessed the order and decorum of their meeting, are unanimous in bestowing on them, at least for this remarkable point in the character of their proceedings, the highest praise.

At length Mustafá-pashá arrived, and soon found, that the people had no longer any confidence in his promises. They remembered the part he had played during the Viceroy's visit, in refusing to present their petition and in getting up a fictitious one in their name: they even called to mind one occurrence in which he had acted without good faith during the war of the revolution, so that all his entreaties, for he repeatedly entreated them to disperse, were useless. Mustafá-pashá in his first proclamation at once renounced the design of building the schools, which alone had caused an incredible alarm, and also that of compelling the people to aid one another in cultivating their lands, leaving however a part of the Viceroy's proclamation, by which the duty on sheep and horned cattle had been abolished, still in force. The Pashá was afraid, with good reason, of converting what we may call the passive resistance of the Cretans, into open revolt, if he had recourse to violent measures, and therefore would not disperse by force this unarmed and peaceable meeting.

Thus an extraordinary spectacle was seen for many days. On the one side was a numerous assembly of

men, most of whom had, for nearly ten years, been inured to every scene of rapine and bloodshed, but who now demanded security for the observance of their *rights*, which they conceived to have been bestowed on them at the time of their transfer to Egypt under the sanction of the allied powers, and who as a means of obtaining their ends were really aiming to exert moral rather than physical force; while, on the other side, was a Turkish Pashá, a native of the mountains of Albania, a great part of whose life had been past in scenes of guerilla warfare, with five or six thousand regular troops and fifteen hundred irregular Arnauts under his command, able to massacre nearly all the people assembled, had he attacked them, but wise and humane enough to pause, and to reflect on the dangers and difficulties which he would have to surmount, if he drove the whole population into actual rebellion. Such an instance of mutual forbearance and prudence, on the part of such people, is certainly very remarkable.

The French Consul greatly exerted himself to induce the Cretans to disperse, but in vain. After the publication, on the twenty-second of September, of a proclamation, the object of which was to induce them to disperse, and in which redress was promised them on almost every point on which they had complained, many were disposed to accede to the Pashá's solicitation; but others were distrustful, and believed that the fine promises now made would soon be disregarded. Not a few of them even held that they were mere *Representatives* sent there, from the various districts of the island, for a special object; and that they had hardly a *right* to dissolve their meeting till that object should be attained, unless with the express permission of their constituents: notions which it is not a little singular to find among these ignorant Cretan peasants. The result of all this, however, was, that the next day the number of the assembly was very considerably diminished.

On the 27th the French brig of war, Le Palinure, arrived at Súdha; the peasants thought she brought

them the French ambassador's answer to their petition: no such thing however was the case, and the Commander spoke to them as the Consuls had done, exhorting them to submission, and assuring them of the groundlessness of most of their fears. This event caused a further diminution of the numbers assembled at Murniés.

A few days later Sir Pulteney Malcolm put into Súdha, in the Britannia, from stress of weather: he told the malcontents, that "the Pashá had made them excellent promises which they ought to accept, since, otherwise, now that they had obtained all they wanted, no one could blame Mehmét-Alí, if he adopted rigorous measures."

On the 4th October the peasants sent a written statement to the English Admiral, before his departure, communicating to him their final determination to remain assembled until they should obtain the answer of the ambassadors. On the 17th of the same month, an Egyptian squadron, consisting of two ships of the line, three frigates, and four or five smaller vessels, arrived at Súdha. The Greeks flocked round the Admiral, their old acquaintance Osmán-Nuredín, (now Osmán-pashá,) who had aided Mustafá-pashá in effecting the pacification of the island in 1830, and entreated his protection.

On the 8th of November the two Pashás went to Murniés, the place where the thousands had been assembled. They were accompanied by about two hundred and fifty foot-soldiers and sixty horsemen. They found scarcely a hundred unarmed peasants, and arrested only five or six of them, and even these individuals they set at liberty almost immediately.

On the 9th the French schooner La Mésange arrived at Súdha, and the Greeks, who supposed it to be the bearer of the French ambassador's answer, were greatly disappointed to learn from its commander, that he was only come to protect Frenchmen and French interests, in case of any disturbance, and could not listen to their complaints.

But few persons now remained assembled, and the meeting had for some time lost that formidable character which it certainly possessed as long as it was the spontaneous assemblage of deputies from every part of the island, and from all classes of both religions; and while the whole population was in consternation and excitement on account of the Viceroy's proclamation. Unfortunately the matter was not allowed to rest here. On the 10th an Egyptian corvette arrived, and landed two hundred men, announcing that four thousand more were on their passage under Ismaél-bey, a young major-general, and nephew of Mehmét-Alí.

It would seem that new orders were received by Osmán-pashá on this occasion; for, the next morning, the two Pashás went out, at the head of a batallion of infantry and a few horsemen, and arrested thirty-three of the peasants who still remained at Murniés. The soldiers had not occasion to use their arms, no resistance being made. The Pashás announced, by a proclamation, that chains would be the punishment of the obstinate men whom they had seized.

On the 14th, three battalions of infantry arrived in ten transports, and every thing remained tranquil. It was at the same time clear, that unless a system less burdensome to the inhabitants of Crete, than that by which Egypt is oppressed, should be adopted, the Cretans would be driven, sooner or later, into real rebellion.

Mehmét-Alí, however, was not yet satisfied, and he ordered the Pashás to put a certain number of the Cretans to death: this he owned to M. Mimaut, the Consul-general at Alexandria, who informed M. Fabreguette, the French Consul in Crete, of the fact; and thus this latter gentleman, knowing what was likely to take place, made strong remonstrances on the spot to both the Pashás. On the 16th of November the Pashás fixed their head-quarters in the plain of Apokórona: they wrote frequently to the Viceroy, endeavouring to obtain a mitigation of his decree, now that the assembly

no longer existed. The representatives of France and England in Crete also wrote to M. Mimaut and Colonel Campbell, with the same view: in what tone those gentlemen remonstrated with the Viceroy of Egypt, I know not.

The whole month of November thus passed away; and, early in December, the fruits of what may perhaps look like the supineness of the European agents at Alexandria, were reaped in almost every district of the island. For Mehmét-Alí, when the Consuls did nothing to stop him, decided on making an example of a certain number of Cretans, in order to strike terror into the rest of their countrymen; and the two Pashás received, while at Fré, the Viceroy's definitive order. They therefore, on the 3d of December, directed that ten of the thirty-three peasants who had been arrested and imprisoned, should be conducted to Murniés, the place of the meeting, and there hanged. It does not appear that any names were given to the soldiers: the number ten was all that was wanted, and it was quite unimportant whether a Demetrius or a Basil, a Selim or an Ismael was taken.

During the previous night, twenty-one other persons were arrested, and executed in different parts of the island. Few of those selected for destruction had been present at the meeting, and it is certain that they were seized simply in such a manner as seemed best calculated to strike terror into the whole population[1].

It was evident that both the Pashás had been compelled to adopt this savage step against every wish and opinion they entertained. When it was taken, Osmán-Nuredín remained a few days longer at Fré, and then went on board a fast-sailing brig, giving orders to his

[1] France is far better represented in Crete than any of the other great powers of Europe: M. Fabreguette had done all he could to avert this blow from the Cretans, and although he failed to do so, perhaps succeeded in diminishing its violence. The details of the executions of seven of the Viceroy's victims are given in Vol. II. pp. 177—180.

squadron to follow him to Egypt. Nevertheless he made sail, not for Alexandria, but for Mytilene, where he landed a few days afterwards, and thence went to Constantinople. It would seem that the indications of savage barbarism of character displayed by the Viceroy with regard to Crete, had no slight share in determining the enlightened Osmán-pashá, who had been entirely educated in Europe, and was the most distinguished Turk in Egypt, to abandon his master.

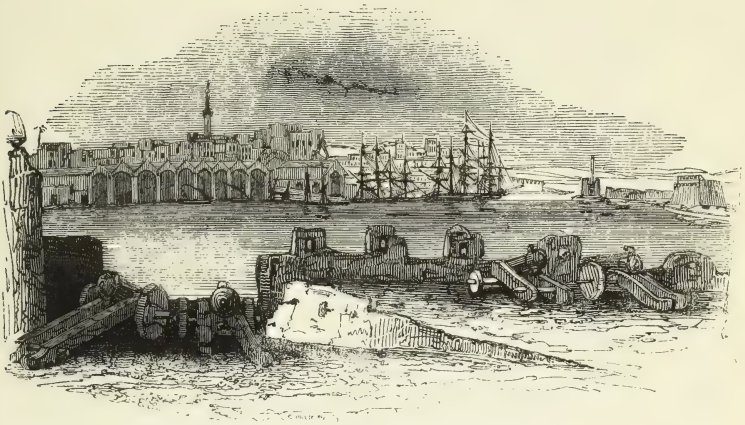
It would be difficult to describe the effect produced on all the inhabitants of the island by these atrocious murders. Every one, even the most peaceable, felt that *he* might have been seized: and this feeling was common to both Christians and Mohammedans.

It has been observed, that Mustafá and Osmán-Nuredín, in one of their proclamations addressed to the people at Murnićs, told them that chains would be the lot of those who remained assembled. The Pashás, therefore, it is plain, never anticipated any such sanguinary ferocity on the part of their master. Moreover, of the thirty-three thrown into prison, ten being selected quite at random and hanged, the other twenty-three were *released;* so that, although this truly Oriental justice hangs ten persons, yet it lets twenty-three (who were just as culpable as the others) escape without even the slightest punishment.

Doubtless, if these measures of the Viceroy's Representatives had been anticipated, the Sfakians would have risen in open revolt, and would have been joined by all the inhabitants, of both religions, in the country: but the executions took place simultaneously, and without any one's having expected such a catastrophe.

My reader now knows something of the condition of Crete at the end of 1833, within two months of the time when I landed at Khaniá.

# TRAVELS IN CRETE.



KHANIA.

## CHAPTER I.

VIEW OF THE WHITE MOUNTAINS. ARRIVAL AT KHANIA. THE RAMAZAN AND CARNIVAL. TOWN OF KHANIA. VENETIAN REMAINS. LION OF SAINT MARK. SAINT TITUS THE PATRON OF CRETE. CONSULS OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS. FESTIVAL OF THE BAIRAM. VISIT TO ISMAEL-BEY. LANGUAGE OF THE CRETANS. THE MOHAMMEDANS OF CRETE DRINK WINE. THE SITE OF CYDONIA DETERMINED.

*February* 8, 1834.

On entering the gulf of Khaniá I was struck with the grandeur and beauty of the White Mountains, which well deserve the name bestowed on them by both ancients and moderns, and attract the notice of every one who passes the southern promontories of Laconia, either on approaching or leaving the islands of the Egean.

The fame of the Cretan Ida is greater than that of these snow-clad summits, and I had some difficulty

in persuading my companions that the majestic forms before us were not those of the loftiest and most celebrated mountain in the island[1].

At daybreak this morning, we could only just discern the distant outline of the Taenarian promontory: now, we rapidly approached the city of Khaniá[2]; the minarets of which, towering above its other buildings, and conspicuous from afar, were the first sensible object that reminded me of the wide difference between the social scenes which I had left, and those by which I should soon be surrounded.

As the boats of the Hind pulled into the harbour, to land me with my companions, we were asked, in a language the sounds of which I had not heard for

[1] From the neighbourhood even of Cape Matapan it may be possible to see Ida, when the atmosphere is very clear; but many travellers make the mistake of my companions. As Monsieur de Lamartine rounded the Laconian cape, on sailing towards Nauplia, these White Mountains, on which there was undoubtedly no snow when he saw them early in August, drew from him the poetical apostrophe: "Voici les sommets lointains de l'ile de Crète, qui s'élèvent à notre droite, voici *l'Ida, couvert de neiges* qui paraît d'ici comme les hautes voiles d'un vaisseau sur la mer." Voyage en Orient, par M. Alphonse DE LAMARTINE, Tom. I. p. 124. SOLINUS, in speaking of Crete, c. XVI. says: "Albet jugis montium—qui ita excandescunt ut eminus navigantes magis putent nubila."

[2] Τὰ Χανιά. It is usually called La Canea by the Italians, who began by calling it Cania, and La Canée by the French. English and German travellers and writers, who have mostly been ignorant of the language spoken in the island, have naturally adopted the Italian name. The old traveller THEVET, Cosmographie de Levant, fol. 28. ed. Anvers, 1556, calls the city Alquenee, a name derived from the sound of *alla* Canea, which he may have heard uttered by Venetians. A very general corruption of the same kind has been produced, in the names of many ancient places, by the Italians, during the middle ages. Thus εἰς τὴν Δία has become Standia; εἰς τὴν Κῶ, Stanchio; εἰς τὴν Λῆμνο, Stalimene; and so forth. The ancient appellations of these places are alone those by which they have ever been known to their inhabitants. An origin of the European barbarism, Stalimene, was suggested, nearly three centuries ago, by BELON, Observations de plusieurs Singularitez etc. fol. 25. Ch. XXV. "Nous trouvons que Lemnos est nommée en Italien Stalimene, de nom corrompu de deux dictions Greques vulgaires, Sto, et Limni: Sto est à dire A, et Limni Lemnos." It is not the words Στὸ Λῆμνι, but Στὴν Λῆμνο, that contain the elements of the corruption. Stanlimene was naturally converted into Stalimene. Constantinople also is still called ἡ Πόλις, or εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, by the Greeks, although the Turks have corrupted the latter expression into the single word Istamból.

several months, whether we had come from a Turkish port; and thus learnt that Mehmét-Alí has bestowed on Crete a sanitary establishment. Coming as we did from Malta, we landed immediately, as, in all likelihood, we should have done, even if we had been from Constantinople[3]. I delivered to the British Consul, Signor Capo Grosso, a native of Spalatro who has resided more than half a century in the Levant, a letter of introduction from the Admiral, Sir Pulteney Malcolm: and I was received by him with even greater demonstrations of hospitality than I could have wished; for he would not hear of my hiring apartments in the city, but insisted on my becoming his own guest.

At sunset a salute was fired from the guns of the fortress, and the minarets of the different mosques in the city were illuminated with numberless lamps.

> Just at this season Ramazani's fast
> Through the long day its penance did maintain;
> But, when the lingering twilight hour was past,
> Revel and feast assumed the rule again.

Similar nightly festivity and revelry were likewise indulged in, during the first days of our stay in Khaniá, by the families of all the Consuls. This year the Carnival of the Catholics, and the Ramazan of the Mohammedans, happen at the same time.

The uniform tranquillity, which now reigns within the walls of this fortified city, is very different from the habitual violence, in which the Mohammedan Khaniótes used to indulge before the Greek revolution. The population is nearly six thousand souls, of whom the Christians and Jews amount to about the seventh part.

The Venetian city dates from A. D. 1252, when a colony was sent to occupy it. The object of the foundation was to keep down the Greeks, who had been in arms, and at open war with their Italian lords, almost without

[3] In Crete a slight quarantine is now imposed on ships of war, but only when from a place where the plague is actually raging.

intermission, from the day when the Venetians first set foot on their shores[4].

As I walked through the streets of Khaniá, the period when Venice possessed the island was often recalled to my mind. The arches seen, in the view of the port and city at the head of the chapter, were designed for Venetian Galleys[5]; and coats of arms are still observed over the doorways of some of the principal houses[6]. Most of the churches, both Greek and Latin, have been converted into mosques: the chapel of San Rocco is however still recognized by the following inscription on the frieze of its entablature:

DEO O. M. ET D. ROCCO DICATVM MDCXXX.

We have here an instance of the not uncommon Roman Catholic custom, of inscribing on a church the name of the Saint to whom it is dedicated. A similar practice existed among the heathen Greeks and Romans, from whom, in all probability, the modern usage has been derived. It would fill a page to enumerate the pagan temples on which were thus inscribed the names both of deities and of those deified mortals whom the

[4] Cronaca Veneziana dal Primo Doge Paoluccio Anafesto, cioè dall' anno DCXCV sino al MCCCCXXX. (In this MS. there is a gap from 824 to 1244.) See the Catalogo della Biblioteca Marciana, p. 226. The MS. is numbered Codice XIX. At pag. 27. Del 1252. "Li Greci de l'isola de Candia ano avuto sempre mal animo contra la Signoria de Venetia, non contenti star sotto quela. Cognosando la Signoria de Venetia, la delibero de far una cita fra Candia et Retimo (this is a very great topographical mistake of the Chronicler) per astrenzer li diti Grecj, et cusi fo edifichado la tera de la Cania, et in quel luogo fono mandati molti zentilhomeni ad habitar de li, con le condition che sono mandati li altri zentilhomeni in Candia. Et fato la Cania el primo retor che fo mandado fo Mess. Felipo Zuliã (that is Giuliani)." See also Cornaro, or, to use his Latin name, Cornelius, Creta Sacra, Vol. I. pp. 278. & 283. The existing fortifications of the principal cities of Crete were, however, constructed by the Venetians at a much later period.

[5] The lighthouse near the entrance of the port no longer exists: it fell in a stormy night while I was in Crete.

[6] One is accompanied by a date and an inscription:

MVLTA TVLIT FECITQ
ET STVDVIT DULCES

PATER SVDAVIT ET ALSIT
SEMPER REQVIESCERE NATOS

CIↃIↃCVIII

IDIB IAN.

Saints of the Romish and Greek churches so closely resemble[7].

The following bas-relief and inscription is at a considerable height from the ground, in the Venetian building now used as a military hospital for the regular Arab troops of Mehmét-Alí.

There are few cities in the East, over which Venice has ruled, where the traveller fails to notice the standard of Saint Mark:

[7] It will suffice to refer to SPANHEIM, de Praest. et Us. Numism. Antiq. Diss. XIII. pp. 649—652. I need hardly add LUCIAN, Ver. Hist. I. 32. and II. 3. with the well-known temple of Mylasa, (POCOCKE, Description of the East and some other Countries, Vol. II. Part II. p. 61. ed. Lond. 1745. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor, c. LVI. CHOISEUL-GOUFFIER, Voyage Pittoresque en Grèce, Tom. I. p. 144. LEAKE, Asia Minor, p. 230.) that of Augustus at Assos, and others found in works on the antiquities of the city of Rome. There can be little if any doubt that the letters ΑΜΦΙ, part of an inscription discovered by Colonel Leake, were on the cornice of Amphiaraus's temple: see LEAKE, on the Demi of Attica, p. 202.

The Lion which through fire
And blood she bore, o'er subject earth and sea.

The natives of Crete long considered their own countryman, Titus[8], as their patron Saint. Hence the Venetians, when here, seem to have transferred to him part of that respect which, elsewhere, would probably have been manifested for Mark alone. During the celebration of several great festivals of the Church, the response of the Latin Clergy of Crete, after the prayer for the Doge of Venice, was "Sancte Marce, tu nos adjuva;" but, after that for the Duke of Candia, "Sancte Tite, tu nos adjuva." The prayer for the Metropolitan of the island was not inappropriately followed by the same invocation of St Titus, his archiepiscopal predecessor.

The bronze guns which had been allowed, ever since the Turks acquired possession of the island, to remain on the ramparts both of this city and of the Kástron, have most of them been removed by Mehmét-Alí-pashá, and taken to Alexandria; where doubtless they have already been melted and converted into money.

The several Consulates look on the port, and are distinguished by the flags of their respective countries, which each Consul hoists on Sundays, and whenever a vessel of his own nation arrives, or leaves the harbour. The right of thus hoisting a flag was possessed only by the French Consul, in Crete, till a few

[8] On the point of Titus's Cretan origin the Eastern and Western Churches are not fully agreed. See CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, I. pp. 189, 190. In a Greek life of him, he is described as nephew of the Proconsul of Crete, and is said to have been sent into Judea by his uncle, who had heard, even in Crete, of the wonders which Christ was performing in that country, and wished to know whether there was any truth in the current reports about them. The author of another legend, not satisfied thus to connect Titus with the Roman Proconsul, describes him as "the son of noble Cretan parents, of the race of Minos." These legends are entitled to about as much credit as the better known falsehood, respecting Pilate's letter to Tiberius, which is equally rejected by the philosophical historian (GIBBON, Decline and Fall, c. XVI.) and the orthodox divine: (Bishop KAYE, on Tertullian, p. 110. 2d ed.)

years ago. Many ineffectual attempts to obtain the privilege were made, from time to time, by persons called the representatives of Great Britain and other powers; but always failed. It was not till the island was, practically, under the authority of Mehmét-Alí, that the British Ensign was unfurled within the Mohammedan city of Khaniá.

At daybreak on the 11th of February the guns of the fortress announced the welcome arrival of the long expected Bairám. Another great religious festival, called by the same name, and which will take place in April, is annually celebrated in remembrance of the sacrifice offered by Abraham[9].

During my stay at Khaniá I became acquainted with most of its European inhabitants. French is the general language of social intercourse in use among them. The only person, however, out of the whole Frank population of the city, whose life had not been almost entirely spent in the Levant, was Monsieur Fabreguette, the French Consul. From this gentleman, and his amiable consort, I received every attention, and with them I spent most of my time. The records of the Consulate throw much light on the history of the Turkish domination; and the facts which they disclose, would alone suffice to justify the revolt of the Christian population of Crete, at the outbreaking of the Greek revolution.

Mustafá-pashá, the Governor General of Crete, resides chiefly at Megálo-Kástron, the principal city of the island. It was celebrated throughout Europe, about a century and a half ago, under its Italian name of Candia, for the heroic resistance which the Venetians made, within its walls, to the then all-powerful and all-conquering arms of the Turks.

The day after the commencement of the Bairám I visited Ismaél-bey, the present Governor of Khaniá,

[9] Reland, de Religione Mohammedica, p. 109. ed. 1717. It is distinguished from the Ramazán-Bairám as "the Bairám of sacrifice."

accompanied by the interpreter of the English Consul. The Bey is a nephew of the Viceroy of Egypt. I found him, of course, on his divan. He rose to receive me, and was extremely civil. While we were smoking pipes and taking coffee, the conversation turned, as is usual on such occasions, on various unimportant topics. He has lived chiefly at Alexandria, and once began to learn French, with which many Egyptian Turks are somewhat acquainted; but the number of his employments compelled him to abandon it. While I was with him, a most corpulent man, of very lofty stature, Alí-agá-Suftá-Zadé, one of the old Cretan Turks of distinction, came in and walked up to the divan. The Bey rose and saluted him on the right cheek. The Cretan gentleman presented the Governor with a rose, a rarity here, as I am told, at this season, though it is very common in Malta[10]. This Cretan speaks Greek, as is done by all the inhabitants of the island, both Mohammedans and Christians.

I soon found that the whole rural population of Crete understands *only* Greek. The Aghás, who live in the principal towns, also know Turkish; although, even with them, Greek is essentially the mother-tongue. As to the peasant, when he has said *salám aleïkúm*, or replied *aleïkúm salám*, he has exhausted the whole stock of his Mohammedan lore. One consequence of this ignorance of Turkish is, that the language of the places of religious worship is less understood, by the Cretan followers of the Prophet, than the Latin of the Catholic ritual is by the people of France or Italy[11]. Thus also in different parts of Asia Minor, I have found

[10] The words of a Greek song, which I heard in Crete, assign the rose to April: Μάρτι μου μὲ τὰ λούλουδα, Ἀπρίλι μὲ τὰ ῥόδα. The more common modern name is τριαντάφυλλον. On the rose of the ancient Greeks see Dr NOLAN, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol. II. pp. 327—351.

[11] I believe the public prayers, in mosques, are usually in Arabic; and thus the poor Mohammedans of Crete are, in fact, doubly removed from the possibility of understanding them.

Greek populations, who were totally ignorant of every language except Turkish, but among whom the services of the Church were still performed, as elsewhere, in ancient Greek[12].

It is not difficult to account for this universal prevalence of the Greek language in Crete. Nearly all the rural population of the island may be said to have a common descent from the Christian Cretans of the middle ages. The worldly advantages, which used to result from embracing Islamism, have induced whole districts to abandon the faith of their forefathers. This effect of the Turkish rule was sensibly felt even by the end of the seventeenth century[13]; and was complained of, by the Archbishop of Gortyna, when Chevalier visited the island[14]. Thus a mere change of religious faith was naturally unaccompanied by any change of language[15].

[12] A similar observation may be made of the Christian populations of many other Eastern countries. See GIBBON, c. XLVII. "The lapse of time has seconded the sacerdotal arts; and in the East, as well as in the West, the Deity is addressed in an obsolete tongue, unknown to the majority of the congregation." The peculiarity, which I found in some towns of Asia Minor, is noticed by CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor, c. LXXIV. At Philadelphia the clergy and laity were equally ignorant of Greek, "yet the liturgies and offices of the church are read as elsewhere, and have undergone no alteration on that account." See also BEAUFORT, Karamania, p. 123.

[13] TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Vol. I. p. 85. "La pluspart des Turcs de l'isle sont renégats, ou fils de renégats." Tournefort visited Crete in 1700, the town of Candia having been taken in 1669.

[14] LOUIS CHEVALIER, Voyage du Levant: (MS. No. 19. in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, at Paris.) "Ces pauvres malheureux (the Greeks) sont si fort vexés et tourmentés par les Turcs, ainsi que me l'a dit à moy-même l'Archevêque de Candie, qu'il y en a eu plusieurs qui se font Turcs pour se redimer de vexation, et pour s'exempter de payer le carache." Chevalier was in Crete from the 24th August till the 6th October 1669. About forty years later an English traveller visited Crete, and says, "There are some villages where the inhabitants, who were formerly Christians, are almost entirely become Mahometans." See POCOCKE, Vol. II. Part I. p. 268.

[15] In the Moréa, on the contrary, most of the Mohammedans were strangers, and real Turks, at all events by descent, although, even there, the apostasy of an entire village has sometimes happened, as at Miráka: see COCKERELL, in HUGHES, Travels in Greece and Albania, Vol. I. p. 139. 2d ed. The apostasy of Crete can only be compared with that of Albania, on which consult LEAKE, Researches in Greece, p. 250.

The same historical fact serves also to account for another peculiarity in the manners of the Cretan Mohammedans, namely, that they all drink wine without the least scruple. The Cretan Greek used to have plenty of excellent wine, at a very slight cost; and had always been in the habit of drinking it before his *conversion:* thus, after he became one of the faithful, he neglected to comply with the practice of the Mohammedans[16]. His children followed him, in this disregard of an unpleasant observance of their adopted religion; and, even to the present day, a Cretan Mohammedan drinks his wine, as unscrupulously as any Christian in the country[17].

It is probable that other characteristics of the social relations between the Mohammedans and Christians of Crete, have been owing to the same cause. It was far from unusual, before the Greek revolution, for a Mohammedan to stand as godfather to the child of his Christian friend. I may instance two persons, whose names were both celebrated in the history of the war in this island, the Mohammedan Agriolídhes, of Dibáki in the plain of Messará, and the Christian Captain Rússos, of Askýfo in Sfakiá, who were thus connected[18]. The frequency of the relation has given rise to a very common mode of address, from a Christian to a Mo-

[16] Some persons may suppose that these neophytes would have been likely to manifest an excess, rather than a deficiency, of zeal for the observances of their adopted religion; but it seems that, elsewhere as well as in Crete, the juice of the grape has been more valued, by such persons, than a reputation for orthodoxy: DE VILLAMONT, Voyages, Liu. III. Ch. XV. fol. 288. ed. Par. 1602. "Ceux qui sont zelateurs et obseruateurs de leur loy, ne boiuent iamais que de l'eau—les autres, qui sont en grand nombre, *signamment des Chresliens reniez,* boiuent du vin."

[17] TANCOIGNE, Voyage à Smyrne, dans l'Archipel et l'île de Candie, Tom. I. p. 99. "Le turc candiote est peu estimé dans les autres parties de l'empire. Cette mauvaise reputation est fondée, chez les Musulmans, sur sa négligence à observer certains points du Koran."

[18] Σύντεκνος is the word used to denote this relation between the natural and spiritual father of the same child. The Italian epithet *compare*, κουμπάρης, is also used; but σύντεκνος is far more common in Crete.

hammedan, even when no connexion of the kind really exists between them[19].

Although I thought myself sufficiently acquainted with modern Greek when I landed in Crete, yet I discovered, the very first time I spoke with a Cretan peasant, that I was still at a great distance from a knowledge of *his* language: and so numerous are its peculiarities that, for some weeks, I had to spend much of my time in endeavouring to render myself familiar with them. I thought it worth while to do this, since most of the information, of any value, which I hoped to obtain here, could only be acquired by intercourse with those who know no other language than the Cretan[20].

Of other parts of Grece the observation that "their dialects have not so marked a difference, as those of distant provinces in France or England[21]," is undoubtedly true. But, on speaking, for the first time, with a Cretan mountaineer, the Greek of Constantinople would be almost in the situation of a person, who, while familiar only with the *Italian* language, should attempt to converse with an uneducated native of Milan or Ferrara.

Before leaving Khaniá, to travel through the island, I will endeavour to determine whereabouts the ancient Cydonia was situated. Homer speaks of the Cydonians,

[19] "Good morning, gossip," is an expression which I have repeatedly heard a Cretan Christian use, in speaking to a Mohammedan of his acquaintance. The word "brother," so generally used by the Greek in addressing his Christian brethren, is, I think, never thus bestowed on a follower of the Prophet. On this gossipred or compaternity I shall have again to speak.

[20] Several extracts, from three works of Cretan poets of the 16th and 17th centuries, are given by Colonel LEAKE, Researches in Greece, pp. 101—127. Detached portions of the Erotocritos are still known to the Cretan peasantry. I found a copy of the poem at Khaniá. The common language of the island has undergone a considerable change since those poems were written, in consequence of the presence of Turkish Governors in the three chief cities, and, perhaps, of Turkish settlers in their neighbourhood. Many Turkish words are now found in it, and have even got into the mouth of the Sfakians, among whom no Turk has ever dwelt, and who have had extremely little intercourse with the cities.

[21] LEAKE, Researches in Greece, p. 65.

who dwelt about the stream Iardanus[22], but nowhere mentions a city Cydonia. Traditions respecting its origin, all relating to remote ages, though differing among themselves, sufficiently prove it to have existed in very ancient times[23]. And this is confirmed by a well-known passage of a Roman writer[24]. Herodotus, it is true, assigns the foundation of Cydonia to the Samians, who established themselves there, and, during their five years' residence in it, built the temple of Dictynna, as well as those which still existed in the city when the historian wrote[25]. That the Samians adorned the city of which they obtained possession, seems to be clearly shewn by this passage of Herodotus; but the legends, which have been referred to, render it equally certain that Cydonia existed long before the age of Polycrates.

Strabo's notice of Cydonia as "situated on the sea, and looking towards Laconia," points out this part of the coast, as the district in which its site is to be sought for. His statement, that it was distant eight hundred stades from both Cnossos and Gortyna[26], will be of no assistance to us in our attempt to determine its precise position; for the only question deserving of any investigation is, whether it occupied the place of the modern Khaniá, or was inland somewhere hereabouts[27]; and these distances of the Geographer are

[22] HOMER, Odyss. III. 292.

Ἦχι Κύδωνες ἔναιον, Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.

[23] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 78. PAUSANIAS, VIII. p. 707. SCHOLIAST on THEOCRITUS, VII. 12. and the SCHOLIAST on APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, IV. 1492. MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 29, and HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 23.

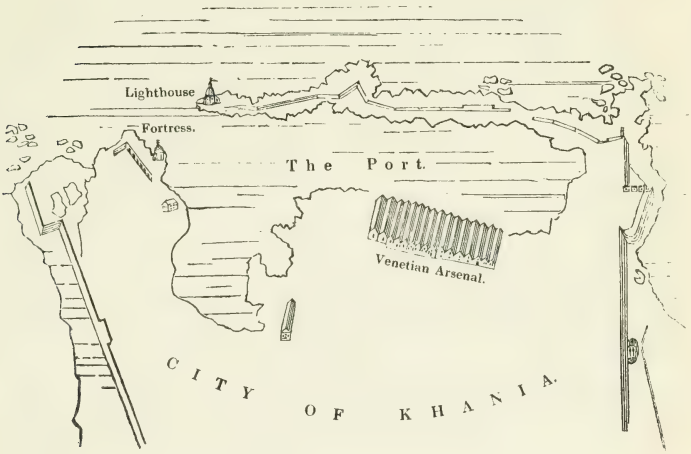
[24] FLORUS, III. 7. "Cnossum et Erythraeam, et, ut Graeci dicere solent, urbium matrem Cydoneam."

[25] HERODOTUS, III. 44. 59. Τὰ ἱρὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἐόντα νῦν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες, καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηόν.

[26] STRABO, X. p. 479. Κυδωνία δ' ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ μὲν ἵδρυται, βλέπουσα πρὸς τὴν Λακωνικήν· διέχει δ' ἑκατέρας τὸ ἴσον, τῆς τε Κνωσσοῦ καὶ τοῦ Γόρτυνος, οἷον ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους.

[27] Two other opinions have been advanced: according to one of them, Cydonia was eight or nine miles to the east of Khaniá; the other is entertained by

equally applicable to either situation. An earlier authority than Strabo, Scylax, is somewhat more explicit, and mentions Cydonia as having a harbour which could be closed[28]; an expression which would certainly lead us to place the city on the shore. The port of Khaniá exactly answers to the description of Scylax.




by some living scholars and geographers, who suppose the site to be as many miles to the west of the modern city. The former opinion is totally unfounded, and wholly irreconcileable with all that we learn from ancient authors about the site. As to the latter, it will be soon enough to speak of the ruins which Lapie, in his map of Crete, Mr Gail, in his notes on the Maritime Itinerary, and Dr Cramer, in his Description of Ancient Greece, (Vol. III. p. 366.) lay down as belonging to Cydonia, when I visit the place where they are said to exist.

[28] SCYLAX OF CARYANDA, in Hudson's Minor Greek Geographers, Vol. I. p. 18. or in Vol. I. p. 265. of Mr Gail's edition. Κυδωνία, καὶ λιμὴν κλειστός, πρὸς βορέαν. The expression λιμὴν κλειστός, so frequently used by ancient authors, is well explained by Colonel LEAKE, Topography of Athens, p. 311, and, Travels in the Morea, Vol. II. pp. 436–7, where he concludes, "the ports were thus κλειστοὶ λιμένες, were placed within the walls of a town, and might be closed by a chain." We shall meet with others in the island. I find that, about a century ago, an iron chain used every night to be drawn across the narrow entrance of the port of the Kastron, to prevent the unperceived ingress or egress of any vessel. See Vol. I. p. 34. of PEREGRINUS IN JERUSALEM, Fremdling zu Jerusalem, oder ausfuehrliche Reise-Beschreibungen &c. &c. &c. by P. Angelicus Maria Myller, Ordens der

Maritime symbols are also found on autonomous coins of Cydonia[29]: and both Ptolemy and Pliny mention the town as situated on the sea. The latter author puts it between Minoa and Pergamum, and the former between Minoa and Dictynnaeum; accounts which are perfectly consistent with one another, as well as with what we have learnt from Scylax. The notices of the place in Pomponius Mela, Hierocles, and the Geographer of Ravenna, prove nothing with respect to its situation; but there still remains another most important witness, whose testimony, when added to those already brought forward, will finally decide the question. It is the Author of the Periplus published by Iriarte[30]. We find Cydonia mentioned in it as a city with a harbour, at

der Diener unser Lieben Frauen, Boemischer Provinz, &c. &c. &c. Wien und Nuernburg 1735. He remained thirty days in the Kastron, (p. 33.) and greatly regretted his inability to discover the sepulchre of P. Antonio di Viterbo, the only object of any interest for him which the island contained.

[29] GUSSEME, Diccionario Numismatico Generale, Vol. II. p. 419; also mentioned by RASCHE, Lexicon Rei Numariae, Vol. II. 1137.

[30] REGIAE BIBLIOTHECAE MATRITENSIS CODICES GRAECI MSS. ed. IRIARTE, Matr. 1769. p. 493. or GAIL'S Geographi Graeci Minores, Tom. II. p. 498. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκοιτίου (the island of Hághios Theódhoros) εἰς Κυδωνίαν στάδ. ξ'. πόλις ἐστίν· ἔχει λιμένα, καὶ εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον βράχη ἔχει. The last five words are just those which a Greek sailor of the present day would use, if speaking on the same subject; for these βράχη (on which word consult LOBECK, on Phrynichus, Parerga, p. 537.) have preserved their name in modern Greek, and are close to the entrance of the port. Many of the rocks emerge from the water a little to the west of that entrance. When at Khaniá, in the hot weather, I frequently bathed in the sea; and, on account of these rocks, could only do so by rowing half a mile from the mouth of the harbour. Some of them are seen in the plan on the preceding page, as laid down in Boschini's "Pianta della Canea." The entrance to the harbour is so narrow, that any pilot, not well acquainted with it, might easily run his ship aground; as was done, while I was at Khaniá, by a Turkish vessel from Alexandria, which attempted to enter the port two or three hours after sunset. With the express testimony of the Periplus, to the maritime situation of Cydonia, we may compare a passage of GEORGE GEMISTUS, quoted by TZSCHUCKE, on Strabo, Tom. IV. p. 241. Κυδωνία δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ καὶ αὐτή, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑσπερίοις τῆς Κρήτης μέρεσι, καὶ ἐπιθαλαττία. On Gemistus, or Pletho, as he is likewise called, the reader may consult FABRICIUS, Bib. Graec. Vol. XII. pp. 85—101. ed. Harl. VILLOISON, Anecdota, Tom. II. p. 244. SIEBENKEES, on Strabo, Tom. I. p. xxxvi.

the entrance of which there were rocks or shallows: an accurate description of the port of the modern town.

This identity of the actual physical features observed in and near the harbour of Khaniá, with those assigned by ancient writers to Cydonia, must, I think, be admitted as irresistible evidence of the situation of the ancient city.

No one will expect to find remains of walls, temples, or public buildings, constructed in ancient times, in or near a city, which experienced so many vicissitudes of fortune in its middle-age history. The five bastions of Khaniá must alone have sufficed to consume almost every evidence of the locality of Cydonia which existed at the time of their construction. But, although it is in vain that we now endeavour to find traces of the ancient city, either within the walls or in the immediate vicinity of the modern Khaniá[31]; yet I have had the good fortune of discovering, among the manuscripts of the Library of the Arsenal, at Paris, proofs that, in all probability, such vestiges existed less than a hundred and forty years ago. Monsieur Louis Chevalier, President of the Parliament of Paris, who was in Crete in the year 1699, saw, outside of Khaniá, and near the Mohammedan cemetery, remains of mosaic work, which he describes very minutely, and which seem to have belonged to some ancient temple[32].

[31] It is impossible to place any reliance on SAVARY's account, Lettres sur la Grèce, Lettre XXIX. p. 256. I know not what he can have taken for "des restes d'anciennes murailles construites avec beaucoup de solidité;" and cannot but suppose this to be one of the passages, which serve to justify the observation of his friend SONNINI, Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie, Tom. I. p. 349: "Comme voyageur, Savary s'égare au-delà des limites que l'exactitude a posées."

[32] VOYAGE DU LEVANT, etc. par Mr LOUIS CHEVALIER, Tom. I. p. 99. MS. No. 19, in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal: "Hors de la ville sur le grand chemin pour aller au port, (he means to the port of Suda, where his ship was lying,) joignant le cimetière des Turcs, qui tient beaucoup de terrain, on voit des restes d'un pavé fait de petites pierres d'un pouce quarré ou environ de diamètre,

Pococke says: "About five miles to the south-south-west of Canea, there is a hill among the mountains, on which there are some ruins: I conjecture that this hill is Mount Tityrus, on which, according to Strabo, the city of Cydonia seems to have been situated[33]."

According to Strabo, Cydonia does not seem to have been situated on Mount Tityros. The words of the Geographer it is impossible to mistake: "In the Cydonian district there is a mountain Tityros, on which there is, not the Dictaean, but the Dictynnaean temple. Cydonia is situated on the sea". Thus the assumption, that the city was built on the mountain, is absolutely contradicted by the very author on whose alleged authority it is made.

Olivier gives a sufficiently accurate account of the wretched ruins of walls which exist on the hill in question[34]; but is greatly mistaken in supposing them to be the remains of an ancient city. They are merely those of a middle-age fortress, and are utterly unworthy of any minute description[35].

I should not have dwelt so long on this dry topographical question, if Pococke's hypothesis had not obtained the assent of a distinguished living scholar, Professor Hoeck[36], to whom every one, who takes an interest in the antiquities of Crete, is under great obligations.

diamètre, de differentes couleurs, et par compartiment. Ce pavé est très bien conservé, et paroit fort ancien. Il y a lieu de croire qu'il y a eu anciemment à cet endroit quelque temple."

[33] POCOCKE, Description of the East and some other Countries, Vol. II. Part I. Ch. III. p. 247.

[34] OLIVIER, Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, Tom. II. Ch. XI. p. 289.

[35] I long put off my visit to them, for, convinced that Strabo's expressions were conclusive as to the site of Cydonia, and not expecting to find ruins of another ancient city at this spot, I inferred that they would prove to be, what I found them, one of the innumerable fortresses which were constructed here in the middle ages, and most of which were built, soon after the Venetians first obtained possession of the island, at the commencement of the thirteenth century.

[36] HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 383.

The power and importance of Cydonia, in all the affairs of Crete, are made manifest by several passages of Polybius and Strabo. At one time she carried on hostilities, single-handed, against both Cnossos and Gortyna[37]. The first engagement between the Cretans under Lasthenes and Panares, and the Roman legions under Metellus, was fought in the Cydonian district[38]. The Romans were victorious, Metellus was saluted Imperator, and laid siege to Cydonia[39]. Now the ancient city, in all probability, obtained most of its water from the same copious source as supplies the modern town. Of this it must doubtless have been deprived, on its investment by the Romans. Hence the account given, of the sufferings from thirst of the besieged Cretans, probably relates solely to the inhabitants of Cydonia[40].

Thus too, in modern times, the Greeks, immediately on acquiring possession of the district round Khaniá, cut off this supply of water, from want of which the city, though peopled only by six or seven thousand inhabitants, greatly suffered[41].

[37] Livy, xxxvii. 40. "Cydoniatae bellum adversus Gortynios Gnossiosque gerebant."

[38] Appian, Cretica, Vol. i. p. 99. ed. Schweigh. Καὶ νικᾷ μὲν ὁ Μέτελλος ἐν Κυδωνίᾳ Λασθένη. Cydonia is also first mentioned by Livy, Epit. Lib. 98.

[39] Phlegon, in Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 97. p. 84. Bekk. and the authors last cited.

[40] Valerius Maximus, vii. 6. Externa. "Cretensibus nihil tale praesidii affulsit: qui obsidione Metelli ad ultimam usque penuriam compulsi, sua jumentorumque suorum urina sitim torserunt, justius dixerim quam sustentarunt."

[41] Correspondance du Vice-Consul d'Autriche (Mons. D'Herculez,) Lettre du 31 Août, 1821. "J'ai été victime de l'epidémie qui regne dans la ville, depuis que les Grecs ont coupé l'eau, et que nous sommes reduits a boire l'eau des puits, qui est salée." Again, under the date of 19 March, 1822: "Ces jours derniers les Grecs ont encore coupé les eaux de la ville—trois cent insurgés ont mis en déroute mille deux cent Turcs, qui étaient sortis de la ville pour protéger la réparation des aqueducs."

CHAPEL AND CEMETERY OF HAGHIA TRIADHA.

## CHAPTER II.

VISIT TO HAGHIOS ELEUTHERIOS. DESCRIPTION OF THE MONASTERIES AND GROTTOS OF THE AKROTERI.

Since the districts of Crete, which are most likely to be interesting, have been but little explored, I shall notice very briefly such parts of the island as have been sufficiently described by modern travellers. Among these the immediate vicinity of Khaniá may safely be included. The beauties of its plain, which extends from the gate of the city to the Rhíza[1], have been care-

[1] The "Piemonte" of Western Crete; the term includes the whole of the lower northern slopes of the Sfakian Mountains.

fully delineated[2]. I must however speak of some monasteries, and of two natural grottos, in the neighbourhood.

The village of Murniés is somewhat less than three miles to the south of Khaniá, at the foot of the mountains. Near it is the monastery of Hághios Eleuthérios[3], which, as well as Haghía Kyriaké, was formerly a metókhi of Haghía Khrusopeghé. The principal monastery has been long deserted. The society of Hághios Eleuthérios consist of an Abbot or Hegúmenos[4], and five monks. On visiting them I found the Abbot dressed, as is usually the case, in the same simple manner as his brethren. He was delighted to talk Greek with me, and told a long story about a treasure discovered some time ago by Europeans. On visiting the chapel of the convent, I observed not only paintings of the Virgin, Christ, Demétrios, and other Saints, but also a crucifix, consisting of an iron cross with a Christ in high relief on it. I suggested to the worthy Abbot that it was a novelty to see any thing so nearly approaching the practice of the Roman Catholic Church in a Greek place of worship, where paintings alone, and not statues or bas-reliefs, are allowed[5]. He admitted that the thing was prohibited[6], and, in itself, wrong; but added, that the crucifix had been there many many years, and contained within it a piece of the true cross[7]. In an engagement with the Mohammedans, during the revolution, a priest stood with it in his hand. As long

[2] See TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Tom. I. p. 23. SAVARY, Lettres sur la Grèce, Lettre XXXIV. SONNINI, Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie, Ch. XVI—XX. SIEBER, Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. I. p. 129, fol.

[3] Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐλευθερίου. [4] Ὁ Ἡγούμενος.

[5] There is a celebrated picture of the Virgin at Megaspélaeon, which is said to have been made by St Luke, several of whose paintings are seen in Roman Catholic churches. The image "attracts the visits of pilgrims, and makes a great addition to the revenue of the pious establishment." See DODWELL'S Tour through Greece, Vol. II. p. 450. It is said to be made of lentisk wood: BARTHOLDY, Voyage en Grèce, Part. II. p. 21. Fr. trans. The Greeks have two other paintings, which are called works of the same artist: see HARTLEY, Researches in Greece, Ch. XII. pp. 181. 183. and 359.

[6] Εἶναι ἐμποδισμένο τὸ πρᾶγμα. [7] Τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ.

as the affray lasted, balls were whizzing about him, and killing or wounding every one near; but, of course, he remained unhurt. Again, whenever any one possessed by a demon[8] kisses it, the unclean spirit at once leaves him. After recounting to me all its virtues the Hegúmenos himself devoutly kissed the face of the Christ, which is worn away by these salutations, almost as much as the toe of Saint Peter's great statue at Rome, and restored it to its place in the Church.

As to the piece of the true cross which this crucifix is said to contain, it may be observed, that the credulity of the Greeks has enabled their clergy to supply every monastery with some precious reliques: and these of the true cross are numerous enough here, as well as in Catholic countries, to justify Swift's account of "my lord Peter's old sign-post, with nails and timber enough in it to build sixteen large men of war[9]."

About half an hour's walk from the gate of Khaniá is the village of Kalépa, situated on a rising ground not far from the shore. From above this village a beautiful view is obtained. On the spectator's left are seen the noble snow-clad Sfakian mountains, and part of the plain of Khaniá, which also lies extended before him. To his right is the fortified city, with its port and shipping; beyond which the eye, passing over the wide gulf of Khaniá, rests on the Dictynnaean promontory, and observes, still further in the distance, the Corycian cape, which terminates the view.

The road from this spot to the monastery of Haghía Triádha[10] runs near two or three villages, without enter-

[8] *Δαιμόνιον.* On the casting out of demons, in the primitive Church, see MIDDLETON, Free Inquiry, p. 80; and, on the miracles effected by the simple sign of the Cross, p. 136. 1st edit. A copious account of the order of Exorcists, who became a regular part of the ecclesiastical establishment, even in early times, and could only be ordained by the Bishop, is given in VAN DALE, de Orig. et Prog. Idol. et Superst. Diss. III. c. VII.

[9] SWIFT, Tale of a Tub, §. 4. The wonderful wood was supposed to possess a secret power of vegetation: see GIBBON's ecclesiastical authorities, Decline and Fall, c. XXIII.

[10] *Τὸ μοναστήρι τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδας.*

ing into any of them. The part of the Akrotéri over which it passes is generally uncultivated, and seems to be barren. There is a great abundance of game, especially red-legged partridges, on it. Haghía Triádha is surrounded by many lofty cypresses, a long avenue of which leads up to the principal entrance of the monastery. The Hegúmenos is a venerable and communicative old man, with whom I had much conversation.

This monastery is most substantially built: the church in the middle of its court is in the form of a Latin cross: its front is ornamented by Doric columns. Over its doorway is an inscription, the words of which are sufficiently appropriate in a convent dedicated to the Trinity[11]. On the frieze of the entablature of this edifice are the capital letters

Β Γ V Θ Τ Π

A conjectural explanation of them may be seen in the note[12], if any one should think it worth looking at. On either side of the doorway of this church is an inscription: to the spectator's left it is in Greek, and to his right in Latin. The purport of both is the same; and is to record the names of the two founders of the monastery[13]. The date affixed at the foot of the Greek inscription is 1634[14], that over the principal entrance

[11] ЄIC ΘC ЄN TPICI KAI TA TPIA ЄN.

[12] Βάθος Γνώσεως, Ὕψιστος Θεός, Τρισυπόστατος, Παντοκράτωρ.

[13] PRECLARO ASINVZANCAROLE PRO
SAPIE CRETI HIEREMIAS SAPIENTISSI
MVS ET LAVRENTIVS SOLERTISSIMVS
GERMANI AMBO SACRIFICI ET INI
VGES MAGNA CVM IMPENSA ET A
CRIMONIA TALIA GESSERVNT ILLE
ENIM SVFFICIENTER INCEPTIS LA
BOREM IMPENDIT EVMQVE CON
FECIT HONESTE HIC VERO PROPAGA
TOR ILLIVS VOTI SVPPLEVIT RELI
QVVM ET HOC PERPVLCRVM FV
NDITVS TEMPLVM INSTAVRAVIT.

[14] In the Greek numerals it is ΑΧΛΔ. Sonnini, Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie, Tom. I. p. 358, gives what he thinks proper to call a faithful copy of

into the monastery being 1631. The church was not quite finished when the Turks obtained possession of Khaniá, and thus put a stop to the progress of the building. At the eastern corner of the court is a small chapel, a view of which is seen at the head of this chapter. Under it is the cemetery of the monastery. The graves have nearly all been opened, so that the bones of their occupants lie exposed to view, and each of them "grins horrible a ghastly smile" on his visitors. This profanation of the grave was committed by the Mohammedans, during the revolution, in the vain hope of finding hidden treasure. In an apartment, with which this burial-chamber communicates, dead men's skulls and bones are heaped up to the height of about four feet[15]. Above the doorway of the Golgotha, and in many other places about the monastery, I noticed inscriptions, to some of which a Latin translation is added[16].

The old Hegúmenos assured me that, before the revolution broke out, there were forty Patéres here, and ten more at the different metókhis or farms of the monastery. They had then also thirteen Deacons. Although their arable land was sufficient to employ thirty-five pairs of oxen, eighteen pairs on the akrotéri and the rest in the metókhis, yet, being so numerous

of the Latin, and concludes his observations on it by saying, "mais, en même temps, l'on y a omis précisément l'essentiel, c'est-à-dire, la date;" manifestly shewing that he could not read the Greek characters.

[15] Similar charnel-houses are found in the convents of Mount Sinai and of the Strophades: see BURCKHARDT'S Syria and the Holy Land, p. 564, and WADDINGTON, Condition and Prospects of the Greek Church, p. 200. A like custom also prevails at Smyrna, and in some other places, where the corpse is usually allowed to occupy its vault or grave for a twelve-month, and is then transferred to the charnel-house: see HARTLEY, Researches in Greece, c. VIII. p. 120.

[16] Two of them will be an ample specimen:

ΗΓΙΑCΘ ΤΟ CΚΗΝΩΜΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ Ο ΥΨΙCΤΟC.

ΟCΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΘΥCΘΒΗC ΘΠΙΝΟΙΑ ΘΥCΙΑC ΠΡΟCΑΓΕΙΝ ΕξΙΛΑCΜΟΥ ΠΘΡΙ ΤΗC ΤΩΝ ΤΘΘΝΗΚΟΤΩΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑC.

A learned friend suggests to me that the first of these inscriptions is taken from PSALM, XLV. 2. and the second from 2 Maccabees, XII. 46.

a body, they were always obliged to purchase corn. The produce of oil annually sold by them may have amounted, according to the Hegúmenos, who is not likely to exaggerate their wealth, to nearly two thousand místata. The present number of Patéres is ten[17].

The four monasteries of Haghía Triádha, Hághios Ioánnes, Hághios Eleuthérios, and Goniá, pay conjointly six hundred piastres yearly to the Patriarch at Constantinople. They also make an annual present to the Diocesan, but its amount is not defined[18].

I was told by the Hegúmenos, that when the head of Saint John the Baptist was brought to Herod, who was seated at table with a large dinner-party, it leapt from the charger. Fear fell upon every one present, and they were all attacked by a fever, which did not leave them till they addressed their prayers to the Saint.

The Greek is greatly shocked at the Catholic observance of Friday and *Saturday* as fast-days[19], while he mortifies the flesh on *Wednesday* and Friday. It was on a Wednesday that Judas received a bribe to betray his master, and on a Friday that Christ was crucified.

In this monastery the wine which we obtained was excellent. The district of Cydonia must have been celebrated for its wine in ancient times, for we find on many of its coins a bunch of grapes[20], or the head

[17] Tournefort, Voyage du Levant, Tom. I. p. 31, found less than 50 of them: Sonnini mentions 12, and Sieber 18.

[18] Μικρὸν πρᾶγμα—ὅτι θέλομεν.

[19] The observance of Saturday as a fast-day is one of the heresies with which the Church of Rome was charged by the Patriarch Photius, and on account of which he deposed and excommunicated the successor of Saint Peter: see Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, c. LX. and the ecclesiastical authorities there quoted; and Waddington, History of the Church, c. XII. Saturday has always been a *festival* in the Oriental Church: see Bingham, Antiquities of the Christian Church, B. XX. c. III. §. I.

[20] Pellerin, Recueil de Médailles, Tom. III. Pl. XCIX. fig. 39. Numismata Cimelii Vindobonensis, Tab. XIV. fig. 16. p. LXXXII. Numi Musei Hunteriani, Tab. 23. fig. 8. Numi Musei Britannici, Tab. VIII. fig. 9. Mionnet, Description de Médailles, Tom. II. p. 273. Sestini, Museo Hedervariano, Vol. II. p. 152. Hoeck, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 178.

of Dionysos[21]. Some of them also exhibit a female head adorned with a chaplet of vine-leaves[22]. I found a beautiful silver coin of Cydonia, in the possession of the interpreter of the French Consulate, and the female head seen on its obverse, was thus ornamented.

Somewhat less than three miles from Haghía Triádha, towards the end of the promontory, and in the midst of its highest elevations, is the monastery of Hághios Ioánnes. The building of its church had only just been commenced when the Turks obtained possession of Khaniá and has never since been proceeded with. Half a mile further is "the cave of the bear[23]," at the entrance of which is a little chapel.

The name of this cavern is derived from a resemblance between the form of a piece of rock within it and that of a sitting bear. I wonder that no ancient legend should have been attached to this natural object, as was done to the fancied figure of a weeping woman on Mount Sipylos[24]. And this is the more surprising,

[21] GOLZIUS, Nomismata Insularum Graeciae, Tab. VI. fig. 9. NONNIUS, Comment. pp. 223 and 224. HARDOUIN, Numi Antiqui Illustrati, p. 87. GUSSEME, Diccionario Numismatico Generale, Tom. II. p. 419, describes the obverse of a coin of Cydonia: "Cabeza de Baco coronada de pámpanos." MIONNET, Tom. II. p. 272.

[22] GOLZIUS, l. c. (perhaps) NUMI MUS. HUNTER. Tab. 23. f. 1, 2. RASCHE, Lexicon Rei Numariae, Tom. II. 1135. Supplem. Tom. II. 318. MIONNET, l. c. Among the medals of the Ducal Cabinet at Modena, in inspecting which I experienced the most courteous attention from its learned Prefetto, D. Celestino Cavedoni, there is one of which I made this note: Caput muliebre ad s. pampinis vel corymbis redimitum ΗΝΩΑΥΝ. Vir nudus ad s. stans arcum tendit Ꝛ. I fere. See also ECKHEL, Doctrina Numorum Veterum, Vol. II. p. 310.

[23] Τῆς ἀρκοῦδας τὸ σπήλαιον. These mountains are hence called Ἀρκουδοβουνά.

[24] Described by CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor, Ch. LXXIX. See also WISDOM, X. 7. JOSEPHUS, Antiq. I. II. 4. Ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν διαμένει. VON BOHLEN, Genesis, p. 213. There is an appearance in stone, somewhat like the shape of a woman, in a cavern in Somersetshire, where it is supposed to be a base and wicked elfe, "the witch of Wokey hight."

> The ghastly hag he sprinkled o'er:
> When lo! where stood a hag before,
> Now stood a ghastly stone.

See

since we find a tradition that two Cretan nymphs, Helice and Cynosura, who were nurses of the infant Zeus, were afterwards changed into bears; and were ultimately raised to the skies as the constellations which are still known by their names[25].

At a distance of half a mile from the cave is a secluded spot in which the deserted monastery of Katholikó is situated. Near it is a beautiful grotto, to the entrance of which we are brought by a descent of about a hundred and forty steps, many of them cut out of the steep rocks on the southern side of the glen. Its height varies from ten to fifty or sixty feet: it is nearly five hundred feet long[26]: it penetrates into

See PERCY, Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, Vol. I. Book III. 15. A legend of the same kind accounts for the existence of a statue, among the ruins of Seleucia, on the western bank of the Tigris. An improper attachment once existed between a brother and sister, "and God, to punish them, turned them to stone." KEPPEL, Journey from India to England, Vol. I. c. VII. In a vale near Marathon, Chandler saw an ancient statue of a woman, who once defied Heaven, and, for her impiety, was hardened into stone. "The grave Turk cites the woman of Nonoï," (*Oenoe:* see LEAKE, Researches, p. 420. and on the Demi of Attica, p. 163.) "to check arrogance, and enforce the wisdom of a devout and humble disposition." Her fold and flocks shared her fate, and "the rocky crags afford, at a certain point of view, the similitude of sheep and goats within an enclosure or fold." CHANDLER, Travels in Greece, c. XXXVI. Many similar legends, both ancient and modern, which have arisen from the shape of natural objects, might also be mentioned.

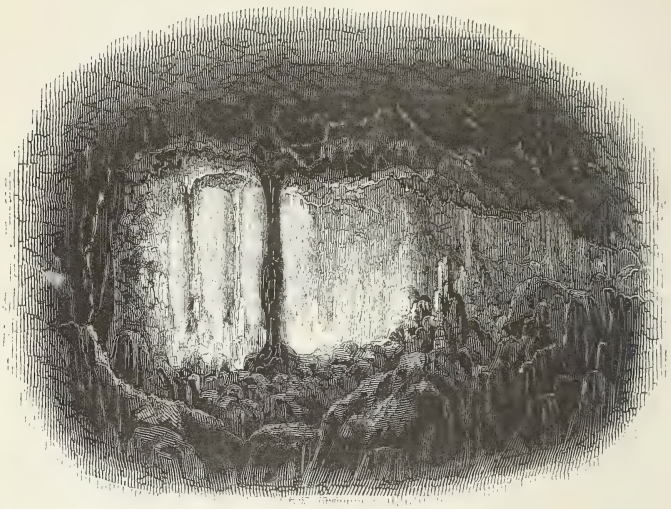
[25] ARATUS, Phaenomena, 30.

Εἰ ἐτεὸν δή,
Κρήτηθεν κεῖναί γε, Διὸς μεγάλου ἰότητι,
οὐρανὸν εἰσανέβησαν.

ERATOSTHENES, Catast. II. Ἀγλαοσθένης δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ναξικοῖς φησι, τροφὸν γενέσθαι τοῦ Διὸς Κυνόσουραν· εἶναι δὲ μίαν τῶν Ἰδαίων νυμφῶν— Ἄρατος δὲ αὐτὴν καλεῖ Ἑλίκην ἐκ Κρήτης οὖσαν. γενέσθαι δὲ Διὸς τροφὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν οὐρανοῖς τιμῆς ἀξιωθῆναι. The intermediate transformation into bears is mentioned in the Parisian Scholia on Apollonius Rhodius, I. 941. Ἄρκτων μιν καλέουσιν ὄρος. καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὰς τροφοὺς τοῦ Διὸς ἐκεῖ εἰς ἄρκτον μεταμορφωθῆναι ἢ κ.τ.λ. The same legend respecting Cynosura is also related, on the authority of Aglaosthenes, by HYGINUS, Poet. Astr. II. 2.

[26] I measured it and found its length from the Hághion Béma to the entrance 430 feet: beyond the altar is about 40 feet more: it is greatly overstated by POCOCKE, Vol. II. Part I. p. 263. at "near a quarter of a mile." The assertion of a French traveller, SONNINI, Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie,

the mountain in a southerly direction: and its sides consist of varied and beautiful stalactites. Some of them form, as it were, columnar supports for the roof of the cavern; many are quite transparent, and others are brilliantly white. Their effect however is certainly not to be compared with that of the grotto of Antiparos, although, even here, they are in many places extremely beautiful.



Pococke says that this grotto exceeds all he ever saw in the beauty and slenderness of the pillars. On the rocks about it I observed the dictamnon, so celebrated among physicians[27], naturalists and poets. According to Theophrastus and Pliny it was found only in Crete[28].

quie, Vol. I. p. 382. "I'on peut aisément y faire *près d'un mille de chemin* avant d'arriver au fond," must be a wilful exaggeration, and is certainly a very gross one.

[27] HIPPOCRATES frequently prescribes it: see the passages in MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 110.

[28] THEOPHRASTUS, H. P. IX. 16. Τὸ δὲ δίκταμνον, ἴδιον τῆς Κρήτης—τοῦτο μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη, θαυμαστὸν ἅμα καὶ ἴδιον τῆς νήσου. PLINY, N. H. XXV. 8. "Dictamnum non est alibi quam in Creta." Passages, in which other medicinal herbs of the island are mentioned, have been collected by the diligence of MEURSIUS, Creta, II. 11.

H Schranz del L Haghe Lith.

Day & Haghe Lith.rs to the King

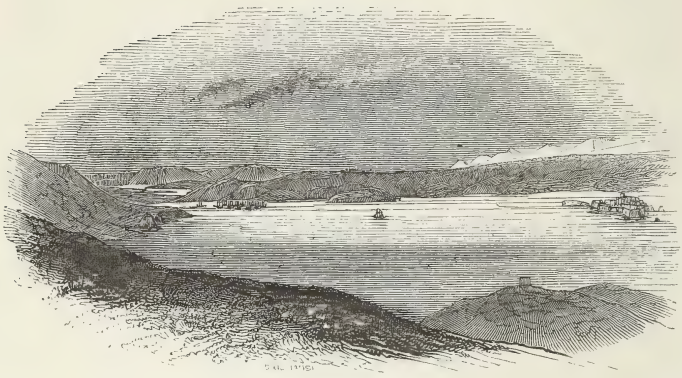
KATHOLIKO.

Another plant, which has been common for ages in most parts of Europe, was once peculiar to this island. It is generally known that the quince-tree derived its Greek name from the Cretan Cydonia, in the district of which city it was indigenous, and whence it was transported into other countries[29].

A few paces below the mouth of the cavern is a small church cut out of the solid rock: near it are the former abodes of the monks. The bridge thrown across the ravine is spoken of, by Pococke and Sonnini, as fifty feet high. I observe an opening in it, leading into a solitary cell, which is said to have been used by the monks as a place of imprisonment and punishment for any sinning member of their society. On the opposite side of the ravine, from which the view was taken, are ruins of several solitary huts, supposed to have been used as hermitages, until the church and monastery of Katholikó were abandoned. This wild and sequestered spot is very near the head of the valley, and is not above a thousand paces from the sea. Many Greek monasteries are picturesque and beautiful objects; but I can recal to my recollection no place so well suited for those, who may have desired "remote from man with God to pass their days," as this glen, with its

> Steep and lofty cliffs,
> That on a wild secluded scene impress
> Thoughts of more deep seclusion.

[29] PLINY, N. H. XV. 11. "His proxima amplitudine mala, quae vocamus cotonea, et Graeci cydonia, ex Creta insula advecta." NICANDER, Alex. 234. Τότε βλοσυροῖο Κύδωνος, κεῖνο φυτὸν Κρήτηθεν. MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 107. TZSCHUCKE, on Pomponius Mela, Vol. III. Part II. p. 818. See also JULIUS POLLUX, VI. 47. and HESYCHIUS, both mentioned by WYTTENBACH, on Plutarch, Praecept. Conjug. p. 138. d. The fruit was called κοδύμαλον in the ancient Cretan dialect: HERMON, in ATHENAEUS, III. p. 81. f. and HESYCHIUS, under the word.



FORTRESS AND BAY OF SUDHA.

## CHAPTER III.

FROM KHANIA TO PALAEOKASTRON NEAR THE BAY OF SUDHA. EFFECTS OF VENETIAN MISGOVERNMENT. CRETAN AND MOLOSSIAN DOGS. CRETAN CHARACTER.

*February* 16, 1834.

We started from Khaniá about noon, and traversed the plain by which the city is surrounded, and the greater part of which, in the direction of Súdha, was stript of its olives when Ibrahím-pashá landed here with his troops, in January 1825, on his way from Egypt to the Moréa[1]. Half a mile before we arrive at the Salt-pans, which have changed their Italian name Saline

[1] The swamp near Súdha (ἡ Σούδα, on the etymology of which word see below, p. 189.) was selected for the encampment of the troops, and, in consequence, about one fifth of them died in the island. Ibrahím sailed for the Moréa on the 19th February 1825: see a letter written at Khaniá, and published in a contemporary Journal, and Madden, Travels in Turkey, Egypt, &c. Vol. I. p. 174–5.

into the Turkish Túzla[2], the ground becomes a marsh, and would be impassable but for the aid afforded us by portions of an old paved road, doubtless the work of the Venetians. The marsh is about three miles in circumference, and is said to abound in snipes. After passing the head of the bay we wound along the north-western acclivity of Mount Maláxa[3], and again found considerable remains of the Venetian paved way, which was in fact our only road for nearly two miles; no labour seems ever to have been bestowed on it since the Turks obtained the island, so that it is, in general, a far worse road than an unpaved path would be.

The rock of Súdha, which is a conspicuous object during most of the ride, is said to have served as a constant receptacle for corsairs, during the sixteenth century[4]; and was also used as a landing place in 1571, by Turkish troops, some of whom ravaged the territory of Khaniá, while others sacked and burnt the town of Rhíthymnos[5]. The Venetians therefore prudently determined to fortify the islet[6]; and, in consequence, retained it, with Spina Longa and the almost impregnable castle of Grabúsa, during many years after the whole island of Crete had been acquired by the Turks.

The events which were caused by this hostile descent on the district of Khaniá and the town of Rhíthymnos, serve to throw light on the the Venetian government of the island.

The Greek peasants of the neighbourhood of Rhíthymnos supposed, at that time, that certain nobles were

[2] Salt in Turkish is تُوز *tuz*. The name, which has here usurped the place of an Italian word, has elsewhere replaced an ancient Hellenic appellation, as in the Troas: LEAKE, Tour in Asia Minor, p. 273. fol.

[3] Ἡ Μαλάξα.

[4] FOSCARINI, Relatione ec, fol. 6. "Li anni addietro ricetto e nido di corsari."

[5] CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Vol. II. p. 427. FOSCARINI, l. c. and fol. 11. "Rettimo è del tutto rovinato dall' incendio che seguì la passata guerra."

[6] FOSCARINI, fol. 7.

preparing to take signal vengeance on them for the violent death of a Cavaliere, which had just happened: and, on this account, they sent a deputation to the Turks at Súdha, whom they hailed as their deliverers from the cruel tyranny of their Venetian lords[7].

Another Venetian writer assigns these practices of the Greeks with the Turks at Súdha, simply to their general oppression by the Cavalieri, and to the extreme despair to which it reduced them[8]. Their dealings with the Turks seem to have produced at least one good effect, in awakening the Venetian senate, not perhaps to a sense of justice, but, at all events, to one of policy; for the Proveditor Foscarini was soon afterwards dispatched from Venice, to enquire into the real condition of the Cretan people. His extremely interesting Report is still in existence[9], and presents a melancholy picture of systematic oppression and legalized iniquity, on the part of both the privileged order of nobles and the local government.

Foscarini seems not only to have been endued with a high sense of honour, and a love of virtue, but also to have possessed every requisite intellectual endowment for the due accomplishment of his important duty; and his Report also shews him to have been most diligent in his researches. After detailing to the Venetian senate the various acts of fraud and oppression, to which the whole mass of the people were subjected, he says "the cavalieri had reduced the peasants to a worse condition than that of slaves, so that they never dared *even to complain* of any injustice[10]."

[7] FOSCARINI, fol. 110.

[8] MS. No. 766, of the Raccolta Correr at Venice, fol. 39.

[9] It is entitled Relatione dell' Ill^mo^ Sig^r^ Giacomo Foscarini, Proveditor General, Inquisitor, e Sindico, nel regno di Candia, del 1576. The copy which I consulted is contained in the Raccolta Correr.

[10] FOSCARINI, fol. 110. "Con questi mezzi essi cavalieri fanno li villani più che schiavi, che non ardiscono mai dolersi di cosa ingiusta." THEVET also, writing a little earlier, speaks of the Cretans, Cosmographie de Levant, fol. 26, as "menans une tresmeschante et du tout desplorée façon de viure, qui

Libertas pauperis haec est:
Pulsatus rogat, et pugnis concisus adorat,
Ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.

Little change was however produced in the condition of these subjects of the Venetian aristocracy, in consequence of Foscarini's generous and indignant denunciation of the cruelty and impolicy of the adopted system of government, and of the tyrannical proceedings of the petty nobles whom it tolerated. This may easily be inferred from the fact, that a member of the "Syndicate of the Levant," Giulio de' Garzoni, made a similar Report to the Senate in 1586, ten years after that which was the result of Foscarini's mission. This Syndic bears express testimony to the fact, that all the inhabitants of the island, except of course the tyrannizing and degraded privileged class, longed for a change of government, and even preferred "the tyrannical domination" of the Turks, to that which the Venetians exercised over them[11].

At length we began to leave the bay of Súdha, and to pass the ridge: as soon as we reached its summit we saw the plain of Apokórona spread out before us. It is bounded on the south by the eastern half of the White Mountains[12], the outline of which is very bold

qui cause en eux vn merueilleux desir de liberté. Car ilz sont tellement serfs aux Veniciens qu'ilz ne possedent ne iouissent sinon de ce qui leur est de grace concedé par lesdis Signeurs."

[11] GARZONI, Relatione del Sindicato del Levante nel 1586, in the MSS. of St Mark's Library, CLASSE VII. CODICE CCCIV. It is worth while to give two or three brief extracts: p. 18. "Con questi et altri pretesti, di sopra discorsi, se ben per decreto publico è levato il nome della Parichia, convengono vivere *nella medesima soggezione.*" p. 19. "Sì che il contadino, di questa maniera vessato, et per tante parti stracciato, impresso dai ragionamenti de' papati, *è fatto nemico del nome Veneto*—et è ridotto a tale, per le cose dette, che credo poter dire con verità, escludendo però li privilegiati, che *desiderano mutazione di governo;* et sanno non poter capitare in mano d' altri che del Turco; nondimeno, credendo non poter peggiorare di stato, *inclinano anco a quel tirannico dominio.*"

[12] The Λευκὰ ὄρη of Strabo: they are now called, either by their ancient title in modern Greek, *τὰ ἄσπρα βουνά*, or, from their inhabitants, *τὰ Σφακιανὰ βουνά*. Crete is the only part of Greece in which I have noticed the old word

and beautiful: they are entirely covered with snow. Immediately on commencing the descent, towards the plain of Apokórona, we turned to our left, in conformity with directions obtained from some peasants whom we had met, and soon saw two ancient tombs; sure indications of our approach to the Palaeókastro, to which I was endeavouring to find my way. They were hewn out of the rock, which is soft and calcareous, and, like the stone of Malta, is full of imbedded shells. One of them was a chamber containing resting-places for three occupants, the other had served for four. Scarcely had we passed these tombs before we met a kalógheros[13], whose Greek shewed at once that he was not a Cretan; and from whom I learnt that we should find a lodging for the night in a monastery or rather metókhi[14], belonging to the great convent of Hághios Ioánnes the Theologian[15], at Pat-

word ὄρη as still in common use: it here denotes the loftier parts of any high mountains.

[13] I shall not attempt to anglicize any such names, peculiar to the country, but shall always use the Greek word, without deviating from the rule even where it may have been clothed in an English dress, and rendered familiar to English readers, by writers who are generally read; as has happened in the case of kalógheros, which has become caloyer, both with us and the French. The kalógheros at present, in almost every part, is scarcely raised a single step above the mere peasant: very few of them can read: they are in fact distinguished, from any other labourers, solely by their having made a vow of celibacy, by letting their beards grow, and by living in their monastery. A person can become a kalógheros at any age, and the lame, or infirm, do actually avail themselves of this facility in many cases, becoming kalógheri, and living comfortably within the quiet walls of the monastery all the rest of their lives. Their situation might certainly be envied by the inmates of a poor-house in more densely peopled countries. The πατέρας is also called ἱερομόναχος, and this class is supposed to be the most learned in the oriental church. They can all read and can write a little: but few of them can spell three consecutive words without blundering: in fact they learn to write, as a necessary qualification, when boys, and having no duties to discharge beyond those of reading the morning and evening service in the chapels of their convents, the ability to write is little more than a useless accomplishment, except for the Hegúmenos, who keeps the accounts of the society.

[14] Μετόχι.

[15] The two Johns are called by the Greeks ὁ πρόδρομος, and ὁ θεόλογος, instead of the Baptist and the Evangelist as we designate them.

mos. The kalógheros was sent here, about a year ago, along with a patéras, to superintend the management of the land and olives possessed by that society in Crete, and which had been entirely abandoned and uncultivated during the whole war.

We soon arrived at considerable remains of the walls of an ancient city, and I partially examined them; but sunset put a stop to my researches, and I was glad to hasten to find out the patéras at the metókhi. On approaching it my ears were saluted by the loud barkings of several dogs: they continued to shew their dislike for strangers, who wore dresses which they were so little used to, for some time after we were settled among them. These Cretan dogs are not so ferocious as those of Albania, where the ancient Molossian breed seems to be preserved, in all its purity[16], to the great discomfort of European travellers[17]. The Cretan animals are all of one race, and are peculiar to the island. Tournefort calls them "des lévriers bâtards[18]." They are smaller than the greyhound, and have a longer and rougher coat of hair[19]: their head is somewhat like that of the wolf: they follow their game by scent, and are very sagacious animals, resembling, in every respect, the lurcher rather than the greyhound. I feel no doubt that these dogs are the undebased descendants of those mentioned by ancient authors[20].

[16] AELIAN, N. A. III. 2. *Θυμικώτατος δὲ κυνῶν Μολοσσός, ἐπεὶ θυμοδέστατοι καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες.*

[17] For instance to that of Mr HUGHES, Travels in Greece and Albania, Vol. I. c. XVI. and c. XVII. pp. 489, and 501. 2d ed. The animal is a constant source of annoyance to all travellers in that country.

[18] TOURNEFORT, Tom. I. p. 95.

[19] CLAUDIAN, Cons. Stilich. III. 300.

Hirsutaeque fremunt Cressae, tenuesque Lacaenae.

[20] AELIAN, N. A. III. 2. *Κύων Κρῆσσα κούφη, καὶ ἀλτική, καὶ ὀρειβασίαις σύντροφος· καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὶ Κρῆτες τοιούτους αὐτοὺς περιδεικνῦσι, καὶ ᾄδει ἡ φήμη.* LIBANIUS, quoted by MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 95. *Τῶν Κρητῶν κυνῶν αἱ ῥινηλατοῦσαι.* Hence they are spoken of along with those of the Spartan breed, which were celebrated for following well by scent, (LOBECK, Comment. ad Soph. Ai. v. 7.) in many passages of ancient authors.

The celebrated dog of Cephalus, to which those of Molossis and Chaonia were proud to trace their pedigree[21], was supposed to have been obtained, by Procris, from Minos[22], the mythical king of this island: a fact which alone shews how celebrated the Cretan breed must have been in times of remote antiquity.

I had every reason to be pleased with the kindness and hospitality of my reverend host, although his means of displaying his excellent disposition towards us were very limited. The furniture of his room consisted of a bed, a table, and two rude chairs: but my travels in Albania had taught me to consider even beds, tables, and chairs, as the peculiar possessions of those who are surrounded by the other comforts of civilized life; and as ordinarily unattainable by the traveller, while he is exploring the most interesting countries of antiquity.

The venerable priest thought it very odd that I should speak Greek fluently; and had great difficulty in understanding, what he seemed very anxious to learn, how I could leave "Lóndhra"[23], which is commonly used both by Turks and Greeks of all parts, as synonymous with England, to travel in these districts.

On my enquiring for coins the peasants gave me such as they possessed: they had found them in tilling the ground about the monastery: more than half of those which I obtained were of Aptera. The prices asked by coin-finders in most parts of Greece is so high as to cause considerable difficulty to those who wish to purchase them. Here the peasants would not even

[21] JULIUS POLLUX, v. 5.

[22] APOLLODORUS, Biblioth. II. 4. 7. Τὸν κύνα ὃν Πρόκρις ἤγαγεν ἐκ Κρήτης παρὰ Μίνωος λαβοῦσα. ERATOSTHENES, Cataster. XXXIII. Ἀμφότερα δὲ ταῦτα Μίνως ἔλαβε· καὶ ὕστερον—ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῇ. ANTONINUS LIBERALIS, c. XLI. Ὁ Μίνως διδοῖ τῇ Πρόκριδι τὸν ἄκοντα καὶ τὸν κύνα· τούτους δὲ οὐδὲν ἐξέφυγε θηρίον. HYGINUS, Poet. Astr. II. 35. For the variations in this legend consult the authorities quoted or indicated by HEINSIUS, on Ovid, Met. VII. 754. and VERHEYK, on Antoninus Liberalis, l. c.

[23] Λόνδρα.

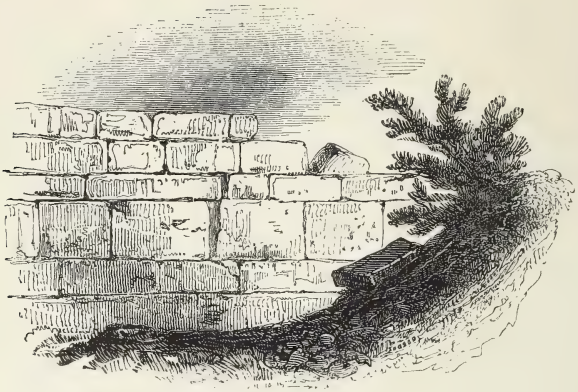
name a price, but told me to give them what I thought the things were worth, since I knew their value better than they did. One of them possessed a small marble hand which he also gave me. It was not difficult to find out that I was among a very different people from those with whom travellers become acquainted in following the commonly frequented routes in Greece and Asia Minor; and I began to suspect that, whatever the ancient Cretans may have been, from the time of Polybius to that of St Paul, the present race can hardly deserve the bad character bestowed on their ancestors.

A boy of about ten years of age, a nephew of the old priest, tells me that the Cretan labyrinth was one of the seven wonders of the world, in the time of the ancient Hellenes, and that these seven wonders correspond to the seven sacraments of the Christian church[24]. Our fare this evening, after I had had a long chat with the priest, consisted of ricemilk[25], Sfakian cheese[26], a few onions[27], some barley bread[28], and as much water[29] as we wished.

[24] His words were *ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἔχουν τὰ ἑπτὰ μυστήρια, ἔτσι οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶχαν τὰ ἑπτὰ θεάματα, δηλαδὴ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος εἰς τὴν Ἔφεσον*, &c. [25] *ρυζόγαλα*.

[26] *Σφακιανὸν τυρίον*, pronounced *Σφακιανὸ τυρί*. [27] *κρομμύδια*. [28] *κριθινὸ ψωμί*.

[29] *Νερό*. On the derivation of this word from the ancient *νηρὸς* or *ναρὸς*, the latter of which occurs in fragments of both Aeschylus and Sophocles, see Villoison, Histoire de l'Académie des Inscr. Tom. xxxviii. p. 63, (quoted by Hobhouse, Journey through Albania, Vol. ii. p. 1093. 2d ed.) and Lobeck, on Phrynichus, p. 42. In Lycophron, 896. *ἐν χθονὸς νηροῖς μυχοῖς*, most MSS. have *νειροῖς*, which is adopted by Bachmann. Professor Lobeck, l. c. mentions the modern Greek usage of *νερὸν* to defend the words of the Great Etymologicon, *καὶ ἴσως ἡ συνήθεια, τρεψαμένη τὸ ᾱ εἰς ᾰ, νερὸν λέγει*, against Pauw's unnecessary conjectural emendation. Koray, ATAKTA, Tom. iv. p. 349. after quoting Phrynichus, Hesychius, Photius, and the Etymologicon, says: *ἤκουσα Θέσσαλον νὰ τὸ προφέρῃ, ἀκόμη σήμερον, νηρόν*.



## CHAPTER IV.

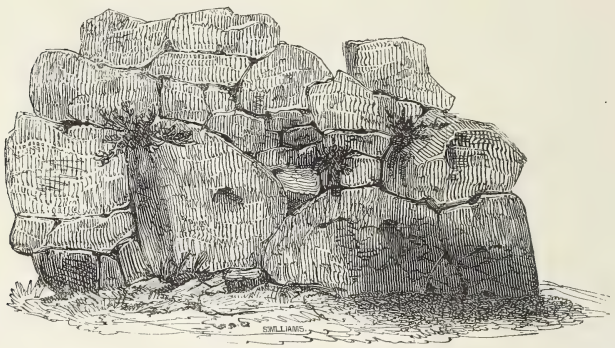
DESCRIPTION OF THE RUINS AT PALAEOKASTRON. DISCOVERY OF A SARCOPHAGUS, A STATUE, AND ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS. POLITICAL POWER OF THE CRETAN DEMOS. DETERMINATION OF THE SITES OF MINOA, AMPHIMALLA, APTERA, AND KISAMOS. LEGEND RESPECTING THE SIRENS AND THE MUSES, AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE ISLANDS LEUCAE WITH THE ROCKS OF SUDHA. ORIGIN OF THE ERROR RESPECTING THE SITE OF APTERA EXPLAINED. COINS OF APTERA. MOUNT BERECYNTHOS, AND METALLURGY OF THE IDAEAN DACTYLS.

*February* 17.

Early this morning I recommenced my examination of the ancient remains. The monastery is in the midst of them, and is not far from the centre of the ancient city. At a little distance to the south and south-west, I saw traces of two public buildings where several fragments of shafts of columns, one of which was fluted, were lying near the foundations of walls. To the north-east of the monastery like vestiges of another ancient

edifice are noticed: and a little to the eastward similar fragments of columns indicate the sites of three or four other buildings. Not far from these remains I found, on a subsequent visit to the spot, a theatre, which, not having been cut out of the living rock, as most of the Greek theatres are, had lost, as it seemed to me, about two-thirds of its original size, by the degradation of the soil above and around it: sufficient however remained to shew plainly that it was the theatre of the ancient city. To the north of the monastery, and at some little distance from it, near the edge of the descent towards the gulf, are several pieces of columns, one of marble, and two fragments of a bas-relief. Of the outer walls, on the southern and western sides of the city, I saw something last night. From an ancient entrance, which I then passed, on my way to the monastery, they extend about 600 paces towards the gulf, to the north-western point of the city: and, since they are on the brow of the hill, all the ground within their circuit is tolerably level. From the same entrance I also follow the wall in the eastern direction, in which I find that it runs about 240 paces, accommodating its course to the nature of the ground, and changing it so as to remain always close on the brow of the descent. This part was the best preserved: a piece of it was sketched, and is seen on the opposite page. After these 240 paces the ground is rocky, and the declivity of the hill becomes an escarpment, so that, perhaps, the wall was never continued any further. From the style of the remains I should suppose the construction of these walls to have taken place before the Roman conquest of the island. Returning now to the north-westerly point of the city, which is more than a mile further up the gulf than the islet of Súdha, I find the wall is continued, though but slight remains of it exist, right along in a direction parallel to the shore, and extending, I should think, near three quarters of a mile. Other traces of walls are also seen on the site, although

the ground offers no great difference of level. But the most remarkable object of this kind which I found, remains to be described: it is seen about half a mile to the north-east of the metókhi, and consists of considerable remains of walls, the stones of which are polygonal: their massiveness gives them almost as good a claim to admiration as those of Tiryns itself. This portion of them, of which I made a sketch, is nearly thirteen feet high.



Their thickness is about six feet, and the height of what now stands generally varies from three to twelve feet. They extend along the north-eastern side of the city, for about half a mile. Pococke seems to have observed these remains; and, I suppose, means to describe them when he says: "at the north end, which is the highest, there seems to have been a castle, and some walls of rusticated stone remain which are nine feet thick."

To the north-east and north of the metókhi is an extensive brick building consisting of numerous arches, some above ground and others below. Any vaulted building is called a *thólos* by the Greeks, and they took

me to one, under ground, which was plainly once a cistern: its width is 13 feet 8 inches, the present height to the spring of the arch 10 feet, and its length 36 feet. In the arch I observe an aperture, as is usual in buildings of this kind. I also notice near the entrance an earthen pipe, and, near the farther extremity, the mouth of a small aqueduct which is eighteen inches wide and almost as high. The walls are covered with a very hard cement: where they have lost this covering, we see the regular brickwork. I have no doubt, from the appearance of the ground outside about this cistern, that it formed one of several, which must have been necessary to ensure a supply of water to so considerable a city, through the long drought of a Grecian summer.

Pococke, in speaking of an arched building to the north-east of the metókhi, says: "it had some niches which seem to have been designed for statues; it appears as a rough building, though probably it has been cased." I quote him, since I wish to describe all that exists, and the niches escaped my notice. He also mentions the large cisterns "cased in fine brick" which exist to the west of the metókhi: but the finest and most perfectly preserved cisterns that I saw are only a few paces to the north-east of the house[1]. Their cement is nearly every where preserved, but sufficient has fallen off to shew that the walls are built of irregular small stones, faced with regular brick-work on which the plaster was laid. This was the commonest mode of building cisterns: I have seen many such: some at Priapos on the Hellespont, which, from all its remains, would seem to have flourished for several ages under the Roman Emperors.

Olivier searched in vain for marbles, inscriptions or bas-reliefs at this Palaeókastron. I was equally unfor-

[1] A sketch of one of the three arches, which form this reservoir, is given at the head of Chapter V, below p. 61.

tunate, on this my first visit to the site; but, on a subsequent occasion, I heard of an inscription, which was said to be on a stone inserted in the foundation of the wall of a modern building near the metókhi. After soil and rubbish had been cleared away, to the depth of about three feet, along the whole length of the wall, the inscription was once more brought to light. In order to copy it, I had to stand in the narrow trench, which the excavators had made, exposed to the intolerable heat of the mid-day sun[2]; and thus the difficulty and suffering of executing the task were considerable. The inscription is in Cretan Greek, and contains an entire decree of an ancient city:

ΑΓΑΘΑΙΤΥΧΑΙΕΔοΞΕ
ΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΑΜΩΙΚΛΗΣΘ..ΙΣΣΩ
ΣΩΕΙΠΕΑΝΤΙοΧοΝΚΑΙΛ..ΘοΚΛ
ΗΝΣΩΣΙΓΕΝΕοΣΙΕΡοΠοΛΙΤΑΣ
ΠΡοΞΕΝοΣΗΜΕΝΑΥΤοΣΚΑΙ
ΕΙΓοΝΑΥΠΑΧΕΝΔΕΑΥΤοΣΚΑΙ
ΙΣοΠοΛΙΤΕΙΑΝΚΑΙΓΑΣΚΑΙ....Σ
ΕΝ.ΤΗΣΙΙ.ΑΙΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΝ....Σ
ΑΓ..ΣΙΚΑΙΕΞΑΓΩΣΙΚΑΙ./¯Α
ΙΑΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΑ.ΑΛ...ΑΝΚ.Ι.Ν
ΠοΛΕΜΩΙΚΑΙΕΝΕΙΡΗΝΑ.ΣΥ..Ν
ΑΣΣ.οΝΔ[3]

[2] On the 15th of May. Instead of the horizontal bar of the A, two lines, including an angle somewhat greater than that at the apex of the letter, are used.

[3] With good Fortune! It is decreed (by the senate)
and the people, on the motion of Cleisthenes, the son of So-
..... that Antiochus and Agathocles,
sons of Sosigenes, Hieropolitans,
shall be proxeni, both themselves and
their descendants, and shall possess
isopolity, and the right of acquiring
land and houses, and freedom from duties
on the goods which they may import and export,
both by land and sea,
both in time of war and peace.

This interesting record was carelessly copied by Pococke[4], and its restoration has in consequence exercised the learning and ingenuity of several distinguished scholars[5]. Perhaps some of my readers may find it interesting to compare its final restoration, by Professor Boeckh, with my transcript[6].

In the same wall a second and similar inscription is also found. At first I hoped to have succeeded in decyphering it, although nearly all its letters were very faint. The heat, however, and the difficulty of getting at it, prevented me from doing so. I discerned that it also is a decree of the Demos, and that the name of the person on whose motion it was made is recorded in the usual way.

It appears clear from these inscriptions, and from another found at the Palaeókastron, in the district of Kísamos[7], in which the Demos is similarly mentioned, that, in the Cretan states, "the people" had duties to perform in the assembly as well as in the field. They were doubtless convened, not for the idle purpose of listening to the decrees of their aristocratic senate, but for that of expressing their dissent or assent with refer-

[4] POCOCKE, Inscriptiones Antiquae, P. I. c. 4. p. 43.

[5] J. M. Gessner, Neumann, C. O. Mueller, and Boeckh.

[6] Ἀ(γ)α(θᾷ τύχ)ᾳ, ἔδο(ξ)ε (τᾷ βουλᾷ)
καὶ τῷ δάμῳ, Κλησθ(έν)ης Σ(ω)
σ(ίν)ω ε(ἶπ)ε· Ἀντίοχον καὶ (Ἀγα)θοκ(λ)
ῆν Σωσιγένεος Ἱεροπολίτας
προξένος ἦμεν αὐτὸς καὶ
ἔ(κ)γονα, ὑπά(ρ)χεν δὲ αὐτο(ῖ)ς καὶ
ἰσοπολιτείαν καὶ (γ)ᾶς καὶ οἰκίας
ἔν(κ)τησιν, (κα)ὶ ἀτέλειαν (ὧν ἂν ε)ἰς-
άγ(ω)σι καὶ ἐξά(γ)ωσι καὶ κα(τ)ὰ
(γ)ᾶν καὶ κ(α)τὰ θά(λασσ)αν κ(α)ὶ ἐν
πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρ(ά)ν(ᾳ.)

The parts here included between brackets are all conjectural emendations due to the scholars of Germany. It will be observed that most of them restore the very letters which I copied from the stone. I should add that the sixth line of my transcript is taken from Pococke.

[7] POCOCKE, l. c. p. 43.

ence to what they heard, and of thus deciding the fate of every measure brought forward[8].

Near the monastery I also noticed a trough, and having elsewhere learnt that an old sarcophagus is frequently made thus to serve the living, now that it is no longer of any use for the dead[9], I examined it closely, and found recorded on it the name of a certain Phido the son of Phido:

ΝΦΕΙΔΩΝ ΦΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ

On one of the subsequent visits, to which I have already alluded, when the Isabella, tender to His Majesty's surveying-vessel Beacon, was remaining with me, I pointed out, for excavation, a spot to the south of the monastery; and, owing to the zeal with which the work was executed[10], an elegant little winged statue, standing on a sculptured pedestal, was found. Unfortunately the head of the youthful god is wanting. On either side of the neck we notice his long unshorn locks, and three little Loves, with torches in their hands, are disporting on the pedestal[11].

Buondelmonti was the first modern writer who visited this Palaeókastron. He travelled more than four hundred years ago, and, after landing at the saltpans now called Túzla, ascended to the ruins of this ancient city, which he supposed to be Minoa. The chief remains in his time, as now, were fragments of marble, and the

[8] See NEUMANN, Rerum Creticarum Specimen, Lib. II. c. v. p. 90. fol. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 74—82. But compare MUELLER, Dorier, Vol. II. p. 70. foll. and THIRLWALL, History of Greece, Vol. I. p. 286.

[9] At Tjardak on the Hellespont, the site, I have no doubt, of Lampsacus, and near Artáki, the Artace of Strabo, not far from the ancient Cyzicos, I have seen old sarcophaguses, some adorned with sculptures, others bearing inscriptions, thus employed. "To what vile uses may we come at last!"

[10] Under the superintendence of Mr T. Sibbald and Mr Aldridge, R. N.

[11] Since I wrote the above, the statue has arrived in England, with some other ancient marbles found in Greece, and all of which I had left at Malta.

very remarkable cisterns, of one of which he measured the dimensions[12].

Domenico Negri, whose work on Geography was published at Basle in the year 1557, and who mentions the extent of the existing remains, appears to have been the first person who, in a printed work, fixed on this place as the site of Minoa. In this opinion he followed Buondelmonti, whose then unpublished observations the Venetian geographer may perhaps have seen[13]. Cornaro, who quotes Negri, merely observes that Minoa was situated between Cydonia and Aptera, and thus places the latter city to the east of these remains. Not satisfied with establishing here the city of Minos, the old Venetian geographer proceeds to make use of what Strabo has said about Amnisos, which was on the north shore near Cnossos, and infers that a port belonging to Minos could not be far from the city Minoa, and that the site of Amnisos is therefore at Picórno, a place near Kalýves.

Neither of the early French travellers in Crete, Thevet and Belon, mentions these remains; and Tourne-

[12] BUONDELMONTI, in the Creta Sacra of CORNELIUS, Vol. I. p. 8. "In capite portus Salinae existunt, prope quas per duo milliaria ad Austrum civitas antiquissima Minoa in monte posita est, quae desolata tantum fragmenta marmorum et cisternas aliquas habet, quarum una in longitudine continet pedes XLV, in latitudine vero XVIII." Again p. 92, in the more detailed account of his Periplus, "Minoam antiquam in monte civitatem videmus. Accedo per duo ad summum milliaria ubi totam prosternatum inveni, ambulo in eam per segetes, et alta per medium marmorea saxa revolvo: conspicio Templa, ac moenia enumerare fatigo; dumque ego per inextricabiles pergerem herbas, inscius in maximas cisternas pedes devenerunt," &c. I need hardly observe, that in quoting Buondelmonti, I leave his Latin just as I find it. On this author may be consulted MAZZUCHELLI, Scrittori d'Italia, Tom. II. Parte IV. p. 2374. TIRABOSCHI, Storia della Lett. Ital. Tom. VI. Parte I. p. 215. and Parte II. p. 788.

[13] DOMINICUS NIGER, in Comment. Europae, XI. p. 347. "Statim flectitur litus sinum efficiens Amphimalim quondam, nunc Sudam planitie undique stratum. Ubi paulo a mari in collibus, qui campum ad occasum terminant, urbs Minoa fuit, quod antiqui operis fragmenta late intuentibus indicant, diciturque nunc locus Palaeocastrum, id est vetus castellum." As to the question whether Negri availed himself of Buondelmonti's writings, see SINNER, on Bondelmontii Insulae Archipelagi, pp. 13 and 185.

fort, who does speak of them, does not seem to have thought them worth an examination. Our countryman Pococke visited the spot and has described them with some accuracy. He agrees with Tournefort and the older authors in supposing the site to be Minoa, bringing forward as a reason, that "according to Ptolemy it was the nearest place to the promontory of Drepanum on the west side;" a poor foundation for the opinion that Palaeókastro, which is rather on what Pococke himself supposes to be the old cape Drepanon than to the west of it, is the ancient Minoa, which Ptolemy places to the west of the promontory. That this is really the promontory in question is sufficiently proved by the identity of its ancient name with that of the modern village on its eastern side[14], and therefore it would seem likely that the situation of Minoa was somewhere near Túzla, at the head of the bay of Súdha, on the edge of the great plain of Cydonia; or, as will soon appear to be still more probable, on the opposite Akrotéri.

I should not stop to notice Olivier's[15] superficial account of this Palaeókastron, which, following Dapper[16], he called the site of Amphimalla[17], had not more learned and distinguished authors promulgated the same erroneous notion respecting it. D'Anville calls the gulf of Súdha "Amphimalia[18]," and Professor Hoeck[19] arrives at the conclusion that these ruins indicate the site of Amphimalla, as the result of his examination of the

[14] Τὸ Δρέπανο is the name of both the village and promontory.

[15] Olivier, Voyage dans l'empire Othoman, Tom. II. p. 293.

[16] Dapper, Description exacte des Isles de l'Archipel, p. 396.

[17] In the orthography of Amphimalla I follow Meursius, Creta, pp. 19 and 55. Tzschucke, on Strabo, Tom. IV. p. 225.

[18] D'Anville, Orbis Romani Pars Orientalis, Paris, 1764; and Geographie Ancienne Abrégée, (Oeuvres, Tom. II. p. 190. ed. Paris, 1834.) He says nothing of this site, but merely identifies the modern gulf of Súdha with the ancient one of Amphimalla, as Coronelli too does in his Isolario, where he adds that it was believed "che nel più intimo recesso di questo (golfo), dove hora sono alcune saline, fosse la detta città fondata."

[19] Hoeck's Kreta, Vol. I. pp. 386, 7.

ancient authorities. The question is therefore entitled to a careful consideration.

Supposing Amphimalla to have been here, it becomes necessary, doubtless, to remove Cape Drepanon elsewhere; for the promontory is placed at some distance to the west of Amphimalla, by Ptolemy. Professor Hoeck, therefore, finding the name of the cape, on some old charts, in an Italianized form, "Ponta di Trapani," and observing the same appellation given to other headlands in Crete, inferred that the promontory so designated need not be the same with the ancient Drepanon; which he, therefore, supposed to have been the Akrotéri: and, having followed Pococke and Olivier in fixing Cydonia on the lower slopes of the White Mountains, placed Minoa, in accordance with Ptolemy's indication of its position westward of the promontory, on the site of the modern Khaniá[20].

I find however that here Boschini uses the term, "Ponta di Drapano," which has a closer resemblance to the ancient name than Greek words generally possess on coming out of an Italian or French crucible; and I believe that the Ponta di Trapani, which is elsewhere found on Venetian charts of Crete, is an appellation unknown to the inhabitants of the island. But, whether or not the term, by which some Italians have thought proper to designate the promontory, may have been derived from the ancient Drepanon is a question of infinitely little importance; for the old name has been indisputably preserved unchanged, and is still the only one used by all the Cretans.

Ptolemy mentions four promontories as found on the north coast, in these western parts of Crete: Corycos and Psacon, Cyamon and Drepanon: and on looking at the map, we see at once the four capes which he must have designated by those names. The first two are undoubtedly the modern Cape Grabúsa and Cape Spádha;

[20] Hoeck, l. c. p. 385.

the fourth of them alone preserves its ancient name; and Cyamon, the remaining promontory of the old geographer, is therefore the Akrotéri[21]. Mr Hoeck's supposition that the Akrotéri was Drepanon, had made him absolutely eliminate this Cape Cyamon from his map of Crete.

This part then of Professor Hoeck's argument, which forced him to consider the modern Akrotéri as the ancient Drepanon, is answered. He next quotes the passage of Strabo, which appears to prove that in a certain part, where the island is only a hundred stades broad, Amphimalla is situated on the northern shore, and Phoenix of the Lampaeans on the southern; and hence infers that Amphimalla was situated on the bay of Súdha, assuming the island to be narrower here than it is between Armyró and the south coast[22].

In the maps of both Boschini[23] and D'Anville[24], this narrowest part of Crete is rightly represented as between the Sfakian coast and Armyró: and the point is made still clearer on inspecting Lapie.

The passage in Strabo therefore proves that Amphimalla, if opposite to Phoenix, as he puts it, and serving

[21] The argument seems sufficiently clear as I have put it, although it may perhaps be still more plainly stated. The only capes between Rhíthymnos and Cape Spádha are Dhrépano and Akrotéri, and those spoken of by Ptolemy, between the same limits, are Drepanon and Cyamon, of which Cyamon is to the westward of the other, as the Akrotéri is west of Dhrépano. Ptolemy's order in speaking of the river Pycnos, the Cydonians, and the Cape, the three things mentioned by him between Minoa and Dictamnon, seems to have been altered by copyists. I feel no doubt that it ought to be Μινώα. Κύαμον ἄκρον. Κυδωνεῖς. Πυκνοῦ ποτ. ἐκβολαί. Δίκτάμνον, an alteration effected by merely making the cape and river change places. We shall find some other instances where Ptolemy's text has undoubtedly suffered by similar transpositions of copyists, e.g. Panormos and Poecilasion.

[22] Strabo, x. p. 475. Τὸ δὲ ἔνθεν ἰσθμός ἐστιν ὡς ἑκατὸν σταδίων, ἔχων κατοικίαν πρὸς μὲν τῇ βορείῳ θαλάττῃ, Ἀμφίμαλλαν· πρὸς δὲ τῇ νοτίῳ Φοίνικα τὸν Λαμπαίων (vulgo τῶν Λαμπέων).

[23] Boschini, Il regno tutto di Candia delineato, ec. ec. da Marco Boschini, Venetiano, 1651.

[24] D'Anville, Les Côtes de la Grèce et l'archipel, 1756, Paris. The physical feature in question is the same in his Orbis Romani pars Orientalis.

to indicate an "isthmus of the island," could not have been to the west of the place which is now called Armyró: and consequently we have positive authority for placing it several miles to the east of this Palaeókastro.

I will endeavour to make the point still clearer. Undoubtedly Strabo in speaking of this "isthmus" did not mean to designate a part, where not only do the snow-clad summits of the White Mountains oppose an impassable barrier to all direct communication between the two shores, but where the island is also considerably wider than it is between Armyró and the town of Sfakiá. Another fact, perhaps the most important of all, for the decision of the point, is that the only road which can ever have led from the neighbourhood of Súdha to the southern shore, must have passed by the defile of Askýfo and Nípro, the former of which places is about ten miles from the head of the gulf of Armyró, and is nearly twice as far from that of Súdha. Thus Fránko-Kástello, and the towns both of Sfakiá and Lutró, on the south coast, are all evidently much nearer to Armyró than they are to Súdha; and therefore, if, instead of supposing, with most modern geographers, the port Phoenix to have been near Fránko-Kástello, we place it as far to the west as Lutró, the isthmus spoken of will still be between it and the gulf of Armyró, rather than that of Súdha.

Even in the absence of any authority on the subject, I think there would be another objection equally fatal to Professor Hoeck's hypothesis. Amphimalla was a town at most of only third or fourth rate importance; is not known to have struck coins, as was done by at least thirty cities in the island; is connected with no myth, which might indicate its high antiquity; and is not mentioned as existing in the times of Greek history: while the ruins of Palaeókastron shew that its establishment belongs to the very earliest period of civilization; and that, after flourishing through ages of republican

freedom and prosperity, it remained a great and populous city even under the Roman empire.

It is evident therefore that the opinions of the writers who have supposed the ruins of Palaeókastron to be those of Minoa or Amphimalla, are untenable: and it remains for us to determine to what Cretan city they do belong. Strabo alone made me suppose that this city was Aptera, even before I visited the site: the fact that half the coins found in digging on the spot are coins of Aptera; and the extent and variety of the remains, answering so well to the mention of that city in old legends, and to the unvarying notice of it in every ancient author who treats of Crete, from Scylax and Strabo to Hierocles and the Geographer of Ravenna, confirmed me in my opinion.

Whatever were the situations of Polyrrhenia and Aptera, it appears certain that Cydonia was between them, for Strabo[25] fixes the boundaries of Cydonia, both on the east and west, by telling us that "it is distant 80 stades from Aptera and 40 stades from the sea there[26]. The port of Aptera is Kisamos. To the westward conterminous with the Cydonians are the Polyrrhenians, in whose district is the temple of Dictynna: and who are distant about 30 stades from the sea, and 60 from Phalasarna. They dwelt in villages formerly, but afterwards the Achaeans and Laconians settled among them, having fortified a strong place looking towards the south." Now Cydonia, the position of which has been already determined[27], was about nine miles from the site of the Palaeókastro, and almost half as far from the head of the great bay of Súdha: distances which answer to the 80 and 40 stades of the geographer. Strabo's language precludes all possibility of our supposing Aptera to have

[25] STRABO, x. p. 479.

[26] STRABO, l. c. Ἀπτέρας δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα· τῆς ταύτῃ δὲ θαλάττης τεσσαράκοντα. The vignette at the head of Chapter III, taken from the site of Aptera, shews the bay in question, and, in the distance, the neighbourhood and gulf of Cydonia.

[27] Above, pp. 12—16.

existed any where to the west of Cydonia: while Kisamos, according to the Peutinger table, was XXXII miles to the eastward of that city[28].

I, therefore, suppose that there were two ancient Cretan cities called Kisamos, of which the port of Aptera must have been in the plain of Apokórona, on the shore at or near Kalýves[29], where I was told that ancient ruins exist[30]. Although the visible remains thus spoken of may be merely those of a middle-age fortress, yet there is another reason to be mentioned for believing that the hill on which they are found is the ancient site in question. On looking at the coast, near Kalýves, we find an admirable little port, fully adequate to receive the small vessels of the ancients, just below the site of the Venetian fortress[31]; the situation of which on a steep hill near the shore, is one in which ancient cities are very commonly found. The construction of the Venetian castle, has, in all probability, caused the disappearance of any vestiges which might have indicated the existence of the ancient city on the spot.

Pliny's authority is not very great; but it is worth while to observe that his speaking of Apteron as a maritime place agrees, as well as an expression not strictly true can agree, with the fact. We see that, though Aptera was four miles distant from the town which served it as a port, it was not half as far from the sea.

[28] TABULA ITINERARIA PEUTINGERIANA, Segm. VIII. Lips. 1824.

[29] Καλύβαις the common modern Greek plural for καλύβαι. The name belonged to an ancient town in Thrace: see STEPHANUS BYZANT. v. Καλύβη. There are several villages called Kalývia in Greece, as the Kalývia of Lekhúri, near the remains of Psophis, the Kalývia of Zákhuli, and the Aianítika-Kalývia: see LEAKE, Morea, Vol. II. p. 252, and p. 485, Vol. III. p. 386. We also find them elsewhere in Crete.

[30] Εἶναι Ἑλληνικὸς τόπος τζὴ Καλύβαις, εἰς τὸ Καστέλι, were my informant's words: the expression used, εἰς τὸ Καστέλι, sufficiently indicate the remains in question to be those of the Venetian fort "Castel Apicorona," which is situated a little to the east of Kalýves (see Boschini's Map, No. 11).

[31] BOSCHINI, the maps numbered 11 and 12.

The old legend of the Sirens and the Muses, which was probably invented, as well as the myth about a King Apteras[32], the founder of the city, to make out an etymology of Aptera[33], will also help us in determining its position. Stephanus of Byzantium[34] tells us that

[32] EUSEBIUS mentions Apteras, and PAUSANIAS, x. p. 810, speaks of a King Pteras, accounts which, says Holstein in his commentary on Stephanus Byzantinus, procul dubio fabulis praeponenda sunt, considering in the spirit of his age, Apteros as a historical personage, and the poor Muses and Sirens as less entitled to our belief in their having had a real existence than the mythical king. PARTHENIUS, Erotic. Cap. XXXV. tells a story of Eulimene, the daughter of Cydon, who was promised in marriage by her father to Apteros *πρωτεύοντι τότε Κρητῶν*, while Lycastos was her favoured lover. An oracle bids Cydon *τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἥρωσι σφαγιάσαι παρθένον*, and the lot falls on his own daughter. Hereupon Lycastos *δείσας περὶ αὐτῆς, μηνύει τὴν φθοράν, καὶ ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου συνείη αὐτῇ*. She was adjudged to be so much the more worthy of death. Apteros avenged himself on Lycastos by waylaying and slaying him. Pausanias's Pteras is made a Cretan by Mons. Raoul Rochette, of which more a few pages further on.

[33] The English reader may refer to Mr THIRLWALL's observations on the usage, among the ancient Greeks, of tracing the names of cities and nations to individuals, and thus "obtaining an object for the imagination to deal with in the room of an abstract term," in the Philological Museum. Vol. I. pp. 326, 7; also History of Greece, Vol. I. p. 79. We shall find several instances in Crete, in some of which it will appear, that the same mythical etymology has been suggested by the common name of places existing in different districts widely apart from one another.

[34] STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *Ἄπτερα, πόλις Κρήτης, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Μουσῶν καὶ Σειρήνων ἔριδος, τῆς ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ, πλησίον τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, τόπῳ τοιῶσδε καλουμένῳ γενομένης· ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μουσικῇ νίκην τῶν Μουσῶν αἱ Σειρῆνες δυσφοροῦσαι τὰ πτερὰ τῶν ὤμων ἀπέβαλον, καὶ λευκαὶ γενόμεναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐνέβαλον ἑαυτάς· ὅθεν ἡ πόλις Ἄπτερα, αἱ δὲ πλησίον νῆσοι Λευκαί*. These Sirens are mentioned in the Odyssey XII. 39 fol. as simply of the human form, and they are thus represented on several funeral urns found in cities of Etruria: see GORI, Mus. Etrusc. Vol. I. Tab. 147. and Vol. II. p. 279. They are spoken of as winged by EURIPIDES, Helen. 167. and Fragm. CLIV. and were generally so represented by artists, who also gave them the thighs and legs of birds: see HEYNE, Exc. VII. on Aen. III. This contest, between these winged half-bird Goddesses and the Muses, forms the subject of two monuments of ancient art. The first is a fragment published by WINCKELMANN, Monumenti Antichi inediti, No. 46, and the second, in which the victorious Muses are represented as stripping the vanquished Sirens of their wings, is engraved and illustrated in Mr MILLINGEN's Ancient unedited Monuments, Series II, Pl. XV. p. 28, fol. AUSONIUS also, Griphus ternarii numeri, v. 21, alludes to the contest:

Tres

"Aptera derived its name from the contest which took place between the Muses and the Sirens in a place called the Museion, near the city and the sea: and where, after the victory of the Muses in music, the Sirens lost the feathers of their wings from their shoulders, and, when they had thus become white, cast themselves into the sea: whence the city was called Aptera and the neighbouring islands Leucae." Now the island nearest to Cydonia would be only eight or nine miles from Aptera, if that city was near Súdha, and would be more than thrice that distance from the inland city near the western coast[35]. But I think it clear that we have nothing to do with either of those islands on the present occasion, although most modern geographers are unanimous in considering them as the Leucae of the ancients. Let us see what the old authors say. Pliny's account is that as a person sails from west to east he finds, opposite to Cydonia, three islands, "Leuce, and the two Budroae[36]." He puts the two Budroae, which may be the site of the old Venetian lazaret, and the island of Hághios Theódhoros, after Leuce, which I take for the rock on which

> Tres volucres, tres semideae, tres semipuellae
> Ter tribus ad palmam jussis certare Camoenis,
> Ore, manu, flatu: buxo, fide, voce canentes.

The Sirens were represented on the hand of an ancient statue of Here, made by Pythodoros the Theban, and seen at Coronea by Pausanias, who says that Here persuaded them to enter into their fatal contest with the Muses: PAUSANIAS, IX. p. 778. Ἥρας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα ἀρχαῖον, Πυθοδώρου τέχνη Θηβαίου· φέρει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ Σειρῆνας. τὰς γὰρ δὴ Ἀχελώου θυγατέρας ἀναπεισθείσας φασὶν ὑπὸ Ἥρας καταστῆναι πρὸς τὰς Μούσας ἐς ᾠδῆς ἔργον.

[35] MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Tom. VIII. p. 724, appears to have seen, that this legend could not well be reconciled with the supposition that Aptera was so far to the west of Cydonia, opposite to which these islands Leucae lay. Yet he had no glimmering of the truth, and concluded that Pococke, he might have said Tournefort, or the geographers who preceded him, had probably found the true site of Aptera at the western Palaeókastro.

[36] PLINY, N. H. IV. 20. Reliquae circa eam: ante Peloponnesum duae Coricae, totidem Mylae; et latere septemtrionali, dextra Cretam habenti, contra Cydoniam Leuce, et duae Budroae.

the fortress of Súdha is built, just as he speaks of the islands opposite Phalasarna, after the Coricae, the two Grabúsas. I also find much more conclusive testimony than this of Pliny to the point in question.

In a passage of the anonymous Coast-describer, published by Iriarte[37], which has given no little trouble to those French critics who have attempted to correct it, we are told, that from Cydonia to Aspera was 150 stades coasting along, and 120 stades by land. Now the Akrotéri projects sufficiently to cause this difference of distance, according as we come by land or sea from Khaniá to this Palaeókastron; and undoubtly Aptera was the word used by the author. When he adds that the islands are situated by a place called Minoa, it makes one suppose that city to have been on the Akrotéri, opposite the rocks of Súdha, and near the Porto Novo, or Porto

[37] See above, p. 14. His words are: Ἀπὸ Κυδωνίας εἰς Ἀσπέραν περιπλέεται σταδ. ρν'. πεζῇ δὲ μίλια ρκ'· ὁ τόπος Μίνω καλεῖται, εἰς ὃν κεῖνται νῆσοι τρεῖς, αἳ καλοῦνται Λευκαί. We shall unhesitatingly read Ἀπτέραν for Ἀσπέραν, and στάδια for μίλια. The conjectures of the French scholars are varied: one would read ἐσπέραν: another explains the text by supposing a Roman word to have been used in its Roman sense, and to be even peculiarly applicable to a place situated on this *asperous* promontory! A third would read Ἄσπραν, a word of common use in modern Greek, and corresponding to the old λευκήν, being derived, it has been said, from the use of asper in the phrase *asperi* nummi by the Romans, or, more probably, from the old Greek word ἄσπιλος, which when rapidly pronounced, according to accent, differs scarcely at all from ἄσπλος, and the well known peculiarity of the Doric dialect, and a common modern change, which, as we shall find, is very prevalent in some parts of Crete, shews how easily ἄσπλος and ἄσπρος might be changed. This last conjecture, Ἄσπραν, was conceived to be peculiarly happy, since it corresponded with both the name of the island (Λευκὴ) to its north, and that of the mountains (τὰ λευκὰ ὄρη) to its south: and it must be owned to be almost as amusing as that of the geographer Vadianus, who, writing early in the sixteenth century, derived the name of the chief town Candia, from these white mountains. "Urbe metropolitana quae eo quo et insula nomine Candia dicitur, fortassis à candore deducto vocabulo, quandoquidem, Strabone teste, ejus montes occidui λευκοί hoc est albi sive candidi, dicuntur." VADIANUS, Epitome, p. 479. ed. Sangall. 1534. MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Tom. VIII. p. 695, who rightly places the islands Leucae at Súdha, following the Stadiasmus, did not at all suspect Aspera, and thought the Latin word a plain indication of the age of the writer.

Lutráki of Boschini[38], a supposition perfectly in accordance with all that we know of its position; and it also seems, when added to the other considerations, most satisfactorily to decide that Súdha and the islet near it are the Leucae of the ancients.

This removes a difficulty from the story about the Sirens, who could hardly have been supposed to have taken so long a leap as they must have done to reach either of the spots west of Cydonia, and here therefore was it believed that they cast themselves into the sea, and were changed into the islands.

According to many authors there were three of these Sirens, and the rocks near Capreae, which derived their name[39] from the same imaginary beings, were three in number. Nevertheless we have no need of a third islet here[40], for two Sirens alone are spoken of by both Homer[41] and Sophocles[42].

I hope my reader is, by this time, as thoroughly convinced as I am sure he must be tired by this discussion. It rests however for us to see how the numerous remains found at Palaeókastro, near the western extremity of the island, can have been supposed to belong to Aptera. Tournefort describes them as "sur une roche escarpée et fortifiée par la nature;" just the place which Strabo mentions as having been occupied and fortified by the Achaeans and Laconians, after they settled among the *Polyrrhenians*. Moreover these re-

[38] Boschini, the Maps numbered 8 and 10. Porto Novo is just opposite the "Fortezza" of Súdha, and Porto Lutraki is opposite the other chief island, which he calls Marati.

[39] See Tzschucke, on Pomponius Mela, Vol. III. Part II. p. 418. Virgil, Aen. v. 864.

Jamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat;
Difficiles quondam, multorumque ossibus albos.

[40] Three are spoken of in the Periplus: there is however only one, besides the rock of Súdha, which can well be called even an islet, as may be seen in Boschini.

[41] Odyssey, XII. 167. and the observation of Eustathius.

[42] Sophocles, Fr. Inc. LXX, according to the certain emendation of Prof. Lobeck, Comment. on Soph. Aj. v. 802.

mains are situated about three miles from the northern sea, and six from considerable ruins of the ancient town of Phalasarna, the port of Polyrrhenia, which are found at a place called Kutrí on the western coast. Here then are the very distances of Polyrrhenia, as given by Strabo, both from its port and from the northern sea: and one only wonders that Tournefort should have sought to learn the ancient name of Palaeókastron from the poor Greeks of the village[43], instead of opening his eyes and his Strabo, and comparing what he had actually before him with what he read; in which case he would certainly have found it no difficult matter to discover the truth. As it was, he may have been misled by the supposition of several modern geographers[44] that Aptera was situated near the village of Kísamo, which he had passed on the northern shore; and thus he inferred at once, that the remains, seen at Palaeókastron in that neighbourhood, were those of Aptera. Some later writers have even gone so far as to give the name of Aptera to that village of Palaeókastron[45]. Pococke too no sooner found this Kísamos, near which some remains of antiquity do undoubtedly exist, than he observed, as the French naturalist had done before him, "it was the port of the ancient city Aptera, which is about five miles distant to the south-south-east." He then proceeds: "Polyrrhenia was another inland city five miles more

[43] TOURNEFORT's words (Tom. I. p. 80.) are: "Le 26 Juillet nous allâmes aux ruines de Paleocastro, ou Château vieux, selon le grec vulgaire. *Les gens du pays ignorent son ancient nom:* il est pourtant à croire que c'étoit la ville d'Aptere, puisque Strabon avance que Chisamo en étoit l'arsenal et le port: en effet Chisamo est un port de mer," etc.

[44] DOMINICUS MARIUS NIGER, (p. 348. ed. Basil. 1557.) "In cujus parte intima Cisamopolis est, emporium Apterae, quod castrum Chisamum hodie ab incolis nuncupatur." FERRARIUS, Lexic. Geograph. v. Cisamus. "Chisamopoli Soph. al. Chisamo, urb. Episc. Cretae in ora littorea Boreali apud oram occid. pene deserta, ab Apteria 40 stad. a Cydone fere 20 mil. pass. n occ." So too ANDREA CORNARO, in CORNELIUS, Cret. Sacr. Tom. I. p. 123, and, I believe, every one who has since written on the subject.

[45] GUSSEME, Diccionario Numismatico generale, Tom. I. p. 238. Es la que al presente se llama: *Atteria ó Paleocastro.* His assertion is repeated by RASCHE, Lexic. Univ. rei numar. Tom. I. 976.

south than Aptera, and, according to Ptolemy, forty minutes of longitude more to the west, which seems too much[46]." It is indeed too much, for if the Polyrrhenians had lived so far to the westward of the place which he took for Aptera, they would have been more than twenty miles out at sea! The distance, according to Ptolemy, between the two cities, is about that between the two Palaeókastros.

It seems quite evident that there must have been *two* maritime towns called Kisamos. Long after my conviction that Aptera stood on the hill near Súdha, I feared that some persons might think the necessity of thus supposing two cities of this same name to have existed in Crete, a necessity which was evidently forced upon me, a serious obstacle in the way of my hypothesis: and since there is no doubt that the Kisamos adjoining on the Polyrrhenian territory did exist in ancient times, I was delighted to find my two cities both inserted in the Peutinger Table, one of them eight miles to the eastward of Cydonia, and the other 32 miles to the westward: distances which completely agree with all that has been here advanced. D'Anville, supposing like every body else, that Aptera was near the western Kisamos, proposed to suppress the second town of the same name in the ancient Table[47], where I, after long believing in the city's existence, was so glad to find it appear.

A long passage of an old geographer[48] strikingly confirms the views here taken of the situations of Polyr-

[46] Pococke, Vol. II. Part I. p. 246, fol.

[47] D'Anville, Analyse de la carte intitulée Les côtes de la Grèce et l' Archipel. (Paris 1757.) p. 57. Quoiqu'il y ait une correction à faire, parce qu'il y a une répétition de Cisamus à supprimer dans la table: D'Anville, Oeuvres, Tom. II. p. 190.

[48] Scylax, p. 18. Huds. After enumerating Phalasarna and Polyrrhenia, the Dictynnaean temple of Artemis, the Pergamian district, and Hyrtacina, he mentions Cydonia, and the inland city Elyros, with a place beyond it to the south: he then says: "*πρὸς βορέαν δὲ ἄνεμον ὄρος κάλλιστον καὶ λιμὴν ἐν αὐτῷ*, 'ΟΛΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝ *πρὸς βορέαν δὲ ἀνύα πτερέα χώρα*: the *ὄρος κάλλιστον*, if that part of the passage is in its right place in the author's text, seems to denote the mountain Berecynthos or Maláxa, and

rhenia, Cydonia and Aptera, and will hereafter be useful in determining the position of other cities in these western parts of the island.

A few of the coins of this city, which, found as they were at Palaeókastro, confirmed me in my opinion respecting its position, deserve a little consideration. The first represents, on the obverse, an aged head of a bearded god or hero, and, on the reverse, a bee with the first four letters of the city's name. Some of my readers may call to mind the miserable etymological myth which Pausanias has recorded respecting the building of Apollo's Delphian temple by a King Pteras[49]. There is however no discoverable mythical connexion between this royal personage and the Apteros of the Cretan city[50]; so that we may very safely infer that the head on this coin is not that of Pteras, and that the reverse is not at all allusive to the wax and wings of bees, with which Apollo's temple was said to have been constructed. The head on the obverse is, in all likelihood, designed for that of Zeus: and the bee is found on coins of other cities, where it can only remind us of the Cretan honey, one of the most famous productions of the island, both in ancient and modern times. A second coin, with a lyre on its reverse, might allude to the other story told to explain the origin of the name of Aptera; but, since a laurelled youthful head on its obverse appears to be that of Apollo himself, we should hardly be warranted

and the λιμὴν the bay of Súdha: the concluding words were, in all probability, πρὸς βορέαν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡ Ἀπτεραία χώρα. Scylax then proceeds: Εἶτα ἡ Λαμπαία καὶ διήκει αὕτη ἀμφοτέρωθεν, words which alone would lead us to fix Lampe, or Lappa, to the east, and Cydonia to the west, of Aptera. As to the manifest corruption ὀλοῦς καὶ πᾶν, it is sufficient to observe, that Olus was very far to the east of both Aptera and Lappa, and that Scylax can never have placed it in the immediate neighbourhood of those cities.

[49] PAUSANIAS, X. p. 810.

[50] With whom he is confounded by PAUSANIAS, l. c. Ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ Πτερᾶ καὶ πόλιν Κρητικὴν προσθήκῃ γράμματος Ἀπτεραίους φασὶν ὀνομάζεσθαι: and by M. RAOUL-ROCHETTE, Histoire de l'établissement des colonies Grecques, Tom. II. p. 164. fol. See Professor HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 169.

in depriving him of his lyre. The use of A instead of E in the name of this city, on most of the coins, is a well-known dorism, and the coins on which the word is spelt with an E are rarer, and therefore more valuable, than the others[51].

On other coins of Aptera, which I found on its site, a bow is represented. As early as the time of the war between the Lacedaemonians and the Messenians under Aristomenes, the events of which were celebrated by a Cretan poet[52], we find mention made of bowmen of Aptera, who served with the Lacedaemonians, under Euryalus the Spartan, and materially contributed to the successful termination of the contest[53].

The position of Aptera being once settled we shall soon determine that of Berecynthos, one of the most celebrated mountains of Crete, which even Tournefort, although he had succeeded in finding Aptera close to the remains of Phalasarna, had to regret his inability to recognize among the mountains of the Dictynnaean chain; less bold than a later writer[54], who tells us, that the scene of the discoveries and labours of the Idaean Dactyls is identically the same mountain as received its name from Dictynna, although the two are confounded by no ancient author, and the legends connected with them are very distinct. The hypothesis advanced by Professor Hoeck[55], would save one all

[51] On these coins of Aptera consult PELLERIN, Recueil de médailles de peuples et de villes, Tom. III. p. 60. ECKHEL, Doctrina Numorum Veterum, Vol. II. p. 304. Numi Veteres Anecdoti, p. 143. The Lexicons of GUSSEME and RASCHE, already referred to: COMBE, Mus. Hunter. p. 143. the NUMI MUSEI BRITANNICI, p. 144. MIONNET, Tom. II. p. 261. and Supplement, Tom. IV. p. 304. and SESTINI, in many parts of his voluminous works.

[52] RHIANUS, of Bene in the neighbourhood of Gortyna.

[53] PAUSANIAS, IV. pp. 329 and 326. Professor Hoeck, however, considers, with great probability, that this presence of Cretan bowmen is only the poetry of Rhianus, and not the truth of history: HOECK'S Kreta, Vol. III. p. 461.

[54] CRAMER, Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 379. "Mount Berecynthus, which Diodorus names as being in this vicinity, (that is, in the vicinity of Aptera,) is the Dictynnaeus of Pliny and others."

[55] HOECK'S Kreta, Tom. I. p. 280.

trouble in looking for Mount Berecynthos, since he denies that any such mountain ever existed in Crete in really ancient times. For my own part I do not believe that Diodorus of Sicily, who says distinctly that there was such a mountain "in the district of the Apteraeans", could well be mistaken about the matter: and it is not surprising that, like the Cretan Ida, Berecynthos also had a Phrygian name. Giving credit therefore to Diodorus for speaking of a well-known mountain called Berecynthos, I at once see that it is the modern Maláxa[56]; which is of a considerable elevation, even high enough to have, not unfrequently, a sprinkling of snow on its summit, for a few days in the month of December or January. Its basis is granitic and schistose[57], although its upper strata seem to be calcareous, if what I saw in the tombs near Aptera, which is situated on a ridge of the very mountain, may be taken as a specimen of them. Thus its formation answers the requisite geological conditions[58] for the existence of metallic veins in the mountain, if we are to suppose that here fire was first used, and brass and iron first discovered and bestowed on man by the Idean Dactyls[59].

[56] The name of Maláxa has been transferred under the corrupted form of Maleka, Malek, or Malier, to the Akroteri. Of this every author who has written on Crete will furnish examples. It is hardly necessary to add, that no such transfer of name has been made by the Cretans.

[57] This was observed by OLIVIER, Voyage, etc. Tom. II. p. 285.

[58] Professor Hoeck supposed this mountain to be solely calcareous, and to be near the site which has been already shewn to belong not to Aptera but to Polyrrhenia: see HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 280. Preface to Vol. II. p. IX. "*Dem aeltern Mythus fiel es nicht ein, Dactylen in den Westen Kreta's, auf einen erzlosen Kreideberg zu versetzen.*"

[59] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 64. Οἱ δ' οὖν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι παραδέδονται τήν τε τοῦ πυρὸς χρῆσιν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου φύσιν ἐξευρεῖν τῆς Ἀπτεραίων χώρας περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Βερέκυνθον. The present reading τῆς Ἀπτεραίων χώρας has been adopted on the authority of MSS. The old reading, τῆς Ἀντισαπτεραίων χώρας, was emended ἐν τῇ Ἀπτεραίων χώρᾳ by MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 84. These Idaean Dactyls are spoken of as Cretans by several writers, as STRABO, X. p. 473. (compare XIV. p. 654.) Τοὺς γοῦν πρώτους γεννηθέντας ἐν Κρήτῃ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους κληθῆναι: and APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, I. 1127.

Οἱ

Before bidding farewell to Aptera, it seems worth while to say something more about Drepanon. The name is not peculiar to this Cretan promontory, but was given to other places which were also supposed to resemble the form of a sickle. It is uncertain whether Ovid alludes to the Sicilian city of this name, or to Messene, which was anciently called Zancle[60], when he says[61],

Quique locus curvae nomina falcis habet.

Natural and obvious as this etymology is, it did not satisfy the Greeks; and the fable respecting the mutilation of Uranos, by the iron weapon of Kronos, which is said to have been made by the Idaean Dactyls[62], is gravely referred to by ancient authors, as the true origin of the names of the Cretan Drepanon[63], of Drepane in Bithynia[64], and of the Sicilian city[65].

The same legend is told respecting the cause of the ancient name of Corcyra[66], by Timaeus and Apollonius

Οἱ μοῦνοι πολλῶν μοιραγέται ἠδὲ πάρεδροι
Μητέρος Ἰδαίης κεκλήαται, ὅσσοι ἔασι
Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαῖοι Κρηταιέες, οὕς ποτε Νύμφη
Ἀγχιάλη Δικταῖον ἀνὰ σπέος, ἀμφοτέρῃσι
Δραξαμένη γαίης Οἰαξίδος, ἐβλάστησε.

This writer seems to find no difficulty in placing Mount Dicte, which was between Itanos and Hierapytna, and its supposed Idaean Dactyls, in the neighbourhood of Axos, not far from the middle of the island; somewhere about half-way between Mounts Berecynthos and Dicte. On the alleged Cretan origin of the Idaean Dactyls, consult Professor LOBECK'S admirable work, Aglaophamus, p. 1157. fol. where he arrives at the conclusion, p. 1161. that the *more ancient* authorities are unanimous in speaking of them as Phrygians. See also HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 283.

[60] THUCYDIDES, VI. 4. Ζάγκλη ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικελῶν κληθεῖσα, ὅτι δρεπανοειδὲς τὴν ἰδέαν τὸ χωρίον ἐστί.

[61] OVID, Fasti IV. 474.

[62] STRABO, XIV. p. 654. Καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἅρπην τῷ Κρόνῳ δημιουργῆσαι.

[63] I cannot at this moment lay my finger on the passage, which, however, I have certainly somewhere read.

[64] STEPHANUS BYZANT. Δρεπάνη—τῆς δὲ Βιθυνίας φασὶν ὠνομάσθαι, ὅτι

Δρεπάνην κλείουσιν ἀπὸ Κρονίδαο σιδήρου.

[65] SILIUS ITALICUS, XIV. 48. MACROBIUS, Saturnal. I. 8. extr.

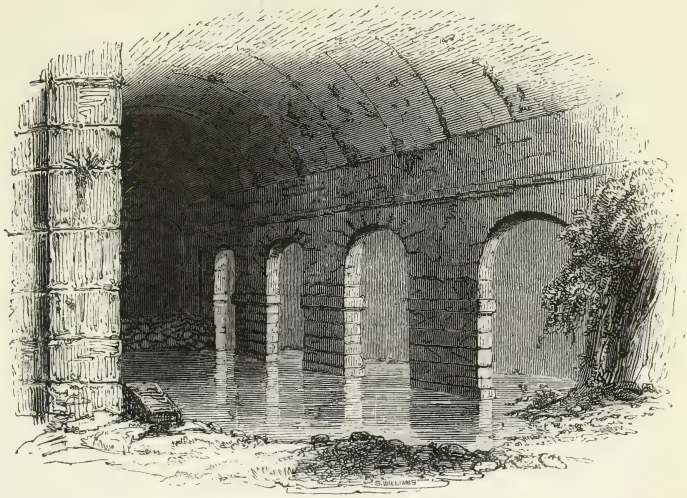
[66] SCHOLIAST on APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, IV. 983. Ἡ δὲ Κερκύρα πρότερον μὲν Δρεπάνη ἐκαλεῖτο, εἶτα Σχερία. Another etymology of the first name is also given on the authority of Aristotle.

Rhodius[67]; and that island is likewise described, by other authors[68], as the place where Uranos suffered the indignity alluded to.

While I was busied in examining some of the existing remains of Aptera, my companion made a sketch, seen at the head of the last chapter, of the bay and islet of Súdha, taking it from the walls of the ancient city. On returning to the metóhki the old priest gave us for breakfast some meat fried in oil, and served up swimming in that favourite condiment of almost every Cretan dish. I made him a suitable recompense for the hospitality he had shewn us, preventing any difficulties, which might have arisen in the way of his receiving it, by suggesting, that the trifle which I gave was "for the Church."

[67] APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, IV. 990. Δρεπάνη τόθεν ἐκλήϊσται Οὔνομα, Φαιήκων ἱερὴ τροφός. The Scholiast on verse 983 mentions the account of Timaeus.

[68] ALCAEUS and ACUSILAUS, in the Scholiast on Apollon. Rhod. IV. 992. Καὶ Ἀλκαῖος δὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἀκουσιλάῳ λέγει τοὺς Φαίακας ἔχειν τὸ γένος ἐκ τῶν σταγόνων τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ. See TZETZES, and the PARISIAN SCHOLIA, on Lycophron, 761.



CISTERNS OF APTERA.

## CHAPTER V.

PLAIN OF APOKORONA. HIPPOCORONION. RUINS OF A MIDDLE AGE FORTRESS. HAMLET OF RHAMNE. CRETAN FARE AND BEDS. APPEAL OF A PAPAS. DEATHS BY IMPALING DURING THE REVOLUTION. DETERMINATION OF THE SITES OF AMPHIMALLA, AMPHIMATRION, CORION, THE CORESIAN LAKE, HYDRAMON, AND PANTOMATRION. MEETING WITH THE SFAKIAN CAPTAIN MANIAS, WHO BECOMES MY GUIDE. BRIEF ACCOUNT OF HIS ADVENTURES. CRETAN SONG. RUINED VILLAGE OF EPISKOPE.

*February* 17.

On taking leave of the venerable priest, and of the site of Aptera, we descended the eastern slope of the hill into the plain of Apokórona, and, soon after reaching it, crossed a river[1] which arises from several copious

[1] Εἰς τοῦ Στύλου τὸ ποτάμι.

sources, near the village of Stýlo, seen a little to our right at the foot of the White Mountains. The water of these springs is said to be deliciously cold in the summer. They are mentioned by Buondelmonti[2]. Hardly had we reached the plain before my ignorant and stupid guide lost the road, and in consequence we had to cross the river, which winds considerably in the plain, no less than three times, and, on the third occasion, the narrow stream was so rapid, that a dog, by which I had long been accompanied, was carried down it much more than a hundred yards, as he swam across. After traversing the greater part of the plain, we arrived at the village of Neokhório, situated on a gentle ascent. Near it is a lofty country house, which, I should suppose, must once have belonged to a Venetian cavaliere. I found the dhidháskalos[3] Anagnóstes, and learnt from him that there are other very considerable remains, consisting of "great stones and marbles, just as at the Palaeókastron near Súdha" at Hághios Mámas, on a hill about two miles to the west of Neokhório. I thought myself fortunate in obtaining this information, especially since I believed the word Apokórona to be a corruption of Hippocorona or Hippocoronion, the name of an ancient Cretan city. Strabo says: "Ida is the name of both the Trojan and the Cretan mountain, and Dicte is a place in Scepsia, and a mountain in Crete. And a peak of Ida is called Pytna, whence the city Hierapytna obtains its name: and there is a Hippocorona in the Adramyttene district, and Hippocoronion in Crete[4]." True it is that most of the Cretan places mentioned are a good

[2] CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, I. p. 8. Post brevem viam planus est cum Chilario flumine, qui per subterraneos meatus a Leuco monte devenit, et in quodam rure Stilo nomine per multas cavernas frigidissimas exit.

[3] Ὁ διδάσκαλος, more commonly corrupted into ὁ δάσκαλος.

[4] STRABO, X. 472. Ἴδη γὰρ τὸ ὄρος τό τε Τρωϊκὸν καὶ τὸ Κρητικόν· καὶ Δίκτη τόπος ἐν τῇ Σκηψίᾳ καὶ ὄρος ἐν Κρήτῃ. τῆς δὲ Ἴδης λόφος Πύτνα, ἀφ' οὗ Ἱεραπύτνα ἡ πόλις. Ἱπποκόρωνά τε τῆς Ἀδραμυττηνῆς καὶ Ἱπποκορώνιον ἐν Κρήτῃ. Σαμώνιόν τε τὸ ἐωθινὸν ἀκρωτήριον τῆς νήσου καὶ πεδίον ἐν τῇ Νεανδρίδι, καὶ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων.

deal further to the east of these parts, and perhaps it may be on this account that Professor Hoeck[5] has supposed Hippocoronion to have been near Hierapytna. But Mount Ida and the Samonian promontory, both of which are named by Strabo in the same passage, have a good deal more than half of Crete between them: so that no great necessity can exist for supposing the other places enumerated to have been very near together. A reason for the loss, or rather corruption, of the first part of the compound, after the name of the ancient city was transferred to the district in which it was situated, may be found in the fact that the old word Hippos is lost to the modern Greek language[6]. Instances in which the name of an ancient city is thus transferred to a modern village near its site, or even to a district in or near which it stood, are not uncommon, and we shall find others in Crete.

Having obtained this gratifying information respecting the existence of ancient remains, similar to those examined yesterday and this morning, I pursued my journey towards and up the barren and unfrequented side of the mountain, and traversed a wild and dreary glen in the full hope of finding ere long some vestiges of another ancient city. At length I arrived at the hamlet of Kyriakusália[7], and one of its peasants offered

[5] Hoeck, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 434, and the map.

[6] Ἄλογον is commonly used to denote a horse by the modern Greeks. I am well aware that the component parts of many *compound* words of modern Greek are lost as independent words, though they exist in the compounds: thus ποιέω and οἶκος are entirely lost, though εἰδοποιῶ and οἰκονομῶ, οἰκονόμος, &c. are in common use, and would be understood by an ignorant peasant, who would neither know the meaning of the verb ποιῶ nor of the substantive οἶκος. Still we could hardly look for an instance of this peculiarity of the modern language in a proper name, and the change of Ἱπποκόρωνα into Ἀποκόρωνα seems to me easy and obvious.

[7] The etymology of Κυριακοῦ-σάλια, certainly a singular name, is quite evident. Σάλια, or Σαΐλια, which I wrote, on the spot, as the latter part of the word, is the ancient σίαλον, *saliva*. We cannot compare our English *Spittles*, corruptions of Hospital, with this place, which seems to owe its name to the genuine spittle of St Cyriac. Perhaps he may have resembled the Antimachus of Aristophanes: ψακὰς δὲ οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐπειδὴ προσέῤῥαινε τοὺς συνομιλοῦντας

to conduct me to the ancient walls. He took me to the cave of Hághios Mámas, and to a dripping source below it: thence, with no slight difficulty, I clambered up to the top of the hill, and found the supposed ancient remains to be walls of a middle-age fortress[8]. The reward which I obtained was a fine view of the whole plain of Apokórona, and of the bay of Armyró with Cape Dhrépano on its west: unfortunately I had scarcely enjoyed it for a moment before it began to rain. The only vestiges of buildings which I found were those of a church. A single wall surrounded the whole summit: remains of it are seen in a great part of its extent.

Finding, on my return to Kyriakusália, that I had not time to reach Fré[8], the principal village of Apokórona, by sunset, I proceeded only to Rhamné[9], a little hamlet, situated on the lower ranges of the White Mountains, to which a Greek undertook to shew Our Highnesses[10] the way from Kyriakusália. My stupid Turk

μιλοῦντας διαλεγόμενος: SCHOLIAST, on Aristoph. Ach. 1115. The σιαλόπηνον, of which he seems to have stood in need, is now called σαλιόπανον, a *bib*. See KORAY, ATAKTA, Tom. IV. p. 487. The village of Fré, mentioned a little further on, is Τὸ Φρέ.

[8] I have not called these fortresses Venetian, because, as we learn in the island's middle-age history, most of them were built by the Genoese.

[9] Εἰς τὴν Ῥαμνή. In Mr SIEBER's map of Crete, Rhamnus, which was at the south-western extremity of the island, is placed here.

[10] The expression used was still stronger. We were spoken of as οἱ βασιλεῖς by the Kyriokusálian, who suggested to the Rhamnian then in the former's village, that he ought to be our guide to Rhamné. The expression βασιλικοὶ ἄνθρωποι, I used to find common, both in Crete and elsewhere in Greece. In no part of Greece are titles so freely and ceremoniously bestowed as in Crete. Though the second person singular is the common form of the verb in conversation, yet no one uses the simple "Thou:" ἡ Αὐθεντιά σας, (the θ being omitted in pronunciation,) and ἡ Εὐγενεία σᾶς, are the phrases, especially the former, used in salutation, even between two peasants. I was addressed by them with such superlatives as Εὐγενέστατε, Ἐξοχώτατε, or Ἐκλαμπρότατε, but more commonly the abstracts, ἡ Εὐγενεία σᾶς, ἡ Ἐκλαμπρότης σᾶς, ἡ Κυριότης σᾶς, ἡ Ἐξοχότης σᾶς, ἡ Ὑψηλότης σᾶς, and so forth, were used. The rough Hydhraeans differ more, perhaps, than any other section of the Greek population, from the Cretans in this respect, the plain ἐσὺ being almost invariably their style of address to every one. Perhaps the Albanian race generally may resemble the Hydhraeans in this particular: but, although I spoke Greek when I travelled

knew neither the road nor any thing else. A very short ride, chiefly through groves of olives, brought us to Rhamné. The Proestós[11] of this village had such indifferent accommodation to offer, that he took us to the house of a friend, where however we certainly did not fare sumptuously, and had to sleep in the same room with our horses. The people were most anxious to do all they could for us: the Proestós spent some time himself in searching the village for eggs, which at last he found: the only addition to them consisted of olives, black barley-bread and plenty of excellent water[12]. The evening meal of my host and his wife was a dish of wild herbs, on which the Cretans seem chiefly to live[13]: they boil them, and then serve them up in oil; bread, olives, and sometimes cheese, completing the meal. On this occasion our accommodations were certainly most indifferent, and the people were fully aware of it. "What a difference there must be, said they, between Lóndhra and this place." They had never seen an European before. We found it cold in spite of our host's exertions to keep

velled in Albania, in the Summer of 1833, yet I was, at that time, hardly either able or desirous to note down peculiar differences between the language of those wild and lawless savages, and that of the inhabitants of other parts of Turkey and Greece.

[11] Ὁ Προεστός.

[12] When I asked for cheese, my host alleged his poverty as a sufficient reason for not having any: "*τί θὰ κάμωμεν; φτωχοὶ εἴμεσθα· δὲν ἔχομεν τίποτες.*" (Aristophanes: *πτωχοῦ μὲν γὰρ βίος, ὃν σὺ λέγεις, ζῆν ἐστὶν μηδὲν ἔχοντα.*) The mat of rushes which served for a bed, the use of our saddles as pillows, and the presence of the usual disturbers of our night's rest, all following the miserable fare which we obtained, shew how faithful an account of the poor Greek's dwelling and habits, in the 19th century, is contained in the verses of ARISTOPHANES, (Plut. 537.)

*Φθειρῶν τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ κωνώπων καὶ ψυλλῶν οὐδὲ λέγω σοι*
*ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, αἳ βομβοῦσαι περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνιῶσιν,*
*ἐπεγείρουσαι, καὶ φράζουσαι "πεινήσεις, ἀλλ' ἐπανίστω."*
*πρὸς δέ γε τούτοις ἀνθ' ἱματίου μὲν ἔχειν ῥάκος, ἀντὶ δὲ κλίνης*
*στιβάδα σχοίνων κόρεων μεστήν, ἣ τοὺς εὕδοντας ἐγείρει·*
*καὶ φορμὸν ἔχειν ἀντὶ τάπητος σαπρόν, ἀντὶ δὲ προσκεφαλαίου*
*λίθον εὐμεγέθη πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ.*

[13] ARISTOPHANES, l. c. *Σιτεῖσθαι δ' ἀντὶ μὲν ἄρτων*
*μαλάχης πτόρθους, ἀντὶ δὲ μάζης φυλλεῖ' ἰσχνῶν ῥαφανίδων.*

up a good fire: the snow was lying on the mountains down to within fifty or sixty feet of the level of the village.

The daughter of the Proestós of Rhamné was taken prisoner, by the Mohammedans, during the war, and was sold as a slave at Alexandria, where she remained twelve years. On obtaining her freedom, a few months ago, she immediately returned to her native village, speaking both Turkish and Arabic nearly as fluently as her mother-tongue[14].

The party of Mohammedans, which carried off this young woman from Rhamné, fell in with my host's father on the same occasion. In conformity with their general custom, they put him to death. At the same period of the struggle the Christians used invariably to slay even their female prisoners: this was done to avoid, what was regarded as a still deeper crime than murder, improper familiarity between their own warriors and any woman who had not received Christian baptism[15].

Thus also, in the tenth century, on the capture of the Mohammedan capital of this then Mohammedan island, by the troops of Romanus II[16], we are told of the general massacre of the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex; and the Christian poet, Theo-

[14] She came back as soon as ever her owner *τῆς ἔδωκε τὰ ἐλευθεροχαρτιά της*.

[15] "We did it *μὴ μολυνθῇ ἕνας Χριστιανὸς μὲ μίαν Τούρκισσα*," were the words in which I frequently heard the reason assigned. Most of the actors, in the events alluded to, still look back on the cold-blooded massacre of their ill-fated female prisoners, as the mere discharge of a religious obligation! Thus they afford an additional though needless example, of the dishonour and disgrace which redound to the sacred name of Religion, when once usurped by Superstition, or connected with Crime: and make us sympathize with the ancient Poet, who, after describing similar "scelerosa atque impia facta," of the miserable Superstition, which was called Religion in his day, exclaims,

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum!

[16] Theodosius Diaconus, Acroasis V. v. 85.

*Κρήτης γὰρ οἷος τῶν ὀδυρμάτων στόνος·*
*οἷος σπαραγμός, γυμνὰ Ῥωμαίων ξίφη*
*ὅταν κατεῖδον ἔνδοθεν πυργωμάτων.*

dosius Diaconus, praises the Emperor for his paternal solicitude to prevent the possible pollution of his Christian soldiers by familiarities with the unbaptized women of Crete[17].

The recent custom of the Christian insurgents in this island, repugnant as it is to *our* notions of religion and humanity, resembles the conduct which was sometimes enjoined on the ancient Israelites[18]. Their too lenient treatment of the Midianite women[19], whom they took captives "with their little ones," slaying only all the males, is represented as having excited the indignation of Moses[20]. Elsewhere the Greeks used to be more merciful to their female captives, than they were in Crete, during the early part of the struggle for independence: and an English missionary considers, that the great mischiefs, caused during the revolution by the captive women and the plunder, "throw light on the command of utter extermination laid upon the Israelites." I learn, from the same respectable authority, that "Turkish women have been a snare, even to several of the Greek Bishops; and they have thereby occasioned not only incalculable injury to these Ecclesiastics themselves, but have also brought infinite scandal on their profession[21]." These inconveniences the Cretan mode of warfare effectually prevented.

*Feb.* 18.

We descended into the plain by a stony mountain-path, and after passing a copious fountain, called White-

[17] THEODOSIUS, l. c. v. 104.

Τῶν οὖν στρατηγῶν ἦν ὑπηκόοις νόμος,
καὶ τοῦτο τῆς σῆς προσταγῆς σκηπτοκράτορ,
μὴ πρὸς γυναῖκας πορνικῶς καθυβρίσαι,
μήπως τὸ σεμνὸν εἰς ἀβαπτίστους κόρας
βάπτισμα χρανθῇ, καὶ μολυνθῇ σου στόλος.

[18] As with respect to Jericho: JOSHUA, vi. 21; and against the Amalekites: 1 SAMUEL, xv. 3, 8.

[19] NUMBERS, xxxi. 7—11. [20] Ibid. xxxi. 14—18.

[21] HARTLEY, Researches in Greece, p. 332.

Water[22], arrived at the Hellenic bridge[23]. I found a number of Greeks sitting round a chafing dish[24] in the little hut, called a coffee-house, just by the bridge: I drank a glass of wine with them, and was told that considerable Hellenic remains exist two miles inland at Alíkampo[25]. One of the company was a Papás, who, supposing, like most of his fellow-countrymen, that my journey could have solely a political object, addressed me very warmly in behalf of his fellow Cretans of the Christian faith, expatiating on the injustice they had suffered, at the hands of the Allied Powers, by being transferred to the dominion of Mehmét-Alí. He spoke of all that they had done, and of their present condition: "We are mere slaves now, have pity on us, and set us free. We arose and took our arms, and slew the Mohammedans, for the sake of our religion and of our Christ: he dwells above in his own kingdom, and will recompense our deliverers[26]."

On leaving this coffee-house to pursue our journey towards Rhíthymnos, we follow the eastern bank of the river which runs down from the White Mountains, and falls into the sea about a mile and a half from this bridge, near a hamlet called Armyró, where are seen the remains of a ruined castle. The valley is narrow here, and the modern fort was probably built both to

[22] Ἄσπρο Νερό.

[23] Στὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καμάραν. This is the "pons lapideus vetustissimus" of BUONDELMONTI, in Cornel. Cret. Sacr. Tom. I. p. 8. & 93.

[24] Which those who have read Mr Hope's Anastasius will know by its Turkish name, mangal, as it is commonly called in the East.

[25] Αλίκαμπος. On visiting this place, in the following August, I found that the ruins were entirely Venetian. Frequent mention is made of the place in the history of the Venetian domination. I will hereafter speak of the so called "*Spuren einer ausgezeichneten Stadt des Alterthums*," which Mr SIEBER, Reise, Vol. II. p. 280. fancied he could discern, among the modern huts of a hamlet near Alíkampo.

[26] Εἴμεθα σκλάβοι—νὰ μᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃς—ἐπάρομεν τὰ τουφέκια μᾶς—διὰ τὴν πίστι καὶ διὰ τὸν Χριστόν μας—ἐκεῖνος εἶναι ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν βασιλεία τοῦ, καὶ θέλει νὰ σᾶς ἀντευχαριστήσῃ. This verb ἀντευχαριστεῖν is used by Porphyry: see LOBECK, on Phrynichus, p. 18.

defend the village from any attack of pirates, and to command the gorge.

There was a good deal of fighting hereabouts at the beginning of the Greek revolution. On one occasion the Mohammedans effected their passage through the defile, and, on advancing into the district of Apokórona, fell in with more than a hundred Christians, who surrendered to them. These prisoners were all taken to a field near Kalýves, where most of them were put to death. Several were impaled, and the stake of one of the unhappy men who endured this cruel torture, fell with him during the succeeding night. On this he managed to crawl to a neighbouring fountain, assuaged his thirst with its water, and immediately expired[27]. This

[27] I was often told that those who suffered these horrible and excruciating torments, which were frequently inflicted on the Christians of Crete during the war, used always to cry out, while on the stake, Νερό! Νερό! Water! Water! The word used in Albania, and, partially, through Greece, to denote the sharpened stake, which is the instrument of destruction on these occasions, is σουβλί, a *spit*. FAURIEL, Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne, Tom. II. p. 36.

Τὸν Διάκον τότε πῆρανε καὶ 'στὸ σουβλὶ τὸν βάλαν·
ὁλορθὸν τὸν ἐστήσανε κ' αὐτὸς χαμογελοῦσε·
"'Εμέν' ἂν ἐσουβλίσατε ἕνας Γραικὸς ἐχάθη."

The σουβλί is spoken of as used in several martyrdoms recorded in the Synaxaria. When heated, the iron skewers or spits are said to have been thrust into the bodies of the martyrs: see DU CANGE, Glossarium, 1407. Παλοῦκι, (on which see KORAY, ATAKTA, Tom. IV. p. 484. v. ῥούμπαλον, and compare DU CANGE, Glossarium, 1086: v. Πάλος.) is, perhaps, the word most generally used in Greece, to denote the stake on which any one is impaled; and which, in Crete, is called neither σουβλὶ nor παλοῦκι, but καζήκι, a word manifestly derived from the Turkish قازق *kazék* (a stake.) The words σταυρὸς and σκόλοψ both, originally, meant a straight and sharply-pointed stake, and are so expounded by Eustathius and ancient Lexicographers. The sharpened point was inserted in the body of the criminal: as in instances mentioned by Ctesias and Plutarch. It has been observed, by an English Prelate, that "the most prime and simple σταύρωσις, or ἀνασκολόπισις, was upon a single piece of wood, a defixus et erectus stipes." The "ancient Persian punishment," by which people suffered on such a stake, is spoken of by Herodotus and other authors. I should not suppose the Turkish custom to have been adopted from the Greeks or Romans, but rather to have been brought out of Asia. Man has generally been sufficiently able and willing to invent tortures for his fellow-creatures, in every part of the globe, to have had but little need of

event reminds us of the sacred narrative: "When Jesus had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished: and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost."

At no great distance from the coffee-house we saw in succession the villages of Kalamítzo and Xystópoli, on the hills which rise up a little to the west of the opposite bank of the river. At Armyró all is desolation: the castle was stormed and dismantled by the Greeks at the very commencement of their insurrection, and the village seems to have shared the castle's fate. A little to the east of it the salt spring, from which its name is derived, flows out of the bank: an acquaintance of mine once drank freely of its water, in the summer time, and quickly found out what potent virtues it possesses.

Amphimalla or Amphimallion[28] as it was sometimes called, must, as we have seen[29], have been in this neighbourhood. It would also appear from the anonymous Coast-describer[30], who speaks of Amphimatrion as 150 stades to the east of Minoa, near a river, and with

of borrowing the cruelties of other nations. The well-known Roman practice of putting certain classes of culprits to death, by impaling or crucifying, was abolished by Constantine: (AURELIUS VICTOR, Caes. c. XLI. SOZOMEN, H. E. I. 8.) not, as it seems, from motives of humanity, but from a superstitious reverence, manifested in many acts of his life, for the form of the cross: see the proofs in HEINICHEN, on Euseb. V. C. Excurs. I. p. 527. not. 42. Nevertheless similar cruelties were afterwards practised by Christian Emperors, for instance, in the reign of Maurice, (A. D. 583.) when one Paulinos was impaled by the neck, at the urgent request of the Patriarch. The head of the Oriental Church quoted the language of St Paul, to prove that a man, who had fallen off from the faith, ought to be consigned to the flames: THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATTA, Hist. I. 11. p. 56. ed. Bonn. Ὁ δὲ ἱεράρχης—ἀποστολικώτερον ἐπειγόμενος πυρὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας τῆς πίστεως παραδίδοσθαι, ἐπὶ στόματος τὰ τοῦ Παύλου προφερόμενος ῥήματα—ὁ μὲν οὖν Παυλῖνος ἀνασκολοπίζεται ξύλῳ στερρῷ, τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες κεχηνότι ἀκρώρειαν.

[28] STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM, Ἀμφιμάλλιον, πόλις Κρήτης, ἀπὸ Ἀμφιμάλλου. ὁ πολίτης Ἀμφιμαλλιεύς, ἡ Ἀμφιμάλλιος. λέγεται καὶ Ἀμφίμαλλα. καὶ τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἀμφιμαλλαῖος.

[29] Above, p. 47.

[30] STADIASMUS, p. 499. Gail. Ἀπὸ τῆς Μινώας εἰς Ἀμφιμάτριον στάδ. ρν'· ποταμός ἐστι καὶ λιμὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ παραχειμαστικός, καὶ πύργον ἔχει.

a harbour where vessels could winter, and a tower, that Amphimatrion must have been either on the site of the modern village, or, as is more probable, a little nearer to the sea. Pliny's order is Minoum, Apteron, Pantomatrium, Amphimalla, Rhithymna. A Pantomatrion is placed by Ptolemy to the east of Rhithymna: and, supposing with Professor Hoeck and every other modern geographer, that there were two towns, Amphimatrion and Pantomatrion, I see not how to get over the difficulty of Pliny's collocation, unless we suppose that for Pantomatrium, Amphimatrium ought to be substituted. It therefore follows that, if Amphimatrion was at Armyró, Amphimalla must have been somewhere in this neighbourhood; and the mention, in Ptolemy, of the Amphimallian gulf, as situated to the east of Cape Drepanon, seems likewise to be conclusive evidence that Amphimalla was somewhere on this part of the coast. Before leaving the island we shall frequently see how very near to one another the ancient towns, even when of greater importance than Amphimalla and Amphimatrion, used to stand.

I had scarcely passed this supposed site of Amphimatrion, and neighbourhood of Amphimalla, before my guide again lost the road. Ere long we were rambling at the foot of the hills on the south edge of the narrow plain which runs along the shore from Armyró eastward. In somewhat less than three quarters of an hour we arrived at Murní[31], a small hamlet, where we had great difficulty in procuring something to eat, of which we were greatly in want, having most improvidently neglected to take any provisions with us.

There is a small lake near this place, at the foot of the hills: it is called Lake Kurná[32]. The name is derived from a village, consisting of about eighty Christian and five Mohammedan families, situated on the hill above it. The people told me that there are no fish in the lake. Buondelmonti's account, after passing, when at sea, the

[31] Μουρνί. [32] Τοῦ Κουρνᾶ ἡ λίμνη.

mouths of the rivers in the plain of Apokórona, is that they saw a rocky coast, and, at no great distance, a river, which his description identifies with this of Armyró. According to his information the little lake Kurná was full of fine eels[33].

Although I heard of no ancient remains near this lake, it would seem highly probable that the place Corion and a temple of Athene were both in its neighbourhood. This observation has been made by Mr Sieber[34] and also by Professor Hoeck[35]. Stephanus of Byzantium mentions the place, temple, and lake[36]. I can hear of no

[33] BUONDELMONTI, in the Creta Sacra, Vol. I. p. 8. Postea per saxa navigando non longe est flumen Cephalourisus (he means Kefalovrýsis, or, to use Greek letters, Κεφαλοβρύσις) in cujus ore Ecclesiuncula in mare posita nova erigitur, qui per planum fertilem currens, pontem lapideum vetustissimum habet, in quem, versus Orientem, flumen salsum a radicibus montis per multa ora veniens, subito decurrit: ab alio latere ejusdem montis, in profundis convallibus, non magnus sed profundus est lacus, quod ingentes nutrit anguillas.

[34] SIEBER'S Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. II. p. 267.

[35] HOECK'S Kreta, I. p. 432.

[36] STEPHANUS BYZ. Κόριον, τόπος ἐν Κρήτῃ ἀπὸ κόρης τινός. ὁ πολίτης Κορήσιος. καὶ λίμνη Κορησία. καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν Κορησίας. There is a Corium spoken of by SERVIUS, on Aen. III. 111. Alii Corybantes ab aere appellatos, quod apud Cyprum mons sit aeris ferax, quem Cyprii Corium vocant. Now the Corybantes are frequently identified with the Idaean Dactyls, as in NONNUS, XIV. 23.

> Καὶ βλοσυροὶ Κρήτηθεν ἀολλίζοντο μαχηταί,
> Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαῖοι, κραναῆς ναετῆρες ἐρίπνης,
> γηγενέες Κορύβαντες·

(see also STRABO, X. p. 473. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 232. and LOBECK, Aglaoph. p. 1145.) and no place called Corium is known to have existed in Cyprus, while, as we have already seen, (above p. 58.) the Idaean Dactyls are mentioned as Cretans by several ancient authors. Many ancient authors likewise name the Corybantes as natives of Crete, and this became the general opinion, long before the time of Servius: see LOBECK, l. c. I therefore suppose *Crete*, and not Cyprus, to have been either written or meant by Servius. The interchange of the words Crete and Cyprus is not uncommon. It is said, in GRAEVIUS, Antiq. Rom. Tom. VII. p. 1673. that Theodora, the wife of Justinian, was born in *Crete*, and that the emperor built, in this island, a city Justiniana Secunda, in honour of her: and yet Nicephorus Gregoras, the authority referred to for the assertion, speaks of course of Cyprus. Again, BRYANT, Observations on the ancient history of Egypt, Additional Remarks, p. 280. ed. Cambr. 1767, says, meaning to speak of *Cyprus*; (see STEPHANUS BYZ. v. Κορώνη:) "That the

other lake in the island, and the identity of this permanent physical feature more than makes up for the slight change in the name. Salmasius and Berkelius both wished to read Artemis instead of Athene in the passage of Stephanus, because Callimachus[37] gives to that goddess the epithet of Corian. But, as is observed by Holstenius[38], both Pausanias[39] and Cicero[40] mention the Corian Athene or Minerva, and therefore no alteration is necessary in the text of Stephanus.

I ought to have kept close to the shore, towards which I now proceed, and in less than an hour arrive at Dhrámia, a little village entirely occupied by Sfakians, who descend from their homes, on the higher ranges of the mountains, in the month of October or November, and remain here till the following April. If they staid up in Sfakiá, they would be confined to their houses, by the snow, for several weeks in the winter: and those who remain lay in a stock of food and fuel before the heavy falls of snow, just as if they were going to sea for some weeks.

The word Dhrámia[41] reminds me of the ancient city Hydramon, which is placed 100 stades to the east of Amphimatrion in the Maritime Itinerary, and would therefore seem to have been still further to the east towards Rhíthymnos. At the same time the fertility of the little plain running between the mountains and the shore here, is such as to have rendered its neighbourhood an eligible situation for a city. The Cretan city Hy-

the name given him originally by the Greeks was Koronus, is manifest from a place in *Crete*, which was sacred to him, and is mentioned by the name Coronis." I suppose the same remedy to be required in the passage of Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromat. Vol. i. p. 362. quoted by Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 1156. *Κέλμις καὶ Δαμναμενεὺς οἱ τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων πρῶτοι ἐν Κύπρῳ τὸν σίδηρον εὗρον.*

[37] Callimachus, Hymn to Artemis, v. 234.

[38] On Stephan. Byz. l. c. See also Spanheim, on Callimach. l. c. Creuzer, on Cic. N. D. p. 624. fol. Naeke, on Choeril. p. 143. and Siebelis, on Pausan. Tom. iii. p. 261.

[39] Pausanias, viii. p. 639.

[40] Cicero, N. D. iii. 23.

[41] Τὰ Δράμια.

dramia mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium[42], without any indication of its situation, was doubtless the same as this Hydramon.

But little doubt can be entertained that the name of Hydramon is preserved in Dhrámia, and that the ancient city existed either on this spot or in its neighbourhood. Many of the distances in the Periplus have been so falsified by the errors of copyists, that no reliance can be placed on them, where other considerations shew a difficulty of reconciling them with what we can make out of the ancient topography. Its author, after mentioning Hydramon, says, according to what I suppose to be the true reading of an undoubtedly corrupt passage, that "its city is called Eleuthera: and to go up from Pantomatrion to Eleuthera is 50 stades[43]." The Eleuthera spoken of seems to be the same town as is elsewhere mentioned under the name of Eleutherna, and we know that Rithymna was the port of Eleutherna. We may perhaps suppose the territory of that inland city to have extended a little to the west of Rhithymna, so as to have included in it this sea-port Hydramon, which, though considerably further from Eleutherna than Gortyna was from Metallon or Lebene, and than Lyttus was from Khersonesos, was yet almost as near to it as Lappa was to its port Phoenix.

All these considerations had certainly not passed through my mind when, disgusted and annoyed as I had so repeatedly been, by the ignorance and stupidity of my Turkish guide, and revolving in my mind plans by which I might hope to succeed in replacing him by

[42] STEPHANUS BYZ. Ὑδραμία, πόλις Κρήτης, ὡς Ξενίων ὁ τὰ Κρητικὰ γράψας. οἱ πολῖται Ὑδραμιεῖς, ὡς Μεγαρεῖς.

[43] STADIASMUS, p. 499. ed. Gail. Ἀπὸ Ἀμφιματρίου εἰς Ὕδραμον σταδ. ρ'. πόλις ἐστίν· ἔχει αἰγιαλόν· καλεῖται δὲ ἡ πόλις Ἐλευθέρα· πεζῇ δὲ ἀναβῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Παντοματρίου στάδια ν'. I have written Παντοματρίου instead of the second Ἀμφιματρίου, which is found in the common text, and στάδια instead of μίλια. The distances thus agree with the position of Eleutherna, and with the situation of all the places on the shore mentioned by the author himself.

a better at Rhíthymnos, I descended the brow of the little hill at the foot of which a river flows between Dhrámia and the village of Episkopé and divides the eparkhías of Rhíthymnos and Apokórona.

I should mention, with respect to this Turk, that he had but recently arrived from Anatolía, and spoke not a single word of Greek; the consequence of which was, that he could not make himself understood by any of the people: and thus, in addition to the annoyance caused me by his ignorance of the country, I was not left unmolested by him, even on arriving at our resting place for the evening; but had to act as his interpreter.

As I was passing the village of Dhrámia then, about an hour before sunset, I met a tall and handsome Sfakian, who, after a great deal of Cretan politeness in salutations and compliments, learnt from me, that I was going to travel all over the island, and that I wished to make myself thoroughly acquainted with it. On this he offered to be my guide, assuring me, and he afterwards verified his assertion, that no one could be better acquainted with Crete than himself, and that it would afford him great pleasure to accompany me. Our pecuniary arrangements were easily completed, and he agreed to come on to the village of Episkopé, with mules to replace the horses of my Turk, early in the evening.

Captain Maniás was born at Askýfo, the principal place in the eastern part of Sfakiá, and lost his father when very young. At the outbreaking of the Greek Revolution he was only about sixteen years of age, and, for some time after its commencement, he was always near the person of his uncle Búzo-Márko, who fell in the year 1825, as one of the leaders of the party which attempted to surprise the impregnable rock of Grabúsa, in the night, and to carry it by assault[44]. In constant attendance on his uncle, he soon began himself to take

[44] See the Cretan song on this subject at p. 78.

an active part in the affairs of the war, and ere long became a Captain, having a considerable body of men under his standard. In the interval between the submission to Khuseín-bey and the insurrection in 1829, he armed a kaík, and made descents upon the coast of Crete, chiefly in the province of Sitía, where he made prisoners, in the space of less than two years, sixty-four Mohammedans, if his own story be true, which I believe it to be. The prisoners he sold as slaves, and most of them were soon redeemed. Kasos was the mart where he disposed of them. From 1829 till the period of final submission to the Egyptians, he had his share in the engagements which took place; and, as I have heard from other Greeks, for I must say that he did not sound the trumpet of his own military exploits, he distinguished himself as one of the foremost combatants on several occasions. The life of war, rapine and bloodshed, which he had led, proved of the highest utility to me, for it had made him so well acquainted with every hill and dale, path and river, in the island, that there were few parts of it where he would not have proved an unerring guide even at midnight[45].

I thought myself fortunate in meeting with such a person, especially since daily intercourse with him would render me better acquainted with that most remarkable part of the population of Crete, the Sfakian mountaineers, than I could possibly have become by a mere ramble of ten days or a fortnight in their mountains.

This Sfakian accompanied me during the greater part of my travels in the island, and proved himself to be a man, who, though entirely destitute of education, was yet possessed of extraordinary abilities, and was certainly, I believe, quite unequalled in most of the important qualities of a guide in such countries. I gladly avail myself of my artist's pencil to present the interesting mountaineer to my reader.

[45] He said to me *νὰ σᾶς ὁρμηνέψω εἰς ὅρα τὰ μέρη τῆς Κρήτης, καὶ τὰ μεσάνυκτα*, where *ὁρμηνέψω* and *ὅρα* stand for *ἑρμηνεύσω* and *ὅλα*.

I was greatly struck with the peculiar dialect of my new guide, which differed so much from every thing I had heard in any part of Greece, and even in Crete itself, that at times, on this first interview, I was not a little at a loss to catch the words he used[46], and had often to ask him to repeat what he had said.

The following is a fragment of a Cretan song, on the unsuccessful attempt, made by Búzo-Márko and his comrades, on the castle of Grabúsa: it is in the dialect of Maniás and his fellow Sfakians.

[46] For instance *χαριρόγου*, which meant *χάριν λόγου* verbi gratia.

Τρεις ἀνδρειομένοι πορπατοῦν
τὴν Κρήτη τὴν καιεμένη,
σὰν ἐξαδερφοὶ κ' ἀδερφοί
σὰ φίροι πιστευμένοι.

σὰν ἦσαν ἀπὸ μιά κοιλιά,
σὰ φάγα ἕνα γάρα,
ἔτζι ἀγαπηθήκανι
περίσσια καὶ μεγάρα.

τὸν ἕνα λέγα Ξεπαπᾶ
τὸν ἄρρο Μπουζο-Μάρκο
κ' ὁ Καπιτάνι Παναγῆς
ἀποῦ φυράγη στὸ Κάστρο.

μὰ αὐτοὶ ἀποφασίσανι
τὴν Γραμπούσα νὰ πατήσουν,
κ' εἰς τὴν Γραμπούσα τῆς Τουρκιάς
ἕνα νὰ μὴν ἀφήσουν.

ὁ Μπούζο-Μάρκος ἔβγανε
πρῶτος εἰς τὸ μπιντένι,
κ' ἐφτὰ 'νομάτους ἔκοψε
μόνο μὲ τὸ μαχαίρι.

μὰ ἀλλᾶσθε ἀπάνω, μπραὶ παιδιά,
στοὺς Τούρκους νὰ γιουργιάρω,
διατὶ δὲν βγαίνω 'γὼ 'π' ἐδά
ὄξω καὶ νὰ 'ποθάνω.

* * *

ὁ πρῶτος ὁ σκοτώθηκεν
ἦτον ὁ Μπούζο-Μάρκο,
μ' ἔπειτας ἐσκοτώθηκαν
οἱ τρεῖς Καπιτανέοι.

Three warriors each his wand'ring steps
O'er hapless Crete now wends,
If cousins, or e'en brothers, they
Had not been firmer friends.

As if one mother all had borne,
And nourished at her breast,
Thus 'twas that each his warmest love
Did on the others rest.

One was ycleped Xepapás,
Another Búzo-Mark,
The third was Captain Panaghés,
Once cast in dungeon dark.

They all decreed, Grabúsa's rock
That from the foe they'd wrest;
Nor, in Grabúsa, would permit
One Musulman to rest.

And Búzo-Márko 'twas, who first
Did on the rampart stand,
And seven soldiers there did he
Cut down with his good brand.

"Leap up, leap up, my warriors bold,
"And on the Turks with speed
"We'll rush, for hence I don't retreat
"If death be not my meed."

* * *

First Búzo-Márko on the ground
Was stretched by deadly blow;
And soon, by numbers overcome,
The Captains all lay low.

Episkopé now consists of about sixty dwellings: it contained near three hundred at the outbreaking of the revolution, and, as in every other village, the heaps of ruined houses remain as the flames left them, and present a picture of desolation, which, in a country of such fertility and possessing such undeveloped resources, is quite lamentable. On entering the village I was struck with its devastated and lonely aspect; and on my making an observation on the subject to an inhabitant, he replied that "the Christians had burnt all the houses:" an answer which shewed that he was a Mohammedan, as I learnt that most of his fellow-villagers are. I found half a dozen of them in the coffeehouse of the village, smoking their pipes; the ordinary occupation of followers of the Prophet. I had no little difficulty in obtaining a lodging, although at last I met with very tolerable accommodation in the house of a Christian. Captain Maniás came to me in the evening, and told me that he had found mules, and should be ready, early in the morning, to start for the antiquities, which as I learn from him, are to be seen at Pólis, a large village on the northern slopes of the Sfakian hills, and a little to the south of our present restingplace.

RUINS AT POLIS.

## CHAPTER VI.

CAPTAIN MANIAS. CEREMONIOUS POLITENESS OF THE CRETAN PEASANTRY. SITES OF POLICHNA, AND LAMPE, OR LAPPA. FOUNTAIN OF THE HOLY VIRGINS. IDENTITY BETWEEN ANCIENT AND MODERN SUPERSTITIONS. CRETAN FOUNTAINS, POPLARS, AND PLATANES. VENETIAN REMAINS AT AND NEAR HAGHIOS KONSTANTINOS. CRETAN ORANGE-TREES. MONASTERY OF PROPHET-ELIAS. RESEMBLANCE OF THE MODERN GREEK MONKS TO THE CONTEMPORARIES OF JEROME. ARRIVAL AT THE GATES OF RHITHYMNOS.

*February* 19.

Captain Manias, who had gone back to Dhrámia for the night, returned to us about half past seven this morning with the mules, and, soon after, we set off for

Pólis, which is also called Gaidhurópolis[1], the City of Asses, and is situated at no great distance from Episkopé. It is within the confines of Rhíthymnos, though very near the borders of Sfakiá. My guide, once told that I am anxious to procure all the coins I can meet with, allows no one, man woman or child, to pass us without questioning them whether they have any thing of the sort "in gold, silver or brass", and thus we advance but slowly. He also meets many people of his acquaintance, and the formality with which salutations and compliments are exchanged between them is quite amusing[2].

[1] Ἡ Πόλις or Γαϊδουρόπολις. The word γαδοῦρις (γαϊδοῦρις is far more common in Crete, and is, I think, alone used) occurs, instead of ὄνος, in the poem of THEODORUS PTOKHOPRODROMUS, II. 476. addressed to the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, and has long been the only current word for ass in every part of Greece. Γαιδάρος is another common form of it. Since this name Gaidhurópolis has obviously been derived from the metaphorical sense of γαϊδοῦρι, which is just as common, in Greek, as that of the corresponding word is in French or English, it calls to mind the Poneropolis of Stephanus of Byzantium; and will suggest to those who have seen any of the numerous villages called Kakó-khorió, although well situated, and in no respect worse off, as far as one can see, than other places in their neighbourhood, the obvious etymology, which in fact any Greek peasant, if asked why the village received its name, invariably gives: διατὶ ἦσαν κακοὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Thus also we may account for the fact that some villages, though positively unhealthy, are yet called Kaló-khorió. The Cretan's γαϊδοῦρι is also called by him his κτῆμα, a word which, in Crete at least, is used for any kind of κτῆνος horse, mule, or ass. I have no doubt they would apply it to camels if they had them. Their usage seems to be a preservation of an ancient sense of the word: μέχρι τοῦ νῦν παρὰ πολλοῖς ἡ ἐν ζώοις περιουσία ΚΤΗΜΑΤΑ λέγεται, says EUSTATHIUS, on the Iliad, p. 999, 17. See also p. 494, 4. Οἱ χωρητικώτεροι τῶν ἄρτι κτήματα φασὶ τὰ τετράποδα. Koray has mentioned this and pointed out the passage of SOPHOCLES, (Antig. 781.) Ἔρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν, Ἔρως ὃς ἐν κτήμασι πίπτεις, where some critics have wished to read κτήνεσι, and others, even the most recent, have proposed interpretations far less probable than that suggested by this Cretan usage.

[2] The ceremonious politeness, even of the poorest people in Crete, whenever they meet and address one another, is very striking. When a visitor goes into a house, his first exclamation is, commonly, the general and peculiarly Cretan greeting, πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη σᾶς, or rather πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη εἰς τὴν Αὐθεντίαν (pronounced Ἀφεντιά) σᾶς: (in which phrase alone I have found the old word ἔτη preserved in the modern language.) The host immediately replies, Καλῶς ὡρίσατε ἡ Εὐγενεία σᾶς, the *title* of course varying with the visitors, or pronounces some other form of welcome. Mutual enquiries after health are then made, and, at length, the visitor is asked to sit down. While

I reap the fruits of the active part played by him in the war, for he has a story for every step of the road, and recalls to my mind the words of Cicero when at Athens, "Quocunque ingredimur in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus." If I may form a judgement from the evident pleasure he takes in relating "these moving accidents by flood or field," I shall constantly hear of them till his stock be exhausted.

Before arriving at Pólis we find considerable remains of a massive brick edifice, at one end of which are some buttresses each fifteen feet wide and projecting about nine feet. Close by are remains of an odd circular building, about 60 feet across in its interior. Each of the recesses, shewn in the sketch at the head of this chapter, is rather more than a semicircle, with a diameter of about eleven feet. The whole is built of moderate sized stones. About 300 paces to the south-south-west of Pólis is an ancient cistern 76 feet long and nearly 20 feet wide. A rapid descent on the western side of the village conducts to considerable remains of a Roman brick building, beyond which, in the deep valley between Pólis and the mountain Phteroláko, runs the stream which divides the eparkhía of Apokórona from that of Rhíthymnos. Several large caves, containing water both summer and winter, as well as many ancient tombs, excavated out of the solid rock, are said to exist in the neighbourhood of Pólis. Ancient coins are also said to be found in great numbers in the fields

While pronouncing the first greeting, the hand is usually placed on the breast, and the head and upper part of the body are inclined forward. The hand is sometimes put in the Turkish way, first to the lips and then to the forehead, especially by Mohammedans, on all occasions, and by Christians when addressing a person of rank. Maniás *never* asked a question of any peasant we met on the road without bestowing on him the preliminary compliments of good wishes, and an enquiry after his health. It seems that the peculiarity of these very ceremonious salutations, in the manners of the Cretans, is also found among the Afgháns, even the poorest among whom, whenever a visitor goes in, hear and pronounce several complimentary phrases, in addition to the ordinary *Salám-Aleïkúm*, and *Aleïkúm-Salám* of a Musulman meeting. See Mr ELPHINSTONE's Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, p. 235.

about the village, but of those shewn to me the greater part were Venetian. I saw many beautifully shaped ancient earthenware lamps, two of which I purchased. There are remains of some Venetian buildings in the village, one of which was evidently a large palace. Its substructure differs so remarkably from the body of the building, that I cannot but believe it to have belonged to an entirely different age, and to have formed part of a much more ancient edifice. Over the gateway of the Venetian building, at its north-eastern corner, I read

OMNIA.MVNDI.FVMVS.ET.VMBRA.

a moral aphorism, of the truth of which Venice herself has certainly afforded a memorable example. What a contrast between her state at the time to which these few words carry us back, and at the present day! Then, the shade of her power was spread over several of the fairest countries in the world: now, her very name is blotted out from the list of nations. And yet how little can any one, who loves his kind, regret her fall!

It only remains for us to determine what ancient city existed here.

The author of the "Description of Ancient Greece" supposes it to have been Polichna[3], a town mentioned by both Herodotus[4], and Thucydides[5]; the latter of whom tells us that the Polichnians were neighbours of the Cydonians. Professor Hoeck too seems to place Polichna here.

We want, as is evident from the ruins, a city of some importance in Roman times: and, from what we have seen in determining the site of Aptera, it is pretty plain that Pólis is situated between Amphimalla on the northern shore, and Phoenix on the southern; which latter site we know to have belonged to the Lappaeans. Now it appears from Scylax, that the territory of Lampe or Lappa extended from sea to sea: we know that it

[3] CRAMER, Vol. III. p. 380.
[4] HERODOTUS, VII. 170.
[5] THUCYDIDES, II. 85.

contained Phoenix: nothing therefore can be more probable than that the city was here, and that its domain extended along the eastern bank of the considerable stream which flowed by it, right down to the gulf of Amphimalla. The passage of Scylax teaches us that "next after the Apteraean district, which is on the north, comes the Lampaean, and this extends to both shores, and the river Mesapos is in it[6]." Here we have the territory adjoining on that of Aptera, except, near the northern shore, where the small state of Amphimalla may have been conterminous with it for a mile or two, and we have seen that the principal river of the district flows within a mile of the existing remains, and may therefore, without much doubt, be put down as the Mesapos. The distance of Pólis from the Palaeókastro, near Súdha, is very little more than nine miles, the distance, according to the Peutinger table, from the port of Aptera to Lappa.

Stephanus of Byzantium[7] tells us that Lappa, or Lampe, as he calls it, was founded by Agamemnon, and was called after one Lampos a Tarrhaean; the interpretation of which story seems to be that it was a colony of Tarrha[8].

Although the two forms of this city's name occur in ancient authors, yet both on coins[9] and in inscrip-

[6] Scylax of Caryanda, p. 18. Huds. Εἶτα ἡ Λαμπαία, καὶ διήκει αὕτη ἀμφοτέρωθεν, καὶ ποταμὸς Μεσάπος ἐν αὐτῇ ἐστί. This river Mesapos seems also to be spoken of by Dicaearchus, who mentions it in connexion with Amphimalla, which as we have seen, was near it. This extension of territory to both shores, and the possession of the port Phoenix, sufficiently account for our finding maritime symbols on the coins of Lappa: Mionnet, Tom. II. p. 286.

[7] Stephanus Byzant. Λάμπη, πόλις Κρήτης, Ἀγαμέμνονος κτίσμα, ἀπὸ Λάμπου τοῦ Ταῤῥαίου.

[8] Hoeck's Kreta, I. p. 388.

[9] The error of Pellerin, Recueil, etc. Tom. III. Pl. XCIX. No. 42. in supposing a coin of this city to have the legend ΛΑΜΠΑΙΩΝ, misled Eckhel, Catalog. Mus. Caes. Vindobon. I. p. 128. n. 5. whose mistake is faithfully followed by Mr Mionnet, Supplément, Tom. IV. p. 326. (Paris, 1829.) although Eckhel had himself corrected it, Doctrina Num. Vet. Vol. II. p. 315. "Idem Pellerinius—effecit ut alteri simili, sed in quo adrosa fuit epigraphe,

tions[10] the word Lappa seems alone to be found. Stephanus of Byzantium[11] shews plainly that the two names denote the same city, when he says that Xenion in his Cretica wrote the word Lappa, and not Lampe.

It was with the hospitable citizens of Lappa that the Lyttians found refuge after their town had been treacherously destroyed by the Cnossians[12]. When Cydonia, Cnossos, Lyttos, and Eleutherna had all submitted to the arms of Metellus, the victorious Roman advanced against Lappa, which was taken by storm[13], and would appear to have been almost entirely destroyed. We find that about the time of the battle of Actium, Augustus, in consideration of the aid rendered him, by the Lappaeans, in his contest with Anthony, bestowed on them their freedom, and also restored their city[14]. The reader will remember that the remains seen at Polis are evidently Roman[15].

One of the inscriptions relating to the city of the Lappaeans, is very imperfect in Gruter, and is not altogether correct in the Musaeum Italicum of Mabil-

epigrapne, in urbis hujus moneta stationem adsignarem. At serius numos similes integriores nactus facile vidi, nequaquam ΛΑΜΠΑΙΩΝ, sed ΚΑΣΣΩΠΑΙΩΝ legendum, et esse utrumque Cassopes Epiri."

[10] The one quoted a few lines lower down, and one of the Teian inscriptions in CHISHULL, Antiquitates Asiaticae, p. 122. are the only two preserved inscriptions of Lappa that I have met with.

[11] Under the word Λάμπη he says, Ξενίων δὲ ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς διὰ δύο ππ γράφει τὴν πόλιν τὴν Κρητικὴν καὶ διὰ δύο αα καὶ διὰ τοῦ λ.

[12] POLYBIUS, IV. 53.

[13] DION CASSIUS, XXXVI. 1. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Λάππαν—ἐκ προσβολῆς εἶλε.

[14] DION CASSIUS, LI. Tom. I. p. 633. ed. Reimar. Καὶ τοῖς γε Λαμπαίοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνεστῶσαν συγκατῴκισε.

[15] The head of their benefactor Augustus is exhibited on the coins of the Lappaeans: one has the epigraph ΘΕΩ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ: others of Domitian and Commodus are found: see HARDOUIN, Nummi Antiqui. pp. 93, 94. MIONNET, Tom. II. p. 286. Supplém. Tom. IV. p. 326. RASCHE, Tom. II. Part. II. 1493. On the autonomous coins of Lappa, from which Spanheim supposed the city to have possessed the right of asylum, like the Grecian states enumerated in Tacitus, see ECKHEL, Doctrina N. V. Vol. II. p. 315.

lon and Germain[16]. It mentions one Marcus Aurelius Clesippus in whose honour it would appear that the Lappaeans erected a statue.

Lappa became an episcopal see after the establishment of Christianity: the name of its bishop is recorded as present at the Synod held in Ephesus, A.D. 431; at the Chalcedon Council, A.D. 451; and on many other subsequent occasions enumerated in the Creta Sacra of Cornaro[17].

A modern Episcopal district in Crete comprehends the eparkhías of Sfakiá, Hághio Vasíli and Amári. Its ecclesiastical dignitary is called indifferently bishop of Hághio Vasíli, and bishop of Lámpe[18]. It is manifest that the ancient district of Lappa included, since it extended down to the Sfakian coast, a great part of the modern diocese. If Lappa was the Cretan form of this word[19], it is singular that Lampe should have been uniformly preserved down to the present day in the Bishop's title[20].

There is found on a hill to the south-east, about an hour distant, what the people call asemókhoma[21], whence silver may be obtained[22]. With this fact we may compare the mention, in the journal of Buondelmonti, of mines of gold, silver and lead as existing at

[16] This inscription is in GRUTER, p. MXCI. and in MABILLON, Mus. Ital. Tom. I. p. 33. and is also contained in the Vatican Codex, No. 5273. See CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, I. p. 251. It is

ΛΑΠΠΑΙΩΝΗΠΟΛΙΣΜΑΡΚΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ
ΚΛΗΣΙΠΠΟΝΤΕΙΜΗΣΚΑΙΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡ.

Mabillon writes the first word ΛΑΜΠΠΑΙΩΝ.

[17] CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Tom. I. pp. 251, 2.

[18] Ὁ *ἁγίου Βασιλείου*, or Ὁ *Λάμπης*.

[19] As it is supposed to have been by Professor BOECKH, Corpus Inscriptionum Graec. Vol. II. p. 428. The site of *Lyttos* still retains its ancient Cretan name.

[20] HIEROCLES, Synecdemus, p. 650. ed. Wessel. LEONIS NOVELLA, in MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 208. Ὁ *Λάμπης*: see also RASCHE, Lex. Rei Num. Tom. II. Part. II. 1492.

[21] Ἀσημόχωμα, that is, *ἀργυρόχωμα*, *ἀσήμι* being the modern Greek for silver: see DU CANGE, Gloss. 138. KORAÝ, ATAKTA, IV. p. 300.

[22] Μὲ *τὴν δούλευσιν*, as my informant added.

Pólis[23]. My reader will remember that the celebrated Mount Berecynthos is also a part of the same range of the White Mountains, and is no more a mere calcareous rock than are the hills about Lappa.

On leaving Pólis we descend for some time: after seeing several tombs, on our left, we pass the church of Haghíae Parthénoe[24], of which my guide speaks with deep feelings of religious respect; and a hundred paces farther, a most copious fountain, on our right, deriving its name from the same holy and miracle-working virgins to whom the church is dedicated, and who also preside over the waters[25]. The Venetian senator, Flaminio Cornaro, has described the miraculous phenomena which used to be seen at this Christian source[26], and which deserve to be

[23] BUONDELMONTI, in CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, I. p. 17. He mentions the church of Hághios Konstantínos, and then proceeds: "a qua cum per frondifluos (*leg.* fontifluos) montes, et virentia prata disceditur, minera auri et argenti ac stamni videtur, quae hodie Stimpolis (by Stimpolis he means εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, ἡ Πόλις, or Pólis) nominatur, quaeque in altissimo monte collocata est." Compare also p. 108.

[24] Αἱ ἁγίαι Παρθένοι.

[25] I find both the church and fountain celebrated by BUONDELMONTI in CORNELIUS, p. 17. "Fons est cujus latitudo XX, longitudo vero XL passuum est, cum incisis lapidibus. Prope autem in proclive istarum aquarum, per centum passus Ecclesia est, in qua quinque sepulcra antiquorum discooperta, et aquis plena sunt." He adds, (Cornel. Cret. Sac. p. 108.) "Ecclesia est, juxta quam sepulcra quinque discoperta et aqua plena videbis, in quibus egroti homines ob reverentiam illarum quinque prudentium Virginum, in quibus tenent ibi fuisse sepultae, se lavant, et ex devotione purgare videntur."

[26] CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Tom. II. p. 148. In ea Ecclesia, per minorem januam aditus patet ad coemeterium, in quo quinque urnae sunt ex vivo marmore scalpri ictibus elaboratae, ad longitudinem quinque pedum, ad latitudinem vero duorum cum dimidio. Quinque hae urnae, ut ex traditione acceptum est, sepulcra erant quinque Sanctarum Virginum, quae sub quodam Rege Tyranno, cujus nomen ignoratur, martyrium capitis abscissione compleverunt, earumque imagines, corona redimitae crucemque manu deferentes, in Ecclesia adhuc visuntur. Quamvis autem urnae hae in arido loco sitae sint, ubi nullum proximae aquae indicium invenitur, attamen miro prodigio aquas habent: *cumque a multis devotionis causa visitentur, aqua, juxta virorum pietatem et devotionem, vel redundat, et ex urnis defluit, vel decrescit, et ad ariditatem deducitur.* He then quotes the above cited passage of Buondelmonti, and adds: Haec ad eruditi lectoris curiositatem attuli, quorum tamen fides sit apud citatos auctores. Most of his readers will probably

compared with the similar, and even still more wonderful performances of a Pagan spring which formerly existed at Tyana[27].

No educated traveller can fail to notice the identity between many of the superstitions equally prevalent among both ancient and modern inhabitants of various parts of Greece. It is manifest that beings, created by the lively imagination of the Greeks in olden times, are still objects of veneration at the present day: and the religious feelings of the Cretan, in the nineteenth century, towards these Holy Virgins of the fountain, differ very little, if at all, from those entertained for the Naïds by his heathen ancestors[28].

probably agree with him in the sentiment with which he concludes. The statement respecting the rise of the water on the approach of a pious person, reminds me of a legend of the Holy Land, recorded by DE VILLAMONT, Voyages, Liure II. fol. 196. ed. Paris, 1602. according to which the waters of a deep well, in a village near Bethlehem, rose even to its summit, when the Virgin Mary passed through the place, and, though very thirsty, could persuade no one to draw her some water: à un moment l'eau creut iusques au bord du puits, et la Vierge beut de l'eau à sa suffisance.

[27] Described by the Author of the amusing book *περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*, ARIST. Tom. II. p. 845. ed. Bekk. *Τοῦτο εὐόρκοις μὲν ἡδύ τε καὶ ἵλεων, ἐπιόρκοις δὲ παρὰ πόδας ἡ δίκη. ἀποσκήπτει γὰρ καὶ εἰς ὀφθαλμοὺς, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας, καὶ εἰς πόδας—αὐτόθι ἔχονται καὶ ὀλοφύρονται πρὸς τῷ ὕδατι, ὁμολογοῦντες ἃ ἐπιώρκησαν.* Ancient superstition and credulity assigned equally wonderful and miraculous properties to many other springs and rivers; as to the well-known fountain of the Sun, in the Cyrenaica, and, to give another, though an unnecessary, instance, to the fountain of Potniae, near Thebes, which used to cause madness: (PAUSANIAS, IX. p. 727. AELIAN, N. A. XV. 25.) thus the unfortunate Glaucus was torn in pieces, by his own steeds, as soon as he had suffered them to drink of its waters: see HERMANN's Dissertation, de Aeschyli Glaucis, Opuscula, Tom. II. pp. 59—75.

[28] HOMER, Il. XX. 7.

*Νυμφάων, ταί τ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται,*
*καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν, καὶ πίσεα ποιήεντα.*

ODYSSEY, XVII. 240.

*Νύμφαι κρηναῖαι, κοῦραι Διός.*

SERVIUS, on VIRGIL, Ecl. VII. 21. HEYNE, Var. Lectt. et Obss. in Hom. Il. Tom. VIII. p. 7. VOSSIUS, de Orig. et Prog. Idolol. II. c. LXXX. p. 262. LOMEIERUS, de Lustrat. Vet. Gentil. p. 174. seqq. ed. Ultraj. 1681. MUNCKER and VERHEYK, on Antoninus Liberalis, c. XXXI. p. 265. ed. Koch. HERMANN, Opuscula, Vol. III. p. 291. This religion of fountains and

The mythology of ancient Italy also supplies us with similar instances of holy virgins, supposed to dwell in fountains and rivers, which were consequently objects of religious veneration to the people. Thus the Poet sings of Anna Perenna,

> Corniger hanc cupidis rapuisse Numicius undis
> Creditur, et stagnis occuluisse suis[29]:

and the same deified being was believed to keep watch over other waters[30]. The "domus Albuneae resonantis[31]," and another still more sacred source, which existed in the vicinity of Rome, may likewise be mentioned.

> Egeria[32]! sweet creation of some heart,
> Which found no mortal resting-place so fair
> As thine ideal breast.

and rivers appears still to be preserved, in much of its heathen force, among some stems of the Slavonian race: see the authors indicated in MALTE-BRUN, Géographie Universelle, Tom. VI. p. 557, 8. The water-deities used to receive the highest honours in the old religion of Germany, and, as late as the twelfth century, the Pagan Prussians thought the sanctity of their sacred groves and fountains would have been polluted by the approach of any Christian: HELMOLDUS, in Cluver. German. Antiq. I. c. XXXIV. Solus prohibetur accessus lucorum et fontium, quos autumant *pollui Christianorum accessu*. It is said by Professor J. GRIMM, Deutsche Mythologie, pp. 278, 9. that, even at the present day, "obgleich das Christenthum—die alten Wassergeister als teuflische Wesen darstellt, so behalt das Volk doch eine gewisse Scheu und Verehrung bei, und hat noch nicht allen Glauben an ihre Macht und ihren Einfluss aufgegeben." With respect to Greece, it is observed by FAURIEL, Chants populaires de la Grèce Moderne, Tom. I. p. LXXXII. "Aujourd'hui, comme autrefois, point de rivière en Grèce, point de source, point de montagne, de rocher, de caverne, de maison même, qui n'ait son génie.

[29] OVID, Fasti, III. 647. Compare HEYNE, Exc. III. on Virg. Aen. VII. RUPERTI, on Silius Italicus, I. 666.

[30] VIRGIL, Aen. XII. 139.

> Deam, stagnis quae fluminibusque sonoris
> Praesidet.

[31] HORACE, Od. I. 7. 12. VIRGIL, Aen. VII. 82. where SERVIUS writes: Sacro fonte: nullus enim fons non sacer.

[32] LIVY, I. 21. OVID, Fast. III. 275. HEYNE, on Virgil, Aen. VII. 761. JUVENAL, III. 13. 19. Sacri fontis nemus—Numen aquae. In the last passage Wakefield (on Lucret. I. 131.) wantonly proposes to read Flumen instead of Numen. SULPICIA, Sat. v. 67.

> Nam laureta Numae, fontesque habitamus eosdem.

In later times Great Britain herself could boast, while the mythology of modern Rome, engrafted on old Pagan superstitions, formed an essential part of her religious creed, of many such Water Nymphs or Holy Virgins. The fountain of Saint Wenefrede, in Wales, used, in those ages, to be constantly the resort of pious pilgrims, and has not, even at the present day, wholly ceased to be an object of religious veneration[33]. On the contrary, Saint Anne's sacred source, at Buxton in Derbyshire, which is so honourably mentioned by Drayton[34], is no longer considered as entitled to religious respect: and has totally lost those miraculous powers, which it was formerly supposed to derive from the immediate presence and favour of its Virgin Saint[35].

In ancient Britain a native Goddess, identified, like the Greek Athene, with their own Minerva by the Romans, was believed to preside over all hot springs[36]; thus St Anne was probably the immediate successor of the Pagan deity.

Unlike the British Minerva and the subsequent Virgin Saints who took charge of hot springs in England, the Nymphs of Greece were formerly wont to preside only

[33] PENNANT, Tour in Wales, Vol. I. pp. 28—40. On the decollation of the Saint, an event which she survived fifteen years, the spring burst from the place where her severed head rested, and "the valley, which, from its uncommon dryness, was heretofore called *Sych nant*, now lost its name—the waters were almost as sanative as those of Bethesda—and all infirmities incident to the human body met with relief. The resort of pilgrims of late years to these Fontanalia has considerably decreased. In the Summer a few are to be seen in the water, in deep devotion, up to their chins for hours. Few people of rank at present honour the fountain by their presence." The Pagan well-worship has been more generally preserved in the sister island: see CROKER, Researches in the south of Ireland, c. XV.

[34] DRAYTON, Polyolbion, Song XXVI.

[35] LAMBARDE, Dictionarium, p. 48. (quoted in Dodsley's Collection of Old Plays, Vol. I. p. 50. ed. Lond. 1780.) "Within the parish of Bacwell, in Derbyshire, is a chappel in a place called Bucston, wheare there is a hotte bathe—Hither they weare wont to run on pilgrimage, ascribing to St Anne miraculously, that thinge which is in that and sondrye other waters naturally."

[36] SOLINUS, c. XXII. Fontes calidi opiparo exculti apparatu ad usus mortalium: quibus fontibus praesul est Minervae numen.

over cold sources. They usually transferred the other kind to the care of Heracles. Thus though the celebrated waters of Himera and Egesta were said to have been *produced* by the Nymphs[37], yet it was simply that the hero might enjoy the luxury of a hot bath after the fatigues of his long journey. The well-known springs which gave Thermopylae its name[38], and many other similar sources, were supposed to have been caused to flow, by the benevolence of Athene[39], that they might thus serve to refresh the son of Zeus and Alcmena after his various labours[40].

The Nymphs of the ancient Greeks used to delight no less in caves, where drops of water ever kept distilling from the living rock[41], than in these perennial springs. Such natural temples are chiefly appropriated, at the present day, not, like this fountain near Pólis, to the old Divinities under new names, but to the Virgin Queen of

[37] And hence were called Θερμὰ Νυμφῶν λουτρά, by PINDAR, Ol. XII. at the end: see DIODORUS SICULUS, IV. 23. Μυθολογοῦσι τὰς Νύμφας ἀνεῖναι θερμὰ λουτρὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν γενομένης αὐτῷ (Ἡρακλεῖ) κακοπαθείας· τούτων δὲ ὄντων διττῶν, τὰ μὲν Ἱμεραῖα, τὰ δὲ Ἐγεσταῖα προσαγορεύεται.

[38] PISANDER, in Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1047.

Τῷ δ' ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
ποίει θερμὰ λοετρὰ παρὰ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης.

They are mentioned by STRABO, IX. p. 428, as θερμὰ ὕδατα, τιμώμενα ὡς Ἡρακλεῖ ἱερά.

[39] ZENOBIUS, VI. 49. Ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀνῆκε πολλαχοῦ θερμὰ λουτρὰ πρὸς ἀνάπαυλαν τῶν πόνων.

[40] Hence Heracles became notorious for using only these hot baths: ARISTOPHANES, l. c.

Ποῦ ψυχρὰ δῆτα πώποτ' εἶδες Ἡράκλεια λουτρά;

I have little doubt that the Turkish khamám of the present day is derived from the conquered Greeks, and resembles the Heraclean bath in question. This modern usage is an instance of Mohammedan civilization, which might well be imitated in Christian countries.

[41] ODYSSEY, XIII. 103.

Ἄντρον ἐπήρατον ἠεροειδές,
ἱρὸν Νυμφάων, αἳ Νηϊάδες καλέονται—
ἐν δ' ὕδατ' ἀενάοντα.

PORPHYRY, on the grotto of the Nymphs, c. VIII. p. 8. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ταῖς νύμφαις ἀνετίθεσαν ἄντρα, καὶ τούτων μάλιστα ταῖς Ναΐσιν, αἳ ἐπὶ πηγῶν εἰσί, κἀκ τῶν ὑδάτων, ἀφ' ὧν εἰσὶ ῥοαί, Ναΐδες ἐκαλοῦντο, δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνος.

Heaven, whom the modern mythology describes as "more glorious than the Cherubim, and beyond comparison more honourable than the Seraphim," and from whose commandments her credulous and superstitious votaries pray that they may never swerve. Thus a Panaghía Spelaeótissa, or Virgin of the Grotto, may now be found in every part of Greece, receiving, from the Christian peasant, honours not unlike those bestowed in ancient times on the Nymphs and Pan, of whose temples she has obtained possession.

Fountains and wells, among the modern Greeks, when not possessed by any Virgin Saint, are sometimes the abode of a Spirit, called Στοιχεῖον, Element, and belonging to a class of supernatural beings, the existence of which is every where believed in by the peasantry[42].

[42] KORAY, ATAKTA, Tom. IV. p. 550. Στοιχεῖα σήμερον πιστεύει ὁ ἀπαίδευτος λαὸς τὰ κακοποιὰ δαιμόνια (lutins, esprits follets), ἢ φάσματα (spectres), καὶ Στοιχειωμένον οἶκον ὀνομάζει τὸν κατεχόμενον καὶ ἐνοχλούμενον (ὡς πιστεύουν) ἀπὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα δαιμόνια οἶκον. The phrase Στοιχειωμένος οἶκος, calls to mind the verses of AESCHYLUS, Suppl. 645.

Δῖον ἐπιδόμενοι, πράκτορά τε σκοπόν
δυσπολέμητον, ὃν οὔτις ἂν δόμος ἔχοι
ἐπ' ὀρόφων μιαίνοντα· βαρὺς δ' ἐφίζει.

On the usage of the word Στοιχεῖον, in the sense of Demon, by Platonists and other writers, see DU CANGE, Glossarium, 1453. There is also a good account of the word in KORAY, l. c. p. 549. These Στοιχεῖα are described in the so-called testament of Solomon, cited by GAULMIN, on Psellus, de operat. daemon. p. 113. and by LEO ALLATIUS, de quorund. Graec. opin. p. 163. (see also SUIDAS, v. Ἐζεκίας, and KORAY, l. c. p. 527.) Κἀγὼ Σαλομὼν ταῦτα ἐθαύμασα καὶ ἐπερώτησα λέγων, καὶ ὑμεῖς τίνες ἐστε; οἱ δ' ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἔφασαν μίᾳ φωνῇ, καὶ εἶπον, ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν τὰ λεγόμενα Στοιχεῖα, οἱ Κοσμοκρατοῦντες τοῦ σκότους (or κόσμου) τούτου. There seems to be an allusion here to the words of St PAUL, Ephes. VI. 20. Several Fathers of the Church, who of course did not share in the heresies of Manicheans, Euchitists, or Satanians, recognized Satan's host of inferior demons as κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου δαίμονας: see GAULMIN, l. c. Similar Spirits are mentioned by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, XXI. 1. Elementorum omnium spiritus, utpote perennium corporum praesentiendi motu semper et ubique vigens, ex his, quae per disciplinas varias affectamus, participat nobiscum munera divinandi: et substantiales potestates ritu diverso placatae, velut ex perpetuis fontium venis vaticina mortalitati suppeditant verba. The Στοιχεῖον of the modern Greeks is also called Τελώνι: see DU CANGE, Glossarium, 1541. VILLOISON met with the Spirit, bearing this latter name, in Myconos, and says, in the Annales des Voyages, Tom. II. p. 180, that there, "avant de puiser,

This Water-spirit is of the male sex, and delights to entice young maidens to visit the chambers of the well-furnished and splendid palace in which he resides, within the waters of his well or fountain[43].

I suppose these notions to be vestiges of opinions, once inculcated by Fathers of the Church, respecting the Pagan water-spirits, which, until they received, as it were, Christian baptism, and the name of a Saint, were naturally treated as demoniacal beings[44].

puiser de l'eau, on salue trois fois. On m'a dit que c'est pour honorer le génie qui préside au puits, le *teloni*." Villoison refers to ARTEMIDORUS, Oneiroc. II. c. 27, whose words are: Φρέαρ δὲ ἰδεῖν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἢ ἐν ἀγρῷ οὐκ ὂν πρότερον, ἀγαθόν· οὐσίας γὰρ ἐπίκτησιν σημαίνει· ἀγάμῳ δὲ καὶ ἄπαιδι γυκαῖκα καὶ παῖδας. Νύμφαι γάρ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ φρέατι. The Τελώνια used to be also called Τελέσματα, and from this word the Arabic *talisman*, which has since found its way into English and other European languages, was derived: see DU CANGE, l. c. 1540. and GEUSIUS, Victimae Humanae, P. I. Cap. XX.

[43] LEO ALLATIUS, de quorund. Graecor. opinat. p. 166. In puteis itaque, Στοιχεῖον, de quo loquimur, sed grandioribus, et qui cavernis internis, veluti thalamis, distinguuntur, saepissime dicitur ludere: apparet enim supra puteum Aethiops homuncio sedens, nemini molestus, nihil dicens, foemellas ad se nutu gestuque advocans; quas, si accesserint, benevole excipit; et tradunt, multa de suo elargiri: si non accesserint, non curat, nec malus est erga eas. Saepe etiam, repulsa indignatus, in puteum proripit se; adolescentulas forma honesta ac liberali, quarum amore capi dignoscitur, solicitando et pollicitando in fraudem illicere conatur. Et, ut magis admireris, non desunt qui dicant, nonnullas, donis delinitas, homuncioni sua obstrinxisse; ideoque ab eo, tanquam familiares, in puteos delatas, et in pulcherrimos thalamos, omnium rerum apparatu ditissimos ac splendidissimos, intromissas, et post diutinam moram, cibo potuque refectas, extra puteum asportatas, et cum vellent postea semper, dummodo pusionis cupidinem non fefellissent, thalami aditus patuisse. Idque inter alios maxime asseveranter traditur de ingenti puteo, quod in horto Cavaci est, à quo paucissimi, propter ejus magnitudinem, et forte etiam religione quadam ducti, aquam hauriunt. Sic etiam Chii—est puteus—non admodum profundus, ore angusto, sed caveis undique ac fornicibus subnixus: ex eo quasi semper nocte media homo, equo, eoque ferocissimo, insidens, egreditur, et ea via concitatius nec sine strepitu currendo itque reditque, cum demum in eundem puteum, cum equo cadit: hominem *Veniam* dicunt: et res ista adeo est rumore omnium vulgata, ut, si quis ambigeret, insanire à vicinis illis diceretur. Et cum aliquem, quasi mentis inopem, ludunt, interrogant, an ex puteo Veniae biberit: ἔπιες ἀπὸ τὸ πηγάδι τοῦ Βένια.

[44] LEO ALLATIUS, l. c. Nec mirum est, similes spiritus ut plurimum in puteis, et fontibus, aut locis aliis, aquis lutoque obsitis, conspici: nam, ut testatur TERTULLIANUS libro de Baptismo: *immundi Spiritus aquis incubant;*

Crete is celebrated for the number and copiousness of its springs and fountains at the present day[45]: and they certainly make the country very unlike many parts of the arid regions of Greece. In the neighbourhood of Gortyna, the fountain of Sauros is said to have been surrounded by poplars *which bore fruit*[46]: and, on the banks of the Lethaeos, also in the great Gortynian plain, was another copious and celebrated source. It was shaded by a noble platane, believed by naturalists to retain its foliage throughout the winter, and supposed by the people to have covered with its branches the nuptial couch of Europa and the metamorphosed Zeus, when the God landed, with his young and lovely bride, on the banks of the neighbouring river[47].

*bant; sciunt opaci quique fontes, et avii quoque rivi,—et putei, qui rapere dicuntur, scilicet per vim Spiritus Nocentis.* Thus the Water-spirits of Tertullian derive their power from the great Arch-Fiend, and form one of the six orders of the Satanic host, (as distinguished by the learned MICHAEL PSELLUS, in his book περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων, p. 45. ed. Gaulm.) all of which are described as hating God and hostile to man: εἶναι δὲ πάντα ταῦτα τῶν δαιμονίων θεομισῆ καὶ ἀνθρώποις πολέμια. They consist of, 1st, the *Igneous* (τοῦτο δὲ περὶ τὸν ὕπερθεν ἡμῶν ἀέρα περιπολεῖν): 2d, the *Aerial* (ὃ καὶ καλεῖσθαι παρὰ πολλοῖς ἰδίως ἀέριον), which occupies the Earth's circumambient atmosphere: 3d, the *Terrestrial* (τὸ χθόνιον): 4th, the *Aqueous* (τὸ ὑδραῖον): 5th, the *Subterraneous* (τὸ ὑποχθόνιον): 6th, the *Light-hating* (τὸ μισοφαές). Now, although all these demons are haters of God, and hostile to man, still some of them are worse than others: the most destructive and malicious are the *Aqueous*, the *Subterraneous*, and the *Light-hating*: τὸ γὰρ ὑδραῖον τε καὶ ὑποχθόνιον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ μισοφαές, ἐσχάτως ἐπιχαιρέκακα καὶ ὀλέθρια.

[45] A Cretan, now living in exile at Nauplia, thus speaks, πρὸς τὴν δεινοπαθεστάτην πατρίδα του:

Τὰ γλυκύτατα νερά, τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρασία,
ἡ πλουσία σου αὐτὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀφθονία.

[46] THEOPHRASTUS, H. P. III. 5. Ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ καὶ αἴγειροι κάρπιμοι πλείους εἰσί. μία μὲν, ἐν τῷ στομίῳ τοῦ ἄντρου ἐν τῇ Ἰδῃ, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἀνακεῖται· ἄλλη δὲ μικρά, πλησίον. ἀπωτέρω δέ, μάλιστα δώδεκα σταδίους, περὶ τὴν κρήνην Σαύρου καλουμένην, πολλαί.

[47] THEOPHRASTUS, H. P. I. 15. VARRO, de re rustic. I. 7. PLINY, XII. 1. Est Gortynae in insula Creta juxta fontem platanus una, insignis utriusque linguae monumentis, nunquam folia dimittens. Statimque ei fabulositas Graeciae superfuit; Jovem sub ea cum Europa concubuisse. These passages are mentioned by MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 38. I need hardly subjoin that my enquiries after any evergreen platanes in Crete were unsuccessful.

After following, for about two hours, a road unequalled for impracticability by any I have yet seen in the island, we arrived at the village of Hághios Konstantínos, distant about four miles from Pólis, and took up our quarters in the house of a cousin of Captain Maniás. It being Wednesday, the Greeks eat only boiled herbs and bread, to which was added, for us, salt-fish, eggs, and a preparation of camel's flesh, called pástruma, of which I cannot speak very highly. We also obtained plenty of excellent wine; and, during the evening, the two warriors or klefts, by whichever name it is right to call them, amused both themselves and their hearers by recounting several events of the war, especially exploits in which they had themselves a share. They are both Sfakians, and I find that my host as well as my guide, invariably substitutes $\rho$ for $\lambda$ in a great number of words.

*February* 20.

Many of the villagers came to my host's house, anxious to conduct me to the Hellenic buildings, which were to be seen, they said, in and about the village; and which proved to be remains of the houses of feudal proprietors, the Venetian Cavalieri of the middle ages. After this, my host, Joseph Russákes, offered to accompany us to a fountain, at which he assured me there were ancient walls and inscriptions. This fountain, a most copious source, is about a mile to the east of the village, and is under two fine plane-trees. It is at the side of a plateau, about a hundred paces long and twenty wide, at the extremity of a little valley, full of cypresses, bay-trees, orange-trees, carobs, platanes, and myrtles. The place is so entirely abandoned that, as Russákes told me, no one comes even to gather the oranges[48]. With con-

successful. The peasants said, "Perhaps it may be so elsewhere, but it is quite impossible for any plane-tree to retain its leaves through the winter in Crete."

[48] The orange-tree flourishes greatly in Crete: and the bazár of Khaniá was well supplied with oranges during my stay in that city. No less than twelve different

siderable difficulty, and after much trouble in clearing away moss and weeds from the fountain, I succeeded in making out the following inscription:

FRANCISCVS BAROCI
VS IACOPI FILIVS PRO
PTER PARENTVM ET
AMICORVM SVORVM
ANIMI RECREATIONE(M)
LOCVM HVNC PER
ORNAVIT MDIX.

At the other extremity of this little vale, which is about half a mile long, is another piece of raised ground, with its fountain: the whole was evidently a delightful summer retreat during the time of the Venetians; and, even at the present season of the year, the words of Tasso serve as a faithful description of its beauties.

> Se non disdegni il seggio ombroso, e'l monte,
> E'l dolce mormorar del chiaro fonte,
> Quì siedi, e spazia tra bei fiori e l'erba,
> Nella stagione acerba[49].

About a mile hence is the village of Rústika[50], and the monastery of Prophét-Elías, which contains thirteen kalógheri and an Hegúmenos[51], all of whom were absent gathering their olives when we arrived: the news of so

different kinds of this fruit are produced in the island, and the varieties of the lemon are nearly as numerous. See SIEBER, Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. I. p. 74. A large quantity is annually exported.

[49] TASSO, L'Armonia, vv. 8—11.

[50] Τὰ Ῥούστικα.

[51] I write *an* Hegúmenos, wishing to preserve the sound of the latter word as used by the Greeks, who, like the Italians, never sound the aspirates. Hegúmenos seems preferable to Egúmenos, on account of the existence of the aspirate in the written Greek. Mr FALLMERAYER, who leaves no stone unturned to discover traces of Slavonian immigrations into Greece, attributes, in his work, Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea waehrend des Mittelalters, p. 236. this loss of the aspirate, in the modern language, to the presence of those northern conquerors. It is undoubtedly singular, that the Slavonian dialects should not possess the aspirate, which the modern Greeks have lost, and which must have been very distinctly pronounced by the ancients.

unusual an event as a visit from Europeans soon brought the Hegúmenos or Abbot to us.

These monks seem to adhere closely to the first principles of their order; and to act in strict, though doubtless in unconscious compliance, with the precepts of many Saints and Fathers of the Church. Most of them, even including not unfrequently their Abbot, are thus supported by the daily labour of their own hands. The description of the early monastic institutions, in Bingham, will best shew how little the Greek monks of the nineteenth century differ from the contemporaries of Jerome. "All monks were obliged to exercise themselves in bodily labour, partly to maintain themselves without being burdensome to others, and partly to keep their souls well guarded, and as it were out of the way of Satan's strongest temptations. For Cassian notes it is a very wise saying of the Egyptian fathers, that a labouring monk was but tempted with one devil, but an idle one was exposed to the devastation of a legion. And therefore St Jerome, writing to his friend Rusticus the monk, bids him be sure to exercise himself in some honest labour, that the devil might always find him employed. They did not then think that working was inconsistent with the other duties of a monk, but one necessary part of his office and station; and St Austin wrote a whole book to prove this to be their duty[52]." It would be easy to extend the parallel to the extraordinary fastings and the extraordinary devotions which are still practised by the oriental monks.

The Hegúmenos told me, while we partook of wine, fruits, and coffee in his cell, that the monastery was entirely destroyed by the Mohammedans during the war, and that to restore the church, and the few dwellings in which they now live, they had to borrow 15,000 piastres. Their possessions are about 2000 olive-trees and

[52] Bingham, Antiquities of the Christian Church, B. vii. Ch. iii. §. 12. On the gross ignorance of the modern monks, in which point they probably equal their predecessors, I have already spoken above, p. 32.

some carobs. In the court-yard of the monastery are suspended three bronze bells of Venetian manufacture, with the maker's name and their dates (1634 and 1636) on them. Little more than a mile from Rústika we crossed a streamlet in a very picturesque valley, where the platane and walnut were the only trees that were not adorned with their green foliage: the former was covered with ivy, and generally had a vine twining round its trunk to a height of thirty to forty feet. We soon after traversed a plain near four miles long and about two broad, and from which we had a fine view of the Sfakian mountains covered with snow, and appearing very beautiful as the Sun shone on their magnificent outline. The first village through which we passed is Priné: it is not above two miles from the northern sea, and contains many indications of the Venetian rule. Above one doorway is a mutilated coat of arms and an inscription:

TRAHIT SVA QVEMQVE VOLVPTAS
ANN. $\overline{\text{DNI}}$. MDCXLIII. PRID. KAL. IVL.

A good many cypresses are scattered among the olives by which this village is surrounded, and produce a very pleasing and picturesque effect.

Leaving Priné and passing Alitsópulo, we soon descended to a curious bridge, to take a sketch[53] of which, though it was near sunset, we halted for some time. The principle of its construction is one of which I do not suppose any instance to exist in England: it costs the builder much less to content himself with a single row of arches, and to make the road descend to them at each end of the bridge. But though this method is unemployed at the present day, the ancient Romans made use of it very frequently, especially in carrying an aqueduct across a valley: and sometimes, as at the Pont du Gard near Nismes, and elsewhere, they built three series of arches one above the other, raising the bridge to the level of

[53] Seen at p. 101.

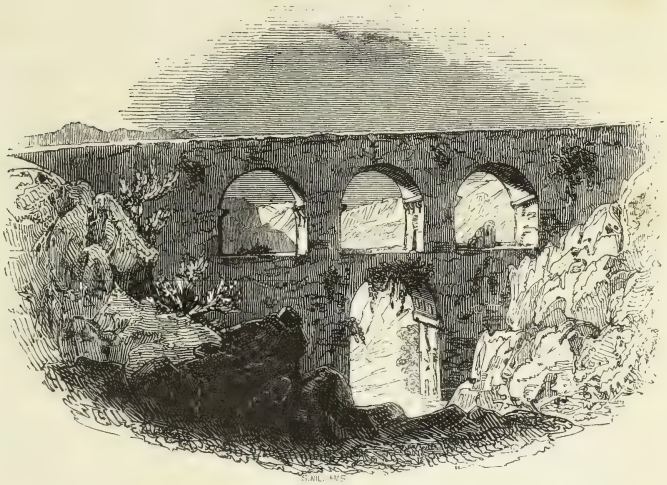
the water. Near this bridge are excavations in the rock, one of which is a chapel of Hághios Antónios.

We arrived at the gates of Rhíthymnos a little after sunset, and after making the Arab sentries understand that we wanted admission, a messenger was dispatched to the Governor, who, however, did not think proper to order the gates to be opened, and we were therefore obliged to sleep at a little hamlet about a mile from the city.

A. Schranz del.

L. Haghe Lith.

PHILHYMNOS.



BRIDGE TO THE WEST OF RHITHYMNOS.

## CHAPTER VII.

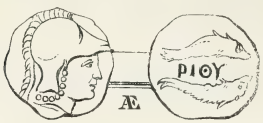
RHITHYMNA. VISIT TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHITHYMNOS. THE MOHAMMEDAN SABBATH. ACCOUNT OF THE KURMULIDHES. EXPLOITS OF GLEMEDH-ALI, AND CRETAN SONG ON HIS DEATH. VILLAGE OF PEGHE. SPYRIDHON PAPADHAKES. ATROCITIES PERPETRATED DURING THE GREEK REVOLUTION. PRODUCE AND CONSUMPTION OF OIL IN CRETE. CONVENT OF ARSANI. MENDICANT PRIESTS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES. PERAMA NOT THE SITE OF PERGAMOS. MELIDHONI AND ITS GROTTO. DESTRUCTION OF CHRISTIANS WHO TOOK REFUGE IN IT. MOUNT TALLAEOS. TALOS. ANCIENT HUMAN SACRIFICES. ACCOUNT OF THE GROTTO AND ITS INSCRIPTION. MODERN CHRISTIAN NAMES.

*February* 21, 1834.

My companion made a sketch of Rhíthymnos from the neighbourhood of these cottages, in one of which we had slept, about a mile to the eastward of the city.

The ancient Rhithymna, on the site of which Rhíthymnos is undoubtedly situated, does not seem to have been a place of much importance. It is mentioned by Ptolemy[1] and Pliny[2] as the first town on the north coast to the eastward of Amphimalla, and is spoken of as a Cretan city by Stephanus of Byzantium, in whose text its name is written Rhithymnia[3]. It is also alluded to by the poet Lycophron[4]. Mannert has erroneously supposed the Hydramon of the Periplus, which, as we have seen, was probably near the modern Dhrámia, to be the same place with Rhithymna[5]. The Greek Bishop of Rhithymnos has preserved the ancient name of his see[6]; thus also I found the Bishop of Cydonia[7] at Khaniá.

Eckhel first assigned to Rhithymna its ancient coins[8]: maritime emblems are found on them.



There is another, given in Khell's Appendix to the Thesaurus Britannicus, the place of which I long supposed not to have been as yet pointed out. I find, however, that it is rightly given to Rhithymna by Rasche[9].

Rhíthymnos is undoubtedly a more considerable place among the cities of Crete at the present day, than Rhithymna was in former times[10].

[1] Ptolemy, Geograph. iii. 17.

[2] Pliny, N. H. iv. 20. Amphimalla, Rhithymna, Panhormum.

[3] Stephanus Byzant. Ῥιθυμνία, πόλις Κρήτης. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ῥιθυμνιάτης καὶ Ῥιθύμνιος. See him also in the words Βοβώνεια and Νικωνία.

[4] Lycophron, Alex. 76. Ῥειθυμνιάτης κέπφος ὡς ἐνήξατο; where most of the MSS. (vid. Bachm.) agree in the ει, and where one Scholiast calls the city Ῥειθυμνία and another Ῥίθυμνα.

[5] Mannert, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. viii. p. 696.

[6] He is called ὁ Ῥιθύμνης. [7] Ὁ Κυδωνίας.

[8] Eckhel, Numi Veteres Anecdoti, p. 155.

[9] Rasche, Lexicon Rei Numariae, Tom. iv. P. i. 1024.

[10] Eckhel has observed this, Doctrina N. V. Vol. ii. p. 320. "Olim parum cognita, hodie illustrior, nomine Retimo." *Retimo* is its general European name; and, like so many other corrupted appellations of ancient cities,

Wishing to walk over the citadel, to do which the Bey's permission was requisite, I determined to visit him; although I had hardly forgiven his want of courtesy last night. His seraglio, as it is called, is a large and dilapidated building, near the port. Near its entrance were a number of straggling Arab regular soldiers, and some sentries. I found the Bey walking about the room as I entered it; a sure sign that a Turk belongs to the old school of ignorance and prejudice, and wishes to avoid having to rise from his seat when an European traveller enters his apartment. He was very tall, very fat, and very dull: was greatly surprised at my talking Greek and a little Turkish, and suggested that I had only to perfect myself in Turkish, and to learn Arabic, in order to know all existing languages. He was profuse of apologies for last night's incivilities at the gates, and assured me that had he been aware that it was I, they should have been immediately opened.

It being Friday, the Mohammedan sabbath[11], and the chief day on which visits of ceremony are paid in every part of Turkey, the principal officers of both the regular Arab troops and the Arnauts, visited the Governor, each of the latter accompanied by a few of his rough followers in their shaggy white capotes. These attendants remained in the room, standing of course, during the whole interview. On leaving the Bey I visited the citadel, the guard at the gate of which was turned out as I entered. I found it just like most other Turkish forts: such guns as are not absolutely dismounted being either broken or unserviceable from rust and neglect. I noticed several large bronze Venetian swivels among them.

cities, though well known in Europe, has never been heard here, except among the Frank population. Italians or Frenchmen could not have been expected to preserve the *θ*, *th* of Rhithymna.

[11] One reason assigned, for regarding Friday as the day of prayer and repose, is because God finished the creation on that day. SALE, Koran, The Assembly, c. LXII. Vol. II. p. 438. A different account is found in RELAND, de relig. Mohammed. p. 99, and farther information on the subject may be obtained from SALE's Introductory Discourse, Sect. VII.

The present population of Rhíthymnos is upwards of three thousand souls, of whom only about eighty families are Christians. Here the character of the bazárs, and streets, which are better than those of Khaniá, is entirely Turkish.

I have already spoken of the general apostasy, which began to take place in Crete soon after the Turkish conquest, and in consequence of which about half of the whole population of the island consisted of Mohammedans at the outbreaking of the Greek revolution, thirteen years ago.

It is not only in modern Crete and Albania that a Christian population has shewn this readiness to abandon the religion of their forefathers. The early Saracenic conquerors of Christian principalities and kingdoms seem every where to have brought about the rapid conversion, to their own faith, of those among whom they established themselves. Thus in Spain the apostasy soon became general, although, for a while longer, members of the sacerdotal order were still found, who professed Christianity, using, however, the *Mozarabic* liturgy, and, like many of the so-called Christians of their day, conforming to the most important ceremonial observances of Islamism. Again, in Sicily, the religion and language of the Greeks were at once eradicated; "and such was the docility of the rising generation, that fifteen thousand boys were circumcised and clothed, on the same day with the son of the Fatimite caliph."

Thus also the acquisition of Crete by the Saracens of Spain in the ninth century, seems to have led to the rapid conversion of nearly the whole population to the faith of the Crescent: and when, at length, this long lost jewel was restored, by the valour and good fortune of Nicephorus Phocas, to the Imperial Diadem, the canonization of Nicon the Armenian became the hardly earned reward of his zeal and success, "in extirpating the false doctrines of Mohammedanism" from the soil of the island.

On the second conquest of Crete by Mohammedan invaders, some of the wealthier inhabitants of Megálo-Kástron and its neighbourhood are said, after openly renouncing Christianity, to have retained, in secret, the faith in which they had been baptized; and to have handed it down, in the same manner, to their descendants. Their exoteric doctrine alone was the faith of Islam, their esoteric was still that of the Cross. Among such families that of the Kurmúlidhes is celebrated, throughout the whole island, both for what was done by them before the Greek revolution, and for what they have suffered since. They were a powerful and wealthy house or clan, established at Khusé, in the fertile plain of Messará. They had conformed to the newly introduced religion, almost immediately after the Turkish conquest[12]; but, unlike the majority of the new converts, had their children secretly baptized, and bestowed on them *Christian* names. On subsequent circumcision, each of them received his Mohammedan appellation of Ibrahím, Khuseín, and so forth: thus every Kurmúlis was nominally a Mohammedan, and in reality a Christian.

According to the general testimony of all the Cretans, this distinguished family used to exert a great influence in the whole plain of Messará, and invariably protected the Christians against all violence and oppression from their Moslem neighbours. Still, now and then, fears would arise in the breast of each Kurmúlis respecting his prospects, with reference to the other world: and, at length, one of them, the uncle of the present head of the family, some years before the outbreaking of the Greek revolution, determined to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and to ask "the Bishop" there, whether a sincere Christian, who professed Islamism and was sup-

[12] My chief informant, the present head of the family, with whom I became acquainted at Nauplia, where he was living in exile, was circumcised as Ibrahím-agá, having been baptized Ioánnes, and says that their custom began in his great-grandfather's time. He is about forty years of age, and the four generations take us back almost to the time of the Turkish conquest.

posed to be a true believer in it, could be saved. The Bishop sternly answered, that any Christian who shunned the open profession of his faith, had no chance of salvation: and, on this, the old man immediately took a resolution, which was also adopted by nearly half the members of his clan. Thirty Kurmúlidhes determined at once to go to the Pashá at the Kástron, to confess that they were Christians, and to endure the ignominious death which would immediately await them[13]. On their arrival in the city, out of respect for the Archbishop, they went to his residence, "the Metropolis," before presenting themselves at "the seraglio" of the Pashá. The Metropolitan, on learning their intention, naturally saw the question in a very different light from the Bishop at Jerusalem; and remonstrated with them, in strong and energetic terms, against their design. He easily shewed them, that it was not only their own martyrdom on which they had determined, but that of many others whom they would leave behind them. Every priest who had married one of those, who, while in reality Christian dogs, had still usurped the turban and enjoyed the rank of true believers, would be compromised; and, undoubtedly, his life would be required as an atonement for his crime. Many priests would thus inevitably be put to death: every bishop, too, who had at any time granted a licence for the celebration of such a marriage[14], would be involved in the same ruin. Moreover, the suspicion excited would doubtless point, not only to the real accessories, but to many who knew nothing of their secret faith; so that such a step as they thought of taking would inevitably cause much innocent Christian blood to flow. The

[13] RICAUT, writing a century and a half ago, says that conscience-struck renegades, "having communicated their anguish or desires to some bishop, or grave person of the clergy, and signifying withal their courage and zeal to die for that faith which they have denied—have owned their conversion;—for which, being condemned to die, they have suffered death with the same cheerfulness and courage that we read of the primitive martyrs." The present state of the Greek Church, p. 289. ed. 1679.

[14] This necessary episcopal licence is called τὸ θέλημα.

Archbishop likewise alluded to the use they had ever made of their power, to protect their Christian brethren; and ended by assuring them that he differed from the Bishop at Jerusalem, and believed they might go to heaven, though they lived and died in ostensible communion with the followers of Mohammed. His arguments and exhortations at length prevailed, and they consented to leave the city without divulging their secret to the Pashá.

One of the most remarkable members of the family was Khuseín-agá, whose personal exploits before the outbreaking of the Greek revolution would fill a volume, and who also distinguished himself as a leader in the early history of the war with the Turks, under his Christian name of Captain Mikháli Kurmúlis. He was the Greek Arkhegós of all the Kastriná[15], and died at Hýdhra in 1824. He was succeeded by his son, Rhiziván-agá, or Captain Dhemétrios, who was killed at Athens. His brother, Mustafá-agá, or Captain Manóles, subsequently fell at Mokhó in Crete. Of sixty-four men of the family, only two have survived the murderous war of the revolution.

In the year 1824, three Kurmúlidhes, two brothers, and one of their cousins, were executed, outside the walls of Rhíthymnos, by Mustafá-bey, the Turkish general. They had been made prisoners at Mélabes, along with their wives and children, all of whom experienced the usual lot of the war, and became slaves. The men were brought before the Bey, at his palace within the city: he offered them their lives on condition of their abandoning their religion. The proposal was instantly and indignantly rejected by the eldest of the prisoners[16]. On this they were conducted to the place of execution, near the Turkish cemetery

[15] Τὰ Καστρινά, that is the districts round the Κάστρο.

[16] It should never be forgotten that any Christian prisoner, instead of becoming a martyr, might, throughout the war, have saved his life by embracing Mohammedanism.

without the walls. When every thing was ready, the Bey again asked the eldest whether he would become a Mohammedan[17]: No! his faith was firm: he replied, "I was born a Christian, and a Christian I will die[18];" and, in an instant, his two companions saw his head severed from his body. The second, nothing shaken in his resolution by the sight, when asked to choose between the Crescent and the axe, answered that he would follow his brother: on this he also was beheaded. The cousin of these two sufferers was very young, and, though firm of purpose, was unable to make any answer, when the same proposal was repeated to him. He was seized by the attendants, and, the next moment, his body likewise was a headless bleeding trunk.

The Bishop of Rhíthymnos went near the spot that night, and also the two next evenings. Each time he saw a light[19] descend on the bodies of the two, who, with so holy and fervent a zeal, had earned the crown of martyrdom. The blood-stained clothes of all the three unfortunates were cut off, and distributed: a very small portion of any part of them, if burnt in a sick chamber, used to effect the invalid's immediate restoration to health.

I will now give the story of a Mohammedan chieftain's death, which happened near this city a few years earlier, in an action with the Christians under Captain Rússo and Papá-Anagnóstes. Glemédh-Alí was my hero's name, and he was one of the most celebrated native leaders whom the Cretan Mohammedans ever had in their sanguinary contest with the Christians of

[17] Τουρκεύεις ἢ ὄχι; Ὄχι, δὲν Τουρκεύω.

[18] Ἀντώνιος ἐγεννήθηκα, Ἀντώνιος θὰ ἀποθάνω. I might compare the conversation between Omér-Vriónis and Dhiákos: FAURIEL, Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne, Tom. II. p. 36.

"Γένεσαι Τοῦρκος Διάκο μου, τὴν πίστιν σου ν' ἀλλάξῃς;
νὰ προσκυνᾷς εἰς τὸ τζαμί, τὴν ἐκκλησιάν ν' ἀφήσῃς;
Κ' ἐκεῖνος τ' ἀπεκρίθηκε, καὶ μὲ θυμὸν τοῦ λέγει·
Ἐγὼ Γραικὸς γεννήθηκα, Γραικὸς θέλ' ἀπαιθάνω."

[19] Φωθιά.

the island. The beauty of Glemédhi's person, the tallness of his stature, the splendour of his arms, the loudness of his voice, and the swiftness of his feet, are all themes of praise even to my Sfakian companion[20].

In listening to the recital of this chieftain's exploits, I am constantly reminded of the different characteristics of several of Homer's heroes. Glemédhi's personal beauty, his swiftness of foot[21], and his incomparable valour, are all traits found in the well-known picture of Achilles; his loud and sonorous voice is spoken of so as to remind me of several of the Grecian warriors at Ilium, and even of the brazen-voiced and brazen-hearted Stentor himself: the exclamations addressed by the Cretan hero to the enemy, in the contests, which, for sometime before his death, used almost daily to take place between Christian and Mohammedan combatants, resemble, in no less striking and interesting a manner, the speeches exchanged between the contending warriors on the plain of Troy[22].

Glemédhi had five brothers, one alone of whom died a natural death, the others having all fallen by the sword in the bloody contest with the Christians.

[20] Maniás said: "Glemédhis might always be recognized, *ἦτον γνωριστὸς πάντοτες*, from his rich arms, and his commanding person: he was very swift of foot, *γρήγορος τὰ ποδάρια*, and never did an engagement take place in which he was not one of the foremost combatants: he had a loud shrill voice, *εἶχε σκληρὴν φωνή*."

[21] I hear this quality assigned to many of the Cretan heroes of the revolution, especially to the Mountaineers, who have always delighted in the chase. ATHENAEUS, XIV. 630. b. *Οἱ δὲ Κρῆτες κυνηγετικοί, διὸ καὶ ποδώκεις.*

[22] The following is one of these dialogues: it took place on the very day of Glemédhi's death, between him and Papá-Anagnóstes. When the Christians began to retreat from the Three Churches, *Τζὴ τρεῖς Ἐκκλησιαίς*, in the neighbourhood of Rhíthymnos, Glemédhi exclaimed: *Σταθῆτε· ποῦ φεύγετε κερατάδες; σταθῆτε νὰ σᾶς δείξω σήμερον πῶς πολεμοῦνι οἱ ἄνδρες.* The Christian Captain, in his reply, expressed a wish, which the result of the day verified: *Ὁ Καπιτάνιος Ἀναγνώστης τοῦ εἶπεν· "ἐπόριτσες σήμερον, Αλῆ-ἀγά, ὅπως νὰ πολεμήσης· ὅμως ὀρπίζω στὸν θεὸν ὅπως νὰ μὴ γυρίσης, νὰ σε ἰδῇ πλέον ἡ μάνα σου—παρὰ νὰ εἶναι ἡ ὑστερινή σου ἡμέρα σήμερον.*

The following are parts of a popular song on the death of this distinguished leader. The Commandante, spoken of in its first stanza, is Affendúles, who was then residing at Lutró in Sfakiá.

## ΤΟΥ ΓΑΗΜΗΔΙ ΤΟ ΤΡΑΓΟΥΔΙ.

Ἄνθρωπος δὲν εὑρήθηκε
νὰ μάθῃ τὴν ἀλήθεια
ὁ Κουμαντάντης στὸ Λουτρὸ
ἂν ἔχει κρίνει δίκαια.

Μὰ ἕνα φιρμάν' ἔστειλε
στὴν μπάντα[23] τοῦ 'Ριθύμνου,
νὰ πιάσουν τὸν Γλημήδ' Ἀλῆ
τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ πολέμου.

* * *

Καὶ σύρνει τὸ μαχαίρι[24] τοῦ
κοντὰ τῶνι σιμόνει·
καὶ κινοῦνται ὅροι[25] ἀπάνω τοῦ
ὡσὰν τὸ χελιδόνι.

Εἷς Σφακιανὸς ἐχύθηκε
ὡσὰν τὸ περιστέρι
κἄκοψε τὸ κεφάλι τοῦ
μὲ τὸ δεξιὸ τοῦ χέρι.

[23] Μπάντα: in Hellen. μέρος, in Latin *pars*, in Ital. *banda*: Dante: Che venia verso noi dall' altra *banda*.

[24] Μαχαίρι: the weapon worn in the girdle, ζωνάρι, and seen in the engraving of Captain Maniás. Homer's μάχαιρα is now called μαχαιράκι.

[25] Ὅροι: a Sfakianism for ὅλοι.

Ἔκοψε τὸ κεφάλι τοῦ
τοῦ Ἀλῆ τοῦ Γλημηδάκι
καὶ βάστα τὸ στὴν χέρα τοῦ
ὡσὰν τὸ μπαϊράκι[26].

Μὰ τοῦ Γλημήδ' ἡ κεφαλή
ἡ πολὺ ἐπαινημένη
τοῦ Ῥούσσου[27] τὴν ἐπήγασαν
στὸ αἷμα κηλισμένη.

Βγάνει καὶ δύω βενετικά,
μπαχσήσι[28] τῶν τὰ δίδει,
διατὶ τὸν ἐσκοτώσασι[29]
αὐτόνι[30] τὸν Γλημήδι.

Διατὶ ἔκαψε[31] πολλαὶς καρδιαίς
καὶ ἀκόμη ἤθελε κάψει·
ἀποῦ[32] νὰ βγοῦ τὰ μάθια[33] τοῦ
ἀποῦ[34] θέλει τόνι κράψει[35].

[26] Μπαϊράκι: the Turkish بيراق, *baïrâk*.

[27] Rússos has been mentioned above: see p. 10.

[28] Μπαχσήσι: the Turkish بخشيش *bakhshesh*, which has generally usurped the place of the Greek δωρεά or χάρισμα.

[29] A common Cretan termination of the third person plural of the aorist.

[30] The final ι is here added, as above in τῶνι, v. 10.

[31] Ἔκαψε: that is ἔκαυσε. The word ἀκόμη, found in the next verse, is derived from ἀκμήν, which, however, is not used, in the sense of ἔτι, by the Attic writers: see LOBECK, on Phrynichus, p. 123. MATTHEW, xv. 16. Ἀκμὴν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀσύνετοί ἐστε; *Are ye also* yet *without understanding?* THEODOROS PTOKHOPRODROMUS, II. 66.

Ἐκεῖνος ἔχει στὴν Μονὴν κἂν δεκαπέντε χρόνους,
καὶ σὺ ἀκμὴν οὐκ ἐπλήρωσες ἐξάμηνον ἀφ' οὗλθες.

[32] Ἀποῦ: Cretism for ὁποῦ: it here means *wherefore*.

[33] Μάθια: for μάτια, from the Hellenic ὀμμάτιον.

[34] Ἀποῦ: for ὁ ὁποῖος.

[35] Κράψει: a Sfakianism for κλάψει, that is κλαύσει.

Γλημήδι, τὸ κεφάλι σου
ἀποῦ 'θελε νταϊαντίσει[36]
εἰς τὸ 'Ρίθυμνος καὶ 'στὰ Χανιά
νὰ βγῆ να πολεμήσῃ·

Γλημήδι τὸ κεφάλι σου,
ἀποῦ 'βανες[37] τὰ τζιτζέκια[38],
τώρα τὸ 'χουν οἱ Σφακιανοί
σημάδι 'στὰ τουφέκια[39].

Προμαζωχθῆτε[40] 'στὸ γιαμμί,
Τοῦρκοι καὶ Γιαννιτζάροι,
[41]νὰ ἰδῆτε τὸν Γλημήδ' 'Αλῆ
τὸ ὥμορφο παλλικάρι[42].

[36] Νταϊαντίσει: this word, which I had not before heard, was explained by Captain Maniás to mean βαστήξει. It is equivalent to the Hellenic τολμᾷν, or the Latin *posse*, as in Horace's *potuere* duro perdere ferro.

[37] Βανες: the ancient λ is frequently changed into ν, as in this word βάνω.

[38] Τζιτζέκια: from چچك, *tzitzek*, a flower.

[39] This is a literal fact. Τουφέκι is from the Turkish word تفنك, *tufenk*, a musket.

[40] Corrupted from περιμαζώνω.

[41] It is hardly necessary to point out the irony of the concluding stanza.

[42] The word παλλικάρι is a diminutive derived from the ancient πάλλαξ. The following is the historical account of Glemédhi's death, as given to me by Captain Maniás. "A few days afterwards, μετὰ εἰς μερικαὶς ἡμέραις περασμέναις, the Christian force went to Arméno-kámpi, στοὺς Ἀρμένο-κάμπους, (a village of Rhíthymnos, about five miles distant from the city,) and there formed an ambuscade, ἐκάθισε μὲ χωσιά, while a few of them approached the fortress, and fought with the Mohammedans for some time, μερικὴ ὥρα, at Three Churches, τζὴ τρεῖς 'Εκκλησιαίς. As soon as they began to retreat, the enemy pursued them, and fell into the ambush. The simultaneous volley of the Greeks killed many, (τζὴ ἔκαμαν μίαν μπαττερία—καὶ ἐσκοτώσανι ποῤῥούς,) and some were taken prisoners. It was then that their leader also fell: καὶ τότες ἐσκοτώθηκεν καὶ ὁ Σερασκιέρης τῶν ὁ Γλημήδ-Ἀλῆς. The Mohammedans, after retreating towards the city, maintained their ground throughout the rest of the day. Glemédhi was wounded by the volley which the Christians fired from their ambush, and fell soon afterwards. The Askyfióte who slew him received a reward, bakhshésh, from both Rússo and others, for his exploit. The whole number of Mohammedans who fell in the day's engagement was about three hundred."

In the following English version of this Cretan song, my object has been to render every line as literally as I could, and thus to preserve the characteristic simplicity of the original.

## THE SONG OF GLEMEDHI.

No man has ever yet been found,
The truth to learn and tell,
Whether the Chieftain at Lutró
Did justly plan, and well.

'Twas to the province Rhíthymnos
A firman that he sent;
To seize upon Glemédh-Alí,
That warlike man, he meant.

* * *

Behold him, sword in hand, advance
In conflict close to fight:
At once they all upon him rush,
Swift as the swallow's flight.

An instant more, from scarce seen foe
A fatal blow was sped;
And, lo! a Sfakian's right arm
Struck off Glemédhi's head.

The Sfakian struck off the head
Of Glemedháki true,
And, like a standard, in his hand
He held it up to view.

Thy honour'd head, Glemédh-Alí,
Exulting next they bore,
To Rússo, their renowned Chief,
All stained as 'twas with gore.

And gold, at once, from his own purse,
On them the Chief bestowed,
Because by their successful fight
Glemédhi's blood had flowed.

For many hearts with grief he had racked,
And would have racked still more:
So may each man his eye-sight lose
Who shall his fate deplore!

Glemédhi! now thy head, that erst
Courageously would dare,
At Rhíthymnos and at Khaniá,
The brunt o' th' fray to bear;

Glemédhi! now thy head, that erst
With flowers thou didst deck,
Is by the Sfakians possessed,
A mark for each tufék!

Ye Turks and Janitsáries all
To th' mosque why don't ye fly?
To gaze upon Glemédh-Alí,
The pride of every eye!

*February* 21.

In the evening I rode to Peghé[43], a village where about 160 Greeks paid the poll-tax before the revolution: the present number of inhabited houses does not exceed forty. The Proestós, Spyrídhon[44] Papadhákes, a very hospitable and even intelligent old man, received us most kindly: in a short time his wife and servant produced an excellent supper, and his wine was the best I had tasted in the island. On my praising it, and enquiring if it was abundant, he replied, that he had not much of it, and therefore never drank it except when a stranger came to see him[45]. In what country of Europe should we find either a peasant or a gentleman keeping his choicest wine untouched that he might share it with the wandering stranger?

On another occasion I heard the words of a Cretan song, which my kind and hospitable reception in this village calls to my mind:

[43] Εἰς τὴν Πηγή. This name is derived from a copious source, which supplies the village with excellent water. The same origin of the name Pagasae is assigned by STRABO, IX. p. 436. Ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν, αἳ πολλαί τε καὶ δαψιλεῖς ῥέουσι. Πηγαί, or Παγαί in its doric form, (TZSCHUCKE, on Strabo, Tom. III. p. 446.) was also the name of a place in Megaris, where there was a bronze statue of Artemis Soteira: PAUSANIAS, I. p. 107. SKINNER, in his Etymologicon Onomasticon, assigns the same meaning to the name of *Susa*; which, however, is said to be derived from the beauty of the place, (the word meaning a lily in Arabic, and, I suppose, also in Persian): see ATHENAEUS, XII. p. 513. f. In England wells have given a designation to an episcopal city, and the more illustrious name of a smaller place is Wellen-town, or Wellington.

[44] Spyrídhon, Σπυρίδων, is the name of the celebrated Saint of Korfú, to whose holy *body* our soldiers present arms on certain great festivals: he was a native of Cyprus: see SUIDAS, in Ἀχαϊκὸν and Σπυρίδων, and the authors mentioned by MEURSIUS, Cyprus, I. c. XXVI. The Saint was supposed to work miracles in his life time; as, according to the accounts of the Korfiótes, he still does, in a most wonderful manner, at the present day. The Patriarch PHOTIUS (Cod. 256. p. 471. Bekk.) tells a story of a dead woman, who spoke from her tomb, when interrogated by the Saint: and adds that by the narration of this miracle he shews the Lion to us, as it were by the exhibition of his claws: (τούτοις μὲν ὡς ἐξ ὀνύχων δηλοῦμεν τὸν λέοντα.)

[45] This his choicest wine was obtained from the monastery of Arkádhi, on Mount Ida (Psylorítes).

Χίλια "καλῶς ἐκοπίασες"
τοῦ ξένου στὸ χωριό μας·
κ' ἡμεῖς τὸν καμαρώνομεν
σανὰ τὸν ἰδικό μας.

A thousand welcomes strangers greet,
Whene'er they here arrive:
And unto them, as to our own,
Kindness to shew we strive.

Certainly it is far more satisfactory to any traveller to meet with such individual hospitality as this, than it would be to have a lodging and dinner provided by the city; as used to be done in ancient Crete[46].

I had great reason to rejoice at obtaining so Christian-like a reception in Peghé, a place inhabited, if its name and the words of an ancient grammarian are to be trusted, by descendants of the most genuine of all Pagans[47].

On one side of the village are about 1000 olive-trees, which were the property of the Sultána. The Kislár-agá used to name the Agá of this village, and he was always removed, at the end of two years, if the inhabitants did not like him. They once kept the same Agá, a Mohammedan of the village, thirty-three years. The biennial revenue, obtained by the Sultána from this and three other villages[48], had reached 36,000 piastres at the

[46] DOSIADAS, Cretica, IV. in ATHENAEUS, IV. p. 143. a. Εἰσὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην οἶκοι δύο ταῖς συσσιτίαις, ὧν τὸν μὲν καλοῦσιν ἀνδρεῖον, τὸν δ' ἄλλον, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ξένους κοιμίζουσι, κοιμητήριον προσαγορεύουσι. κατὰ δὲ τὸν συσσιτικὸν οἶκον πρῶτον μὲν κεῖνται δύο τράπεζαι, ξενικαὶ καλούμεναι, αἷς προσκαθίζουσι τῶν ξένων οἱ παρόντες· ἐξῆς δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἄλλων. CHISHULL, Antiq. Asiat. p. 134. Ἐν δὲ τᾷ ὁδῷ τὰς ξενικὰς θοίνας: see HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 452.

[47] SERVIUS, on Virg. Georg. II. 382. Per villas, quae pagi ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν appellantur, id est a fontibus, circa quos villae consueverant condi: unde et *Pagani* dicti sunt, quasi ex uno fonte potantes.

[48] Those of Anoía and Hághios Ioánnes in Mylopótamo, and Vasamónero in Messará.

outbreaking of the Greek revolution. Some years before it had been as low as 15,000, and gradually increased, as the value of the piastre diminished by the deterioration of the Turkish currency, till it reached the above-mentioned sum. The villagers[49] in each of these places used to cultivate all the Sultána's lands, and had half the produce as their own share. They enjoyed so many privileges and immunities, that their condition could not be compared with that of any other rayas. They never cut wood: they paid no arbitary fines[50]: they performed no labour for the Turkish authorities without receiving hire[51]. If at any time any of these things were de-

[49] Οἱ χωριανοί. [50] Ντζερέμια.

[51] Ἀγγαρείαις. SUIDAS, Ἀγγαρεία: καὶ Ἄγγαρος, Ἐργάτης, ὑπηρέτης, ἀχθοφόρος. Ὅθεν ἀγγαρείαν, ἀνάγκην ἀκούσιον λέγομεν, καὶ ἐκ βίας γινομένην ὑπηρεσίαν. On the Persian word ἄγγαρος, and its Hellenic derivatives, consult H. STEPHANUS, Thesaurus, p. CCCIXXIX. fol. ed. Lond. There is an oration of LIBANIUS, περὶ τῶν ἀγγαρειῶν, Vol. II. pp. 549—569. ed. Reisk. The treatment of the peasants, by the magistrates of Antioch, in his day, resembles that which the rayas were afterwards to experience from the local authorities in the worst governed parts of the Turkish empire. It is also a faint sketch of what the Cretan peasant suffered, at the hands of his Venetian task-master, during several centuries. FOSCARINI, after enumerating many of these *angarie*, adds, fol. 108. "Sono di più i contadini obbligati et aggravati di tante altre angarie chè cosa incredibile." Thus they were "in tante maniere tiranneggiati," that, before the end of each year, all the produce of their labour fell into the hands of the Cavalieri. After the Turkish conquest, every peasant, who embraced Islamism, was freed from all these oppressions: and the temporal condition, even of those who remained Christians, was undoubtedly bettered by the change of masters. It would be easy to prove this by copious extracts from the existing records of Venetian misgovernment and oppression. Among other great advantages derived by the Greek subjects of Venice, from their transfer to Moslem sway, was the religious toleration, which the unbelieving Christian obtained in a higher degree than had ever been experienced by the schismatical Greek. A French traveller, in 1710, found the Greek population of Modon, then in the possession of the Most Serene Republic, anxious to be restored to the tolerant and comparatively easy government of the Turks: see LA MOTRAYE, Voyages, Vol. I. c. XXI. p. 462. ed. La Haye, 1727. They "faisoient des voeux pour retourner sous la domination des Turcs, et témoignoient *envier le sort des Grecs qui y vivoient encore*." Nevertheless *individual* Musulmans soon began to oppress the Christians, and the raya of the Turk was ere long reduced to a position little better than that of the subject of the Venetians. Both were, nearly equally, in the condition of the English peasant, of whom

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manded of them they used to send a deputation, consisting of three or four of their principal inhabitants, to the city, with the Sultán's Hatí-sheríf, and the Sultána's Kharém-ighí, the two valuable documents which secured to them the possession of their privileges. In return for all these prerogatives, the consequence of there being some of the Sultána's property situated in the villages, their only obligation was to keep in repair the aqueduct of one of her mosques. Perhaps the most valuable of their rights consisted in their personal freedom and security, when within their own village, where no Turk ever dared to intrude and molest them. When travelling in any other part of the island they feared the Turks, but in their own village never[52]. These villages are like oases in the desert, and present the only bright spots in the gloomy and horrid prospect of injustice and oppression, seen in contemplating the social state of all the Cretan Christians, with the exception of the Sfakian mountaineers, under the old Turkish rule, or rather under the unchecked licentiousness of the Mohammedan population.

It being Friday none of the Greeks tasted the cheese, eggs or milk, which, with some excellent caviáre and olives, formed our evening's meal.

Spyrídhon recounts, to the great annoyance of Captain Maniás, tales of some of the robberies and excesses committed by the Sfakians during the revolution. When the arms of Khuseín-bey were so successful, in 1824, that he was on the point of effecting the general pacification of the island, Spyrídhon retired, as did many other Christians, to the inaccessible fastnesses of Haghía Ruméli and Samaría for safety. While he was there, the submission of every district took place, and

BRACTON says: "he that holdeth in pure villenage, *shall do whatever is commanded him*, and always be bound to an uncertain service."

[52] Elsewhere *ἐφοβούμεσθα τζὴ Τούρκους*, but here *ποτέ*. I asked him if he did not think it was then a sort of *ἐλευθερία*, and he replied *κοντὰ ἤτονι*.

on this he determined, like every body else, to return to his home. Being unwell, and having his wife with him, he thought it worth while to purchase a mule for the journey. Thus the Sfakians saw that he had money. On his arrival at Lutró they seized him, and, after tying his hands behind him, held a pistol at each temple, and five or six at his breast. They thus forced him to disclose where his money was, and obtained from him about 1200 piastres, taking also his mule and some of his clothes. Maniás in vain attempted to edge in a word in favour of his fellow Sfakians. All that can be said in their defence is, that they spent their plunder in the struggle, and, like the Hydhraeans, are poorer, to a man, at the present day, than they were at the outbreaking of the revolution. Old Spyrídhon compares the events of the war to a torrent which carries every thing before it; and says that, in consequence of the excesses committed by the Sfakians, he determined, when the last insurrection under Khadjí Mikháli took place, to go into the fortified city, and that many other Christians did the same thing, not only in the neighbourhood of Rhíthymnos, but also near Megálo-Kástron and Khaniá.

When Khadjí-Mikháli was at Fránko-Kástello, my host went to see him on the Monday. The Khadjí fell on the Wednesday of the same week. Spyrídhon attempted to undeceive him with respect to the amount of the Mohammedan force from the Kástron, (already with the Pashá,) which the Rumeliot Chieftain believed to be a body of only a few hundred men: the endeavour to convince him of their real amount was vain: he was bent on fighting, and seemed even to anticipate victory.

After the death of Khadjí-Mikháli the Turks of Rhíthymnos used to make frequent nocturnal expeditions into villages, sometimes at a considerable distance from the city; and, falling on the people by surprise, often succeeded in massacring the men who made any resistance, and in enslaving women and children. Be-

sides a woman-servant, there is in my host's house another female, who seems to be as much his wife's friend as her attendant, and a little child, both of whom were procured by him under the following circumstances.

About twenty days after the Christmas following the death of Khadjí-Mikháli, a numerous party of armed Turks left the town of Rhíthymnos some time before midnight on a Saturday evening. Now at all periods of the war the Greeks were constant in the performance of their religious exercises: they went to church armed; and, if they were to be suddenly attacked, where could they hope better to defend themselves, against the unbaptized Mohammedans, than at God's altar? At the village of Labiní, in the eparkhía of Hághio Vasíli, there was assembled in the church, on the morning after this party left Rhíthymnos, a small congregation of eight Christians, six of whom had also their wives with them. This village is eighteen miles from Rhíthymnos, and the Mohammedans knew well that they should find the Christians assembled at their prayers in its church about day break on the morning of the Lord's day.

Immediately on their arrival they attacked their destined victims, and attempted to force their way into the church: two or three of them paid the price of their temerity, but the others kept up, for about three hours, through the windows and openings of the building, an inefficient fire on the Christians within. At length they adopted a more certain mode of warfare, and heaping up, near the entrance, dry wood and other combustibles, on which oil was poured, they applied a torch to the materials thus collected. The door was soon consumed, and the Christians had no means of escaping from the flames. Resistance and flight being both equally impossible, and their condition in the church becoming insupportable, the men at length surrendered, and were all massacred. One of the women had fainted, half suffocated by the smoke, and doubtless suffering still more from her apprehension of the destiny

which awaited both her husband and herself. On recovering from her swoon, she found herself tightly corded on the back of a mule, and already advanced about half way towards Rhíthymnos: her hair, her skull-cap, and her clothes were all stiff with the gore of her murdered husband. The savage who had made her his slave did not succeed in selling her for fifteen days, during all which time she continued to wear the clothes which had been thus soaked and dyed in her husband's blood. She was redeemed by my host, who was then living at Rhíthymnos: and he also purchased the little child from its Turkish owner. The child, if I rightly remember, is the woman's daughter, and the price it cost him was eighty Turkish piastres[53].

*February* 22.

In this neighbourhood the mean produce of an olive-tree is five okes of oil; a very good tree will produce two místata; but for 100 místata 150 roots, if not 200, would be necessary. My host's annual consumption of oil in his family is about forty místata. As a mean he thinks the annual consumption in every Cretan family must be about twenty místata, where they have olives: if they have to purchase their oil, they may perhaps make fifteen místata do. "All Crete is used to oil[54]," says he, "more than other places, and even if it cost five piastres the oke, a Cretan would not think it dear."

Our host gives us an excellent breakfast, and, after it, coffee: on my taking leave of him, he replies to my professions of inability adequately to thank him for his kindness, by saying, "I will tell you how to thank me: visit my house again when you next come this way."

An hour after leaving Peghé, we pass through the village of Bagalokhóri; and, soon after, see on our right the ruins of Khamalévri, another village which,

[53] Ὀγδοῆντα γρούσσια—τρεῖς ὀκάδες.

[54] Εἶναι μαθημένη στὸ λάδι.

like Bagalokhóri, now contains a population of only ten Christian and five Mohammedan families. A mile farther on is the monastery of Arsáni, which is small and poor. Pococke speaks of this as "the rich convent of Arsani," and praises the quality of the wines and oil produced on its estates[55]. It now possesses only about 1800 olive-trees, and owes a debt of 15,000 piastres, for which it pays fifteen per cent. The present coenobites are an Hegúmenos, a patéras, a kalógheros, and a dhiákos. Their possessions were still considerable a little while before the revolution, but they were obliged to sell the greater part of them to pay off their debts. The church is dedicated to Hághios Gheórghios, and the monastery contains an elementary school, which is conducted on the old system (and not on the plan of mutual instruction,) and is frequented by only a few children.

Soon after leaving this monastery we meet an itinerant monk, who had, what I, at first, took for a bible, in his hand. It turns out to be a little case of reliques of several distinguished saints: amongst them were Hághios Gheórghios, Hághios Dionýsios the Areopagite, Hághios Panteleémon, the Saint and Martyr Démos of Smyrna, Hághios Ioánnes Eremítes, and others. The monk belongs to the monastery of Hághios Antónios, called Pezanés, near the plain of Messará. The Revolution has destroyed most of their olive-trees, and his journey is intended, by the aid of God, and through the means of these holy reliques, to obtain eleemosynary contributions in aid of their impoverished convent[56].

I need hardly say that my Greek attendants devoutly kissed the sacred contents of the case. Each of us gave his mite towards restoring the monks to the enjoyment of the comforts of the good old times.

[55] POCOCKE, Vol. II. Part I. p. 260.

[56] The Greek monks go to great distances from their monasteries on these begging tours: those of St Athanasius on Mount Siniatzikó, to the North-west of Olympus, are sometimes thus carried "as far as Germany:" LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. I. p. 319. See also Vol. III. p. 129.

Ante Deûm matrem cornu tibicen adunco
Quum canit, exiguae quis stipis aera neget?
Scimus ab imperio fieri nil tale Dianae,
Unde tamen vivat vaticinator habet!

The profession of this hawker of reliques was once followed in old England. Our pardoner, in his profitable peregrinations, used to carry about with him, not only indulgences, but bones and teeth and other holy things, the privilege of kissing which was purchased by the devout.

And here be relykes of such a kynde,
As in this worlde no man can fynde.
Knele down all thre, and when ye leve kyssynge,
Who lyst to offer, shall have my blyssynge.
Frendes, here shall ye se evyn anone,
Of All-hallowes the blessyd jaw-bone,
Kisse it hardely with good devocion[57].

Chaucer's Pardonere is described as carrying many such sacred reliques, aided by which,

Upon a day he gat him more moneie
Than that the persone gat in monthes tweie.
And thus with fained flattering and japes,
He made the persone, and the peple, his apes.

Doubtless the success of the mendicant Greek priest's peregrinations, is proportionate to the supposed sanctity

[57] HEYWOOD, the four P's, published in Vol. I. of Dodsley's Collection of Old Plays. This author, one of the most ancient dramatic writers in our language, and himself "steadily attached to the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion," sufficiently expresses his opinion of these pious frauds, by the language which he puts into the mouth of his Pardoner.

Nay Syrs, beholde, here may ye se
The great toe of the Trinitye,
Who to thys toe any money voweth,
And ones may role it in his moueth,
All hys lyfe after, I undertake,
He shall never be vext with the tooth ake.

These false and impious reliques are well described by the words of EUSEBIUS, Life of Constantine, III. c. 57. when speaking of the practices of a more ancient superstition: Ἡ γὰρ νεκρῶν σωμάτων ὑπῆν ὀστέα, ξηρά τε κρανία, γοήτων περιεργίαις ἐσκευωρημένα, ἢ ῥυπῶντα ῥάκη, βδελυρίας αἰσχρᾶς ἔμπλεα.

of the bones and pictures which he carries about with him. Among the ancients similar sacerdotal arts prevailed[58], and a Christian writer asserts that those were the most holy of the Gods, in whose names the greatest contributions could be obtained by their begging priests[59].

The destruction of any religious edifice gave a peculiar force to such claims, and we find that the Delphians obtained assistance, not only from every part of Greece, but also from Egypt, towards rebuilding their temple, when it had been destroyed by fire[60]. About the same time, the Scythian Abaris collected a large sum, in his mendicant tour: and returned with it to the temple of the Hyperborean Apollo, in whose name it had been obtained[61].

These itinerant and begging priests of Paganism seem to be the spiritual predecessors both of the Pardoners, and of the Franciscans: many passages, in which they are mentioned by ancient authors, have been collected by the learning and acuteness of Perizonius, Gronovius, Ruhnken, and Lobeck[62]. Our Middleton was reminded of the Pagan usage, when he observed the practice of the mendicant friars in modern Italy[63].

This morning we see the mouth of a cavern, but the water is too high to allow of our entering it. Maniás

[58] Scilicet in variis artibus, quibus sacrificuli simplicis plebeculae pecunias ad se derivarent, non postrema haec erat. Dei Deaeve alicujus effigiem vel humeris portantes, vel jumento imponentes, per oppida et vicos vagabantur, et verbo Diis, re ipsa sibi, stipem quaerebant." RUHNKEN, on Timaeus, v. *ἀγείρουσαι*.

[59] TERTULLIAN, Apologet. p. 43. ed. Par. 1666. Dii vero qui magis tributarii magis sancti; imo qui magis sancti magis tributarii; majestas quaestuaria efficitur. Again, p. 73. Non sufficimus et hominibus et Diis vestris mendicantibus opem ferre.

[60] HERODOTUS, II. 180.

[61] IAMBLICHUS, V. P. XIX. p. 91. (p. 196. ed. Kiessling.)

[62] PERIZONIUS, on Aelian, V. H. IX. 8. GRONOVIUS, Observationes, IV. 7. p. 590. (p. 391. ed. Lips. 1831.) WESSELING, on Herodotus, IV. 35. RUHNKEN, on Timaeus, p. 10. LOBECK, Aglaophamus, p. 314. and p. 1092.

[63] MIDDLETON, Letter from Rome, p. 219.

assures me that a man can walk for *two hours* in it. I should have been glad to see how many hundred feet long it is: the exaggeration of the Greeks on all such topics is very great. About six miles from Arsáni we reach the top of a ridge from which we see spread out before us, to the east, the fertile plain of Mylopótamo. It is almost covered with olive-trees, which half conceal from view the villages scattered over it: five or six however are just visible; and others can be partially discerned peeping from behind the trees. A numerous drove of mules and asses, laden with oil for Rhíthymnos, here passes us. The summit of the conical mountain of Melidhóni, right before us beyond the plain, is covered with snow; a phenomenon which is always regarded by the peasants as an unerring indication that the approaching season will be very productive.

After passing the ruined village of Pérama, we repose for an hour, during the heat, which is considerable to-day, under the shade of a carob-tree, near a broken bridge, over which people used to cross the river. Perhaps there may be some difficulty in fording this stream immediately after heavy rain, since it flows from the northern ridges of Mount Ida, and must, doubtless, on such an occasion, be greatly swollen. Still the nature of its bed here probably gave the name "Pérama[64]" or Ford to the spot, long before the wretched modern village was built.

Crete has been so little explored that it was necessary to enquire everywhere for ancient remains. I therefore sought after them at this ford, but I was neither disappointed nor surprised at finding none in the neighbourhood. I should never have thought of looking for *Pergamos* at *Pérama*, since the obvious meaning of the latter word prevented any probability of its being a corruption of an ancient name. A living topogra-

[64] A word which we find, as might be expected, in many names of places in our own country. Our Bradford, or broad-ford, corresponds to the Πλατυ-Πέραμα which we elsewhere find in Crete.

pher[65] has, however, recorded a conjecture that Pergamos is perhaps Pérama, although, at the same time, he quotes Servius, who says that Pergamus was near Cydonia; that is at a distance of about two days' journey from *this* part of the island. On comparing what is said by Scylax with the passage of Servius, it is clear that the city need only be looked for to the *west* of Khaniá.

On moving from our resting place, we turned immediately to the left of the regular road between Rhíthymnos and Megálo-Kástron, and, after a short but steep ascent, came on an uncultivated and barren tract, which ends, in about half an hour, in the olive-trees by which the village of Melidhóni is surrounded. I took up my quarters at the house of the Proestós, who was absent, but was immediately sent for and soon arrived.

My first enquiry was for the cavern, in the neighbourhood of the village, at the entrance to which an inscription, published by Gruter[66] and Muratori[67], and in which the Tallaean Hermes is mentioned, ought to be seen. The difficulties encountered by Tournefort, in his endeavour to see the process of collecting *ladanum*, and to visit the inscription in question[68], of which he heard when at Melidhóni, if compared with the facilities afforded me for every investigation, show how different is the state of the country, under the simple despotism of Mehmét-Alí, from that in which the French naturalist found it.

Half an hour's ascent from the village brought me to the entrance of the cavern; but before I attempt to describe the beautiful stalactites, which make it a worthy rival even of the grotto of Antíparos, I will briefly

[65] Dr CRAMER, Description of ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 382.

[66] GRUTER, p. MLXVIII. 1.

[67] MURATORI, Tom. I. p. LI. 2. See also BOECKH, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, Vol. II. p. 423.

[68] It was seen by Mr SIEBER, Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Tom. I. p. 191. fin. *Die Inschriften sind gut erhalten—einige Zeilen sind schon durch Stalaktiten ueberdeckt.*

relate its modern history, as I learnt it during my stay in the village of Melidhóni; and doubt not that it will excite my reader's interest and sympathy.

Near the end of August 1822, Khassán-pashá, the uncle of Mustafá-Pashá, the present Seraskier of Crete, passed with his troops through Melidhóni, when on his way from Khaniá to Megálo-Kástron. The unarmed Christians fled before him every where as he approached, and this cavern offered what seemed a secure place of refuge, most of all to such as, from the weakness of age or sex, were unable to retire to the lofty mountains, and there to remain till the storm should have passed over their homes. On this account many of the inhabitants of Melidhóni, especially women and children, as well as people from neighbouring villages, took refuge in the cave, and remained there several days. They found in it plenty of water, and, since a few tuféks sufficed to guard its entrance against any number of troops, they had but little fear of being attacked. The Pashá passed without molesting them, and at length they emerged from their lurking place, and returned in safety to their villages.

Soon after the death of Khassán-pashá, Khuseín-bey, and Mustafá-bey the present Pashá, came to Melidhóni with their troops. The people fled before them, as they had done before Khassán-pashá, on the previous occasion, and now took with them all their cattle, and as much of their transportable property as they could remove, knowing full well that they should inevitably lose all that they might leave behind them. They felt no fear whatever, for they were returning to an impregnable fortress, and had provisions enough to enable them to stand a siege of half a year. The number of those who retired to the grotto on this occasion was upwards of 300 souls.

According to an ancient tradition the caverns of Crete were used in a similar manner in very early times, and Cresphygeton, the Cretan's refuge, became the ge-

neral name of grottos thus supposed to be places of security from danger[69].

Khuseín-bey in vain summoned the Christian fugitives to come out of their lurking-place: his messenger was fired on, and fell. He then attempted to force the entrance of the cave: and, in doing so, lost twenty-four of his brave Arnauts, who were killed by shots from the Christians within. On this the Bey sent a Greek woman into the cavern, with a message, that "if they would all come forth and give up their arms, they should not meet with any ill-treatment." The woman was shot, and her body cast out from the mouth of the grotto. When the Mohammedan general saw this, he himself took up a stone, and threw it into the cavern's entrance. His troops imitated the example he set them, and thus the only aperture through which light and air could pass to the Christians was entirely filled up. The following morning the Mohammedans saw that a small opening had been produced in their work, during the night. They again filled it up, and their labour was again undone by the Christians the following night. This attempt of the Turks to close the entrance of the cave was repeated twice more. At length they saw that the Christians could still breathe and live: they therefore collected wood, oil, chaff, spirit, sulphur, refuse olives, and all other combustibles on which they could lay their hands: they filled up the mouth of the cavern with these materials, instead of the stones and earth which they had before used; and had no sooner completed their work, than they set it on fire. Volumes of smoke immediately rolled along under the spacious vault of the entrance cavern, in which many of the ill-starred Christians were assembled: the dense vapour filled the whole apartment so rapidly that many had not time to

[69] See HESYCHIUS and SUIDAS, in the word. PHOTIUS, Lex. p. 178. ed. Pors. Κρησφύγετα· τὰ πρὸς τοὺς χειμῶνας στεγνὰ καὶ ὀχυρώματα· οἱ δὲ φασὶν ὅτι Κρῆτες—ἔφυγον εἰς σπήλαια τινά· ὅθεν ἐκεῖνα ὠνομάσθησαν κρησφύγετα.

escape through devious passages to the inner recesses of the cave. The husband and wife, the parent and child, could only take one last embrace and die. The smoke now forced its way from the entrance apartment into that of which a sketch is given[70]. Here many more fell, but the greater number had still time to escape, through narrow passages, in some of which they must have crept on their hands and knees, into little side chambers, and to the more distant recesses of the cavern. Doubtless, they hoped thus to escape the fate which had overtaken their less active companions. Alas! the passages through which they rushed, suffered the destroying vapour to follow them; and thus, at last, the groups of fugitives who had taken refuge in the inmost depths of the cave, died as their companions had done; and, in a few minutes after their funeral pile was first lighted, all these unhappy Christians had perished. By submission they might, undoubtedly, have avoided this fate, but they were all convinced, that if they once surrendered to their angry and ferocious foes, the men among them would be massacred, and the women and children reduced to slavery; so that one wonders not that they should have refused to listen to the offers which were made them.

The Turks, and the Cretan Mohammedans, distrustful of the effect of their diabolical contrivance, waited patiently outside the cavern for eighteen days. They had with them a Greek prisoner: I might call him a slave, for all those who were made prisoners were considered as such, and used commonly to be sold in the markets of the chief cities. They offered this Christian slave his life, as the reward of his consenting to go down into the cavern to see what his correligionaries were about. He gladly accepted their proposal, and, after venturing, with much fear and anxiety, into the grotto, found in it only the silence of the grave, and soon returned,

[70] The sketch was taken immediately after entering this second great apartment.

saying that "they were all dead[71]. The Mohammedans, still distrustful of the effect produced by their fire, and fearful of being entrapped if they entered the cavern, sent the man back again, telling him to bring up some arms as a proof of the truth of his account. He did so, and three days afterwards the Mohammedans themselves ventured into the cavern, and stripped the victims of their ferocity of every thing of value which was on their persons, at the same time appropriating to themselves all the stores and other property which they found.

Soon after this, and while the head quarters of the Beys were still at Melidhóni, six Christians, who had all of them both relations and friends within the cavern, impelled by a natural desire to ascertain the truth of the report of their death, went up to see with their own eyes what had happened. Three of them remained outside, to give notice if any Mohammedans should approach, and the other three entered. One of them was called Manúlios Kermezákes[72]: the other two were Melidhónians, whose wives and children had taken refuge in the cavern. Who could describe the anguish of these unhappy men, when they saw lying dead on the ground, and despoiled even of their clothes, those whose safety they had vainly imagined to have been secured when they were once within the grotto? The simple narra-

[71] Εἶναι ὅλοι ἀπεθαμένοι μέσα, ἀφέντη. On the ancient αὐθέντης (*afthendi*, according to modern Greek pronunciation), from which this word ἀφέντη is derived, and which has been softened by the Turks into Efféndi, consult LOBECK, on Phrynichus, p. 120. Many of the Greeks of King Otho's dominions, fancying that ἀφέντη is a Turkish word, studiously avoid using it, now that each of them is become an "ἐλεύθερος Ἕλληνας." Κύριε supplies its place, at all events in the vocabulary of the principal towns.

[72] The name Kermezákes is derived from the Turkish word قرمزي *kermezé*, red, and may therefore be compared with our English names, Reddy, Redman, and Scarlet. Blunt too means *blond*, according to SKINNER, in his Etymologicon Onomasticon. We have also derivatives of Yellow as proper names, and the old synonym of the word itself in Blake. White, Brown, Black, and Green, though very common with us, are, I think, as little known in Greece as Blue and Purple are in England. They probably all occur in *compounded* proper names among the Greeks, as in Mavromáti, Blackeye, and Mavroghéni, Blackbeard.

tion of the effect produced on them by this visit, will best declare how heart-rending their grief must have been. One of them never again raised up his head, but pined and wasted, and died only *nine days* after the fatal confirmation, by the evidence of his senses, of his worst fears. The other lived twenty days, and then he too died.

Manúlios, their companion, is still living, and tells me, being at the same time surrounded by a numerous group of his fellow-villagers, of this their visit. Every one confirms his account in all its details, except that one or two of the men maintain that the second death took place eighteen and not twenty days after the visit. I am fully satisfied that I have learnt the simple unadorned truth with respect to all these dreadful events.

When the Greeks were again masters of the village of Melidhóni, and of the district of Mylopótamo, they considered whether they should cause all the dead bodies in the cave to be interred in the usual way; and they thought that no nobler sepulchre could be built for them than that of which they had obtained possession. On this account they only caused the burial service to be read over them where they lay.

The ill fate of these fugitives, as well as the name of the Tallaean Hermes, equally carry us back to Talos, and the probable sacrifice of human victims in fire, with which the rites of the ancient religion of the island were celebrated.

Mount Tallaeos, or Talaeos, as the word is written in Hesychius[73], may certainly well have been a supposed station of Talos, the mythical man of brass, and guardian of the island. According to Apollonius Rhodius[74], when the Argonauts approached Crete,

[73] Hesychius: Ταλαῖος· ὁ Ζεύς, ἐν Κρήτῃ.

[74] Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 1638.

Τοὺς δὲ Τάλως χάλκειος, ἀπὸ στιβαροῦ σκοπέλοιο
ῥηγνύμενος πέτρας, εἶργε χθονὶ πείσματ' ἀνάψαι,
Δικταίην ὅρμοιο κατερχομένους ἐπιωγήν.

Talos, the man of brass, was seen upon a peak to stand;
And thence he rocky fragments cast, nor suffer'd them to land.

The old legends related of this celebrated person, that he had been presented to Minos or Europa, by Zeus or Hephaestos[75]; and that he went the circuit of the island thrice annually[76], or even thrice every day[77]. According to Simonides and Sophocles, he consumed with fire all who approached him, and the sufferings of his victims are said to have given rise to the phrase "a sardonic smile[78]."

The traditions respecting Talos would alone lead us to suppose that Crete once possessed, as its chief Deity,

A Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears:

and the positive testimonies of ancient authors to the Cretan custom of slaying human victims, in honour of

[75] See the numerous passages of ancient authors, on this legend, collected by MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 252. VALCKENAER, Diatrib. in Eurip. p. 133. and HEYNE, on Apollodorus, pp. 220—225. DOSIADAS, in his second Altar, speaks of this brazen-limbed guardian's destruction by Medea, and of his previous construction by Hephaestos, in the verses:

Ἄμος ἔψανδρα
τὸν γυιόχαλκον οὖρον ἔῤῥαισεν,
ὃν ἀπάτωρ δίσευνος
μόρησε μητρόῤῥιπτος.

[76] PSEUDO-PLATO, in Min. Tom. II. p. 320. (who seems to be writing a chapter of contemporary history:) Νομούφυλακι αὐτῷ (Ῥαδαμάνθυι) ἐχρῆτο ὁ Μίνως κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Κρήτην τῷ Τάλῳ. ὁ γὰρ Τάλως τρὶς περιήει τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κατὰ τὰς κώμας—ἐν χαλκοῖς γραμματείοις ἔχων γεγραμμένους τοὺς νόμους, ὅθεν χαλκοῦς ἐκλήθη! This seems to allude, as Professor Hoeck observes, to the three Seasons into which the vear was divided: they are mentioned in ARISTOPHANES, Birds, 709. In more ancient times two Seasons were alone recognized: see WINCKELMANN, Monumenti Antichi inediti, Parte Prima, Cap. XIX.

[77] APOLLODORUS, Biblioth. I. 9. 26. Οὗτος ὁ Τάλως τρὶς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τὴν νῆσον περιτροχάζων ἐτήρει.

[78] SCHOLIAST on PLATO, p. 396. Σαρδάνιος γέλως—Σιμωνίδης δὲ ἀπὸ Τάλω τοῦ χαλκοῦ, ὃν Ἥφαιστος ἐδημιούργησε Μίνῳ, φύλακα τῆς Κρήτης ποιήσασθαι, ἔμψυχον ὄντα, τοὺς πελάζοντάς φησι κατακαίοντα ἀναιρεῖν· ὅθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσηρέναι διὰ τὴν φλόγα, τὸν σαρδάνιόν φησι λεχθῆναι γέλωτα. ὁμοίως καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Δαιδάλῳ. Compare SUIDAS, under Σαρδάνιος γέλως, ZENOBIUS, v. 85.

both Kronos[79] and Zeus[80], are but too plain a record of the same facts of which traces are found in the legends of both Talos and the Minotaur[81].

Probably the brazen statue of Talos never had so many human beings presented to it, in one offering, as were consumed by the fire of the Mohammedans on this recent occasion. Yet, in ancient times, human victims were slaughtered or burnt, on various occasions, by the priests of Rome[82]; and 500 youths, 200 of them chosen from the noblest families, were once consigned to religious flames in Carthage[83].

In almost every part of the ancient world, a similar mode of propitiating the Deity appears to have prevailed. In India[84] and in Italy[85], in Egypt[86] and in Palestine[87], as well as in various parts of Greece, are

[79] PORPHYRY, on abstinence, II. 56. p. 202. Ἴστρος ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν Κρητικῶν θυσιῶν, φησὶ τοὺς Κουρῆτας τὸ παλαιὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ θύειν παῖδας.

[80] CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 36. ed. Pott. Λυκτίους—Κρητῶν δὲ ἔθνος εἰσὶν οὗτοι (Pott. οὕτως) Ἀντικλείδης ἐν Νόστοις ἀποφαίνεται ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάττειν τῷ Διΐ: see also EUSEBIUS, praepar. Evang. IV. 16. p. 155. NEUMANN, Specimen Rerum Cretensium, p. 8. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 166.

[81] See BOETTIGER, Ideen zur Kunstmythologie, p. 379. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. II. pp. 71—73.

[82] LIVY, XXII. 56. GEUSIUS, Victimae Humanae, P. II. p. 136.

[83] DIODORUS SICULUS, XX. 14. where the statue of Kronos is spoken of nearly as that of Talos, in a passage already cited: Ἦν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδριὰς Κρόνου χαλκοῦς, ἐκτετακὼς τὰς χεῖρας—ὥστε τὸν ἐπιτεθέντα τῶν παίδων ἀποκυλίεσθαι καὶ πίπτειν εἰς τὶ χάσμα πλῆρες πυρός. See also PLUTARCH, de Superst. p. 171. c. and other authorities cited by WESSELING, on Diod. Sic. l. c. VOSSIUS de Origin. et Progr. Idolol. II. c. 5. BOECKH, on Pseudo-Plat. Min. Tom. II. p. 315. BUTTMANN, Mythologus, II. pp. 40—42. The customs of both Crete and Carthage seem to have been derived from a common source, Phoenicia.

[84] BOHLEN, Das alte Indien, Vol. I. p. 305.

[85] DIONYSIUS HALICARN. I. 38. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν τῷ Κρόνῳ τοὺς παλαιούς, ὥσπερ ἐν Καρχηδόνι, τέως ἡ πόλις διέμεινε, καὶ παρὰ Κελτοῖς εἰς τόδε χρόνου γίνεται, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν ἑσπερίων ἐθνῶν, ἀνδροφόνους. PORPHYRY might also be quoted.

[86] BOHLEN, l. c.

[87] WIERUS, de praestig. daemon. I. 5. p. 42: GEUSIUS, Victimae Humanae, P. I. Cap. III.: and the other authors indicated by FABRICIUS, Bibliographia Antiquaria, Cap. XI. p. 350. and BOHLEN, Genesis, p. 230.

found traces of the same horrible practice. Every one knows that it was also an essential observance of the ancient Druidical religion of Gaul and Britain: and, in more modern times, it has been found in a great part of the American continent.

Melancholy is the truth that the soil of Christian lands has also been defiled by the blood of somewhat similar human offerings. In countries where the Inquisition has prevailed, the modern priests of Moloch have been in the habit of celebrating their bloody rites with an *auto da fe;* and, even in England, we may regard the religious fires, of the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, as lighted up by idolaters of ancient Palestine or Crete, rather than by men professing the religion of the Gospel[88].

From the time when the triple hecatomb of human victims was thus consumed by the flames, in the grotto of Melidhóni, till the hour of my arrival at the village, no one of the people around me has ever ventured to enter the place where their nearest relatives perished. Many of them have wished to do so, but they have been deterred by superstitious fears, which, even without the occurrence of so terrible a calamity, would have been felt to check intrusion, within the sacred cave, by their heathen ancestors. "Intra spatium est, magis quam ut progredi quispiam ausit, horribile, et adeo incognitum. Totus autem augustus et vere sacer, habitarique a Diis et dignus et creditus, nihil non venerabile, et quasi cum aliquo numine se ostentat[89]."

Twelve or fourteen of the villagers were glad to have an opportunity of gratifying their curiosity, by a view of the cavern, in the safety which they supposed to be guaranteed by my presence. Manúlios was one of them.

[88] HALLAM, Constitutional History of England, Vol. I. p. 223, in a note, quotes an apology of BACON, for the "bowellings" of Catholics, "as less cruel than the wheel, or forcipation, or *even simple burning*."

[89] POMPONIUS MELA, I. 13. 3.

The mound of stones and earth heaped up by the Mohammedans at the entrance of the cave, which is near the summit of the mountain, almost entirely conceal from view the ancient inscription, of which I have spoken[90]. The face of the hill is nearly perpendicular, and is not very high above the mouth of the cavern: thus it allowed the Mohammedans to throw down earth and stones from its summit, without being themselves exposed to the shots of the Christians, whose destruction they were endeavouring to accomplish.

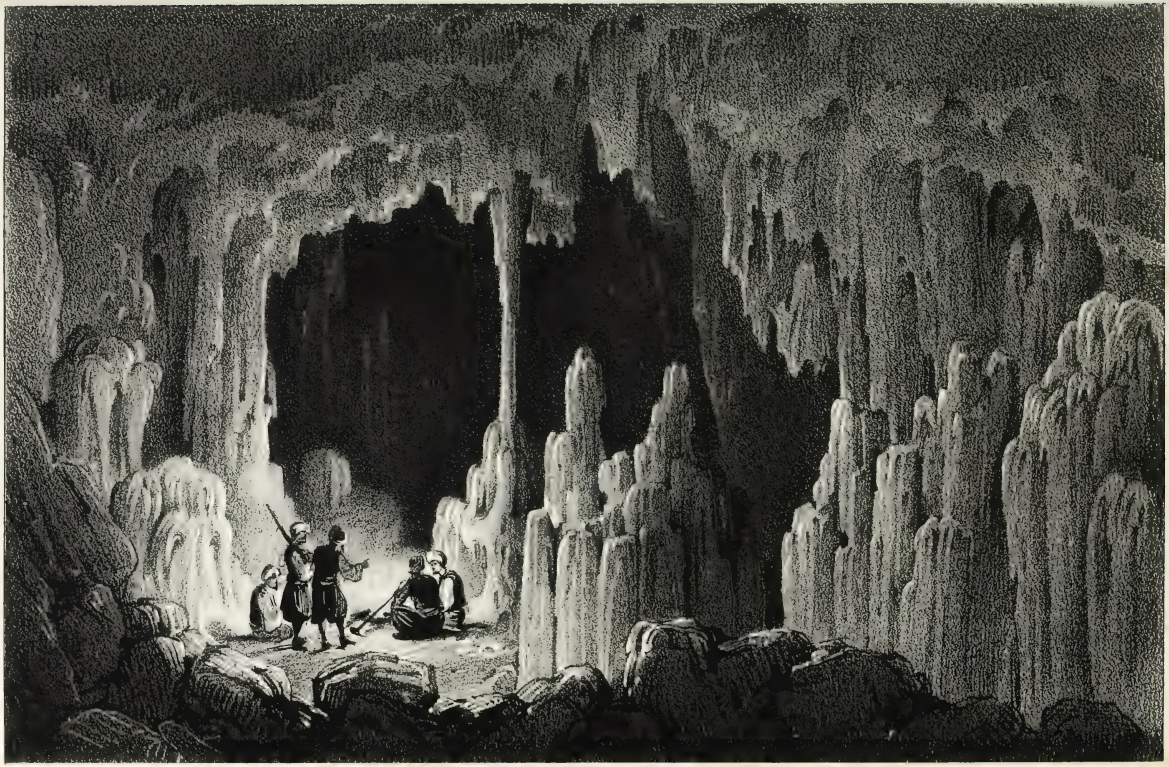
On passing the entrance, we find ourselves in a spacious cavern[91], running east and west and almost as wide as it is long: the ground descends nearly all the way to its eastern end: its vault and sides are so fretted with noble stalactites that they may be said to consist of them; and stalagmites, some of which are of a great size, are seen scattered on different parts of the ground. About the middle of this great entrance chamber, and on its south side, is the mouth of a low and wide passage leading to a room about twenty feet long, twelve feet wide, and from ten to twenty feet high, also full of stalactites. The passage is about thirty feet long, and its stalactites, in some places, come down to the ground: at the entrance is a group of skulls: in the first cavern also are two heaps of skulls and human bones. On the opposite side of this first or entrance cavern is a great passage about twenty feet wide, and, as well as I can judge, somewhat more than sixty feet high. At a little distance from its extremity is a great group of stalactites which so fills it up, as to leave only a pass, six feet in width, unoccupied. Beyond this spot the passage becomes about thirty feet wide and eighty feet high. Among the many beautiful and sometimes fantastic forms, in which the stalactites are seen to hang, I notice

[90] See above, p. 126. and also below, p. 138.

[91] It is ninety-six feet in width at the end of the heaped up earth and stones thrown in by the Mohammedans: its whole length is about one hundred and fifteen feet.

here, to the left, what might be almost taken for a gothic church-window, and, a little below it, the entrance of a cavern. Our progress in this passage is suddenly arrested by a perpendicular descent of about eighteen feet: the cave has every appearance of extending to some distance in this direction, but not having a ladder we cannot explore its recesses. The stalactites a little before us in this part, to which we can approach no nearer, hang down in a great cluster as much as thirty feet below the level on which we are standing. Returning hence to the entrance cavern, we turn, at its north or rather north-eastern extremity, along another passage: after continuing for about ten feet, it enlarges into a kind of room twenty-seven feet long, at the further end of which we again enter a narrow pass the length of which is thirteen feet. On emerging from this passage, which we do with considerable difficulty, by clambering round the rock, and letting ourselves down, as well as we can, into another apartment, we find before us a view the grandeur and beauty of which surpasses all that we have heretofore seen. On looking back at the hole in the rock, through which we have just emerged, and where one of my attendants is standing with a lighted taper, the effect is very striking. The apartment in which we have now arrived is about 150 feet long[92], and varies greatly in width: its height is pretty nearly uniform, and is considerable. Between twenty and thirty feet from the mouth of the pass by which we entered, is a great stalagmite, which rises up and forms a column reaching to the top of the cave, while the stalactites on each side hang in the most beautiful order: near the great central mass the bones and skulls of the poor Christians are so thickly scattered, that it is almost impossible to avoid crushing them as we pick our steps along. On the south-western side of this apartment a

[92] The inner apartment of the celebrated Corycian cave of Mount Parnassus, is not quite one hundred feet in length: see LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. II. p. 580.



A. Schranz del. L. Haghe Lith.

GROTTO of MELIDHONI.

complete range of stalactites separates it from a good sized passage; after walking along which we enter a much smaller one, only eight feet long, which leads into a very little room, where we find water and many earthenware vessels. They were already firmly and almost inseparably attached to the ground by means of the deposit left by the constant dripping of the water. In the course of a century it would wholly have imbedded them in stalagmites. My Greek companions, with great difficulty, succeeded in rescuing these utensils from the grave which was beginning to swallow them up. Going on from this chamber, we traverse a passage so low and narrow that we are obliged to crawl on our hands and knees, and descend into a small room, the ground in which is literally covered with bones and skulls: in its centre is a columnar stalagmite, which reaches from the ground to the rocks about eighteen feet above our heads. There are also some other considerable stalagmites in the room. A narrow passage leads, by a steep descent, from this chamber to another nearly under it, also small; and on entering which about a dozen skulls, and a proportionate number of bones, are seen spread over the ground. This then was the furthest point to which the unhappy refugees could flee, and here the last of them perished.

The want of a sufficient number of lights, on our first visit, prevented my examining the cavern as I wished: I therefore returned to it on the Sunday morning, having first obtained, from the Papás of Melidhóni, a supply of wax candles, of his own manufacture. The above account is the result of both my visits.

I cannot finish speaking on this subject, without recurring to the inscription, of which I have already made mention, and which is now wholly buried by the mass of earth and stones heaped up at the entrance of the cavern. The copy sent to Gruter by Pigafetta, was made with some care, and the verses, as given below, may now be said to contain only one word, Salvius or

Sallonius, about the reading of which any doubt can be entertained[93].

O Hermes, dwelling midst Tallaean hills!
This pure libation mayest thou approve,
Which, in thy honour, Salvius Menas fills,
Of holy things, the offerings of his love.

He, erst, while still his consort saw the light,
With her did yearly thy abode frequent;
But long has failed to observe the annual rite,
Since his chaste wife's career, on earth, was spent.

Yet, knowing that the Gods must honour'd be,
Now brings this double sacrifice divine;
Do thou protect him, Mighty God, that he
May live, and honour long this ground of thine.

Artemis was the name of the chaste wife whose loss is here deplored.

Undoubtedly the grotto was considered as sacred to Hermes, whose worship also prevailed in other parts of the island[94]. Caverns seem to have been dedicated

[93] The following is the inscription in question, as published in the work of the great philologer of Berlin.

Ἄρτεμις ἡ Σαλουΐου θυγάτηρ.
Οὔρεσι Ταλλαίοισιν ἱδρυμένε Μαιάδος Ἑρμῆ,
σπονδὴν καὶ θυσίην δέξο φιλοφρόσυνος,
ἣν σοι Σαλουΐος Μηνᾶς λοιβαῖσι γεραίρει,
κτήσεος ἐξ ὁσίης ψυχικὰ δῶρα διδούς.
καὶ πρὶν μὲν ζώσης ἀλόχου φάος εἰσοροώσης,
σὺν κείνῃ κατ' ἔτος σοὺς ἐγέραιρε τόπους·
ἀνθ' ὧν δ' ἐνχρονίσας ἐπετήσιον οὐκ ἀπέδωκεν,
συμβίου ἀγνοτάτας τοῦδε καταφθιμένας,
ἀλγήσας φρένα πολλά, μαθὼν δ' ὅτι δεῖ τά γε θεῖα
τιμᾷν, διπλῆν σοι τήνδ' ἔπορεν θυσί(η)ν.
καὶ σὺ δέ, παντοκράτωρ Ἐριούνιε, τόνδε φυλάσσοις
ζωόν, ὅπως τιμᾷ σὸν δι' ὅλου τέμενος.

[94] As appears from coins of Aptera, Sybritia, and Lyttos, as well as from some ancient legends, and from the positive testimony of authors, quoted by NEUMANN, Rerum Creticarum Specimen, p. 130. and HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 39.

to various deities: one, in Mount Ida, was sacred to Zeus[95]; another, at Steunos, to the Mother of the Gods; a third, at Hylae near Magnesia on the Maeander, to Apollo[96]; and a fourth, at Lebadeia, to Trophonios[97]. Pan and the Nymphs were, however, most frequently honoured in such places: to them was dedicated the celebrated Corycian cavern of Mount Parnassus[98]. A grotto near Marathon[99], and another under the acropolis of Athens[100], were also sacred to Pan, and other similar Paneia might be mentioned. A Silenos-like figure of Pan likewise appears, in company with the Nymphs, in two bas-reliefs, one of which is cut on the living rock in a cave of Paros[101], and the other was found at

[95] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 70.

[96] PAUSANIAS, x. pp. 877 and 878.

[97] PAUSANIAS, ix. p. 789. foll. LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. II. pp. 121—132.

[98] STRABO, ix. p. 417. PAUSANIAS, x. p. 878. Ἱερὸν δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Κωρυκίων Νυμφῶν καὶ Πανὸς μάλιστα ἥγηνται. Compare AESCHYLUS, Eumen. 23. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, II. 711. and OVID, Met. I. 320. Hence Pan is called Κωρύκιος by OPPIAN, Halieut. III. 15.

Πανὶ δὲ Κωρυκίῳ βυθίην παρακάτθεο τέχνην:

as was observed by BARNES, on Eurip. Ion, 495. For a description of the cavern in question, consult RAIKES, in Walpole's Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, Vol. I. pp. 311—315; and LEAKE, referred to above, p. 136.

[99] PAUSANIAS, I. p. 80. DODWELL, Tour through Greece, Vol. II. p. 162.

[100] HERODOTUS, VI. 105. EURIPIDES, Ion, 11. 283. 494. 937. ARISTOPHANES, Lysist. 911. Bekk. and Schol. PAUSANIAS, I. p. 68. LUCIAN, Bis Accusat. 9. Tom. II. p. 801. ed. Hemst. STUART's Antiquities of Athens, Vol. I. p. 15. HOBHOUSE, Journey, Vol. I. p. 336. DODWELL, Vol. I. p. 304. LEAKE, Topography of Athens, pp. 62 and 126.

[101] TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Tom. I. p. 201. STUART has given an engraving of this offering in his Antiquities of Athens. When on the spot, in the Summer of 1833, I copied the inscription under the bas-relief:

ΑΔΑΜΑΣ
ΟΔΡΥΣΗΣ
ΝΥΜΦΑΙΣ

This monument is described by Colonel LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. II. pp. 90—92.

Athens[102]. He is also joined with them in the well known inscription of the grotto of Vári in Attica[103]. The Nymphaeon of Phyle was a scene in Menander's comedy the Dyscolos[104].

As the Tallaean grotto served, though with a tragical result, as a place of refuge for the people of Melidhóni, so the Corycian cave received the inhabitants of Delphi within its friendly obscurity, at the time of the Persian invasion[105]: and so also the Phrygians of Themisonion, near Laodicea, found safety, when the Gauls overran Ionia and the districts near it, in a cavern, distant about thirty stades from their city, at the entrance of which they afterwards erected small statues of Heracles, Hermes, and Apollo, the gods who had pointed it out to them[106].

*February* 23.

The Proestós of Melidhóni, Konstantínos Konstantudhákes, my host, had two sisters, one sister-in-law, and twelve other relations in the cave: his wife lost a sister with all her children, and two uncles. The other surviving villagers of Melidhóni lost their relations in a similar way. Melidhóni, before the Greek revolution, contained 140 Christian and ten Mohammedan families; about four times its present population.

My host has an orphan niece, Iréne, living with him: his daughter, a lively little girl about three years old, is called Kalliópe. Of these two female names one is derived from a Christian saint, and the other from a heathen goddess.

[102] PACIAUDI, Monumenta Peloponnesiaca, Vol. I. p. 207. It is also engraved in the MUSEUM WORSLEYANUM.

[103] First visited and described by CHANDLER, Travels in Greece, c. XXXII. See also HOBHOUSE, Journey, Vol. I. Letter XXVII, p. 404. DODWELL, Tour, Vol. I. pp. 550—555. LEAKE, on the Demi of Attica, pp. 147, 148. WORDSWORTH, Athens and Attica, c. XXV.

[104] MENANDER, in Harpocrat. p. 179. See MEINEKE, p. 52. and DODWELL, Tour, Vol. I. pp. 505—508.

[105] HERODOTUS, VIII. 36.

[106] PAUSANIAS, X. p. 877.

The custom of bestowing on mortal children names of the inhabitants of heaven, though not practised in the most ancient times, is still of considerable antiquity; and both inscriptions and passages of ancient authors, record many names of deities, which were thus bestowed on the sons and daughters of men. We have just seen, in the inscription of the grotto, the name of such a mortal wife Artemis: Kalliope is also found[107], as well as Pallas, Aphrodite, Hermes, and Bacchus, in other Greek inscriptions[108], and among the ancient Romans the usage was still more generally prevalent[109]. It seems that the spread of Christianity so gently interfered with this Pagan practice, that words, derived from the old religion of the country, may still be hourly heard in the mouth of any Christian peasant of Greece or Turkey, even in the nineteenth century of our era.

Nevertheless, here, as in most parts of Christendom, the names of the favourite saints are those generally bestowed in baptism[110]: thus a Demetrios and a Constantine, a Spyridon and a Basil, are found in every village[111]. The inferior deities of the ancient mythology

[107] BOECKH, Corpus Inscr. n. 251.

[108] WELCKER, Syllog. Epigr. Graec. n. 76. 87. 120.

[109] As is observed by WELCKER, l. c. p. 166.

[110] The inhabitants of the young Otho's kingdom, who have given themselves the name of Hellenes, have, at all events in the large towns, introduced great innovations into the baptismal vocabulary. The petty shopkeeper of Syra or Nauplia, himself a Yannáki or a Dhemetráki, has lately heard so much talk about the ancient Hellenes, whose name "the nation" has assumed, that he has taken care to number among his children an Achilles or a Demosthenes!

[111] The derivation of Greek names, of a Christian origin, can sometimes be traced to a higher source than the Saints. *Derivatives* from the name of Christ, as Khristódhulos, are common. The ancients also had many names derived, but without composition, from those of Deities, as from Demeter, Demetrios; from Poseidon, Poseidonios; from Hephaestos, Hephaestion, &c. See BARTHELEMY, Voyage du Jeune Anacharse, c. LXVI. and WELCKER, l. c. p. 166. The simple name of "Christ," Khristós, is also borne by many families in Northern Greece. Its diminutive is *Kitso*, which may be compared to the *Kit* obtained, in English, from *Christo*pher. The French have even "Dieu" as a surname, and the Italian baptismal appellation, "Spiritello," may perhaps have been derived from the third person of the Trinity.

Sophia,

have, however, at all events, greatly aided the saints in supplying the modern Greek with his baptismal nomenclature; and, for the tens of thousands of men, who now bear the names of Christian saints, there are thousands of women who have only those of Pagan goddesses[112].

Sophia, which has become a common name in most European languages, properly denotes the Eternal Wisdom of the Godhead, the object of the dedication of Justinian's celebrated temple, and not a mere Saint. In the faith of the modern Greek, however, Haghía Sophía is as much an individual Saint as Veronica is now at Rome, or as Amphibolus used to be in Great Britain.

[112] We have similar phenomena in our own country, where certain Saints have supplied even the hereditary surnames of more than one noble house; and where we may also find, though more rarely, the names of pagan Gods, (I have myself met with those of *Bacchus* and *Mars*,) descending from father to son in Christian families. The life of the Jesuit *Diana* has been written by Bayle: and the name of Professor *Pallas* must also be known to many of my readers.

ANCIENT WALLS OF AXOS.

## CHAPTER VIII.

GHARAZO. PLACES CALLED AXOS AND ELEVTHERNA. RAIN, WINE, AND MODERN SONGS. CELIBACY OF THE REGULAR CLERGY. VISIT TO THE SITE OF AXOS. ANCIENT REMAINS, AND INSCRIPTIONS. ORPHIC TRADITIONS RESPECTING ZEUS AND PERSEPHONE. THE ANCIENT SYNCRETISM. PHYSICAL FEATURES OF AXOS. SITE OF PANORMOS. RIDE TO GONIES.

*February* 24.

THE fine groves of olives, through which I pass for half an hour after leaving Melidhóni, are many of them entirely uncultivated. Soon after reaching the regular road, which, when on my way to Melidhóni, I left immediately after crossing the river at Pérama, I pass the village of Dhafnídhes: it is a quarter of a mile to the right. The valley in which we now find ourselves is well filled with olive-trees; the river winds through it, and its scenery is picturesque. Mount Ida is on our right, and the hill of Melidhóni is still before us. Beyond Dhafnídhes we see the smoke ascending from the little village of Kefáli, which is entirely concealed from view

by the trees. The road winds along the valley, sometimes on the banks of the river, sometimes actually in its bed, for near three miles before we arrive at the Khan Papativrýsi, now a ruin. Rain had begun to fall in torrents before we reached this place, and, on finding that it afforded no shelter, we ascended on the south side of the valley up to the village of Gharázo. In its neighbourhood there is no such place as "Lasos," which, on looking at Lapie's map, any one would expect to find somewhere near it.

We lodge in the house of a monk who is the resident at this metókhi of the monastery Vósako, near the village of Sises, at the foot of mount Kutzutrúli, and where there are fifteen monks. They had twelve pairs of oxen before the revolution, but now have only four. Before the revolution the monastery possessed a library, which was destroyed when the church and other buildings of the society were burnt. This monk, with whom we lodge, has a female housekeeper whose daughter is ten or twelve years old: his secular name was Michael, but on becoming anagnóstes, the first step taken towards the priesthood, he changed it to Melétios. The name is always thus changed on that occasion.

This village of Gharázo, the metókhis of Omála, Músa and Nesí, being reckoned with it, is said to have about 12,000 olive-trees, of which between two and three thousand are uncultivated.

One Agá, Khanialúki-Zikní-bey, still receives the seventh of all the produce, as used to be the case, the Pashá only taking the kharátj and four parás per oke on the wine.

Gharázo is celebrated for the beauty of its female inhabitants, and a common proverb asserts, in very plain and unequivocal terms, that

Gharázo's dames are facile as they're fair.

We had rain here, with scarcely any intermission, during the whole day: the old priest produced eggs,

fried in oil, olives, cheese, oranges and wine for breakfast: and, a little before sun-set, we were indebted to the zeal of the grammatikós of the village, in my service, for an excellent repast. In consequence of his active exertions, we sat down to a dinner of soup, fowl, stewed mutton, and other dishes, all which was accompanied by most excellent wine, so far superior to that of all parts of the continent of Greece, that we could wish for no better: thus we soon became heedless of the hostile elements, which, on so rainy and windy a day, would otherwise have caused us no slight discomfort in this monk's poor hut, through which the wind whistled and the rain penetrated in half a dozen places. Having listened to some songs of my Sfakian Captain Maniás, we rolled ourselves up in our clokes, and slept through the greater part of the night.

*February* 25.

I was again detained in the monk's cottage, throughout the whole of this day, by the incessant rain, which kept dripping heavily through several places in the roof. The discomforts of the lodging continued to be greatly alleviated by the zeal which the priest and the grammatikós of the village manifested to supply our wants; and by the welcome information that there is a village called 'Axos, where are many ancient remains, only about four miles off. I learnt, too, that the river which flows near this site, the same that we crossed several times on our way hither, always becomes a torrent, and continues impassable for some time after rain, a fact which agrees perfectly with Virgil's expression, "rapidum Cretae veniemus Oaxen[1]."

Remembering the assertion of Stephanus of Byzantium, that Axos was not far from Eleutherna[2], I made enquiries after the latter city, and learnt, to my great delight, that a village called Elevtherna[3], is situated

[1] Virgil, Ecl. I. 66.

[2] Stephanus Byzantinus, Ὄαξος, πόλις Κρήτης, Ἐλευθέρας οὐ πόῤῥω. [3] Στὴν Ἐλεύθερναν.

somewhat higher up on the ridges of mount Ida, Psylorítes, about twelve miles from 'Axos, and very near the great convent of Arkádhi, which possesses a metókhi on the site. I was told that Elevtherna will, however, perhaps, be inaccessible, on account of the snow, at this time of the year: at any rate both the sites are clearly determined to be at places which still bear the names of the ancient cities.

Among the songs, which my ever-talking and most amusing guide, Captain Maniás, repeated to-day, were one or two which a Boccaccio would have delighted to hear. The immoral consequences of that celibacy, which is enforced on the monks of the Oriental church, have even become the theme of popular songs. Of such effusions of the modern Grecian muse, every Englishman, writing in the nineteenth century, must feel it difficult to publish specimens: and I cannot venture to transcribe those which I heard.

*February* 26.

At length the weather permitted me to leave Gharázo: the grammatikós of which village accompanied me as a guide. After a gentle ascent of about half an hour, during which I saw, on either side of the road, vineyards belonging to the village which I had just left, the country began to present a more and more barren appearance as we approached 'Axos. In the rocks, on our right, a few minutes before entering the village, I found five excavations, each of which would seem to have been a tomb. There are some peculiarities about them: they are arched at the top, and are covered over with plaster in the inside. Not one of them is hewn out of the solid rock, as the greater part of tombs, found by modern travellers in countries formerly occupied by the Greeks, usually are. One of them penetrates much further into the side of the hill than the others. The river of 'Axos flows past the village, through a valley on its north-eastern side, and will be crossed by me when I pursue my journey towards Megálo-Kástron.

Vibius Sequester[4] mentions, on the authority of Varro, that the river gave its name to Axos; but Xenion and Philisthenes derived the city's name from one Oaxos: his mother was Acacallis, the daughter of Minos[5], and his father Apollo[6].

These legends, connecting the city with Minos and Apollo, and its juxtaposition with Cnossos in Scylax, led Professor Hoeck to infer that it must have been situated "near the northern shore;" a conclusion amply justified by his premises, but which does not satisfy an English writer[7], who has discovered that Herodotus speaks of Axos "as a Cretan town of some importance, with an emporium on the sea." Herodotus, in the passage referred to[8], is giving an account of the colonization of Cyrene, and was led to speak of Axos, since, according to the tradition of the Cyrenaeans, the Theraean Battus their founder, was the son of a damsel named Phronime, the daughter of Etearchus, king of this city[9]. The Greek historian also tells us that one Themiso, a Theraean merchant, was then at Axos, and a little further on he speaks of his departure from the island, taking Phronime with him: a relation which certainly does not at

[4] VIBIUS SEQUESTER, de flum. p. 15. ed. Oberl. With the words of VARRO, preserved also in SERVIUS, on Virg. Ecl. I. 66.

> Quos magno Anchiale partus adducta dolore,
> Et geminis capiens tellurem Oaxida palmis,
> Edidit in Creta,

we must compare Apollonius Rhodius, cited above, p. 59.

[5] STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, Ὄαξος—καθὰ Ξενίων ἀπὸ Ὀάξου τῆς Ἀκακάλλιδος τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ Μίνω. The same lady was the legendary mother of Cydon, the mythical founder of another ancient Cretan city: STEPHANUS BYZANT. Κυδωνία, πόλις Κρήτης, ἡ πρότερον Ἀπολλωνία· ἀπὸ Κύδωνος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀκακάλλιδος τῆς Μίνωος θυγατρός.

[6] PHILISTHENES, in Servius, l. c.

[7] CRAMER, Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 381.

[8] HERODOTUS, IV. 154.

[9] The chief magistrate in every independent state in Crete was called not *king*, but *kosmos*. Professor HOECK therefore supposes that in this passage of Herodotus we find the last vestige of the kingly office of the heroic age. Mr THIRLWALL, however, observes (History of Greece, Vol. I. Ch. VII. p. 285.) that it is not certain what office may have been described by the name king, and that "it may have been substituted for the genuine Cretan title."

all imply that Axos had "an emporium on the sea," although it does seem to show it to have been "a place of some importance." Neither does it appear that such an inference, as that it had an emporium on the sea, can be obtained from its coins; for, though those of several other more considerable inland Cretan cities would alone suffice to satisfy us that they possessed ports, if not emporiums, down on the coast, as Phaestos, Lyttos, Rhaucos, Elyros, yet those of Axos present only types of Zeus and Apollo, as might have been expected in a city situated on the very slopes of mount Ida, and the foundation of which was assigned by one of their legends to a son of the latter god[10]. The reverse of each coin has the name of the people FAΞIΩN or, more commonly, ϜAΞIΩN, the digamma at the beginning of which words has been corrupted, both by editors[11] and numismatists[12], into Σ, so that we have read of a city Saxus or Saxia; while the unlucky word was also changed by a more ancient blunder, in the text of Scylax, into Paxus. The digamma is not of very common occurrence in coins; it is however found on several of those of the Epizephyrian Locrians.

This Axian coin, which has the thunderbolt and the first letters of the people's name on its reverse, was

[10] The mythology of autonomous Greek coins is almost always connected with local legends: and, even under the Roman Emperors, to take illustrations, which might be found in any quarter of Greece, from Crete alone, Gortyna retained Europa and the bull, Cydonia the she-wolf and young Miletus, Hierapytna her eagle and palm-tree, Lappa its Apollo. It is true that in these later times we sometimes find on a coin the attributes of a god unconnected with the place: for instance, when it was meant to pay a compliment to the reigning Emperor. Thus the tripod appears on the coins of Nero struck at Ephesus, because he used to call himself Apollo. See VAILLANT's Numismata Imperatorum Romanorum Praestantiora, Tom. II. p. 69.

[11] CHISHULL, Antiquit. Asiat. p. 125.

[12] PELLERIN, Recueil de Médailles de peuples et de villes, Tom. III. p. 72. Of the Cretan city Naxos I shall have to speak in the latter part of my work. As to CHANDLER's reading, NAΞIΩN, in the Teian inscription, "nihili est." With ECKHEL, Doctrina N. V. Vol. II. p. 305. compare BOECKH, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, Vol. II. p. 638.

attributed by Beger[13] and after him by Pellerin[14], to Axia, a city of the Ozolian Locrians, to which no other coin has been assigned; and, in this mistake, Pellerin is, as usual, faithfully and unhesitatingly followed by M. Mionnet[15], in spite of the plain indications that the coin belonged to a place in which Zeus was a peculiar object of the people's worship, which he does not appear to have been, as far as I am aware, among the Ozolian Locrians.

In attributing this coin to the Axians, Beger[16], it is true, speaks of the place as a city of the Ozolian Locrians where Zeus was worshipped; but his only authority for the fact is the coin in question. He doubted, admitting the Cretan Zeus to be better known than the Locrian, whether a city Axos could be proved to have existed in Crete, misled by a false reading in Herodotus, in whose text old editions have Oaxos, and feeling that, since Stephanus of Byzantium quotes Herodotus, it is in the latter's text that we were to look for the true name of the city. He might, however, have found two notices of the place in Stephanus, under the words Oaxos and Axos[17]. The city Eleutherna is also thus recorded by him under the two forms Eleutherna and Eleuthera. Beger did not refer the coin to Axia, a city of the Epizephyrian Locrians, because Cicero[18] speaks of it, not as a city, but a mere castle. As to Axia of the Ozolian Locrians, I may add, that not only is no other coin of the place to be met with, but the city is altogether unknown except from a solitary passage of Stephanus of Byzantium[19], whose assertion is so singular,

[13] BEGER, Thesaurus Brandeburgicus Selectus, Tom. I. pp. 467, 8.

[14] PELLERIN, Recueil, Tom. I. p. 99.

[15] MIONNET, Tom. II. p. 90.

[16] BEGER, l. c. Tom. I. pp. 467–8.

[17] STEPHAN. BYZANT. Ἄξος πόλις Κρήτης ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τετάρτῃ.

[18] CICERO, pro A. Caecina, §. 7. Caecina cum amicis ad diem venit in castellum Axiam: ex quo loco fundus is, de quo agitur, non longe abest.

[19] STEPHAN. BYZANT. Ἀξία πόλις Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζόλων, ἀπὸ Ἀξίας τῆς θυγατρὸς Κλυμένου, ἢ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ Ἀξίου, ἔστι καὶ πόλις Ἰταλίας.

when compared with the silence of all other authors, that it is remarked on by some of his editors[20], and it must be admitted, that even if such a spot did once exist, at all events it was never a place of any note, and never struck autonomous coins.

A modern geographer[21] infers that since Axos is mentioned by no ancient writer after Herodotus, it probably became a provincial town (*landstaedtchen*) of Eleutherna: a supposition which is not only gratuitous, but is positively inconsistent with direct evidence; for we know, from the Teian inscriptions[22], that the Axians exercised the privileges of an independent state more than 200 years after this time; and, as Mannert himself mentions, it comes forward again, at a much later period, in Hierocles[23], under the miswritten name of Oaxios.

Soon after my arrival at Ἄξος, I met with a man who became my guide to the so-called Hellenic walls, situated, as I soon found, about half a mile to the south-east of the present village, and consisting of remains of an aqueduct running across the summit of the little valley, between the hill on the acclivity of which the modern village stands and a loftier hill to the S.S.W. The space between the two hills is about seventy or eighty paces wide. Two pieces of the aqueduct are still standing, one of them about sixteen paces long and thirty feet high, the other a short piece of the same height. The stones of these remains are small, and a great deal of mortar is used: in the smaller fragment is a void, from which my guide assured me that a Frank had removed "a piece of marble" some years ago. But without placing faith in this account, and inferring that the aqueduct was built after the Venetian conquest, when any monument of ancient art was used, as may

[20] THOMAS DE PINEDO, p. 89. a. or STEPHAN. BYZANT. Tom. IV. p. 134. ed. Lips. 1825.

[21] MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. VIII. p. 726.

[22] CHISHULL, p. 116.

[23] HIEROCLES, Synecdem. §. 11. p. 650. ed. Wesseling.

be seen in the walls of many fortresses, merely as building materials, it is evident that the work in question was not coeval with the ancient republic of Axos, and cannot be assigned to a more ancient period than the lower Greek empire.

Positive assurances of the existence of an inscription on the loftier hill caused me to mount nearly to its summit, treading on snow during part of the ascent, a fact which gives an idea of our elevation above the level of the sea. The so-called inscription turned out to be a few unmeaning scratches on a stone: a result for which it is necessary always to be prepared, when one's poor guides can scarcely any of them read.

It seemed clear to me that ancient remains were most likely to be found on the hill along the side of which we had wound on leaving Axos, and for the use of the houses on which the ruined aqueduct had plainly been constructed: I therefore ascended its north side, and, in the cultivated fields around it, found the commonest and most certain indication of an ancient site, innumerable fragments of old pottery. The pleasure and hope caused by this discovery were, however, soon damped by my finding remains of the walls of a middle-age fortress running round what undoubtedly was the old acropolis. This was most probably one of the many Genoese forts built early in the thirteenth century. After the establishment of peace in the island, about 140 years later, it fell into neglect, like most of the others, so that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the population of 'Axos hardly exceeded its present amount. Of course the construction of the fortress must necessarily have destroyed the greater part of the ancient walls of the acropolis, even if they had escaped the ravages of so many previous centuries. I searched, however, diligently throughout their circuit, in the hope of finding something belonging to a better age, and I was successful; for I discovered on the north side of the acropolis, fragments of polygonal

masonry, the masses of which are carefully fitted together without cement. An inspection of the sketch of these remains, which has already met my reader's eye[24], shews that they belong to the earliest style of the so-called cyclopean or pelasgic walls[25]. Within these outer walls I also found some remains of what I suppose to have been a fortress within the acropolis.

At some little distance from this ancient acropolis, on the side of the hill, just above the modern village, is the dilapidated church of Hághios Ioánnes: its sides and roof are entirely covered with rude fresco paintings, and a considerable part of its floor consists of remains of mosaic work, of no great excellence, but still of considerable antiquity, and which I should suppose to have belonged originally to the building, the place of which was afterwards occupied by the Christian church. On returning to the village I found in the wall of the church Τοῦ Σταυρωμένου[26], a beautiful piece of white marble, on which is a sepulchral inscription in the ancient Doric Greek of the island. All its letters are as clear as when they were first cut.

ΜΗΜΟΥΕΝΥΒΡΙΞΗΣΑΓΝ
ΤΑΦΟΝΩΓΑΡΟΔΙΤΑ
ΜΗΣΟΙΜΗΝΙΣΗΓΙΚΡΟΝ
ΕΓΑΓΕΣΙΛΑΣ
ΦΕΡΣΕΦΟΝΑΤΕΚΟΡΑ
ΔΑΜΑΤΕΡΟΣ ΑΛΛΑΓΑΡΕΡ
ΓΩΝ-ΕΙΓΟΝΑΡΑΤΙΩ
ΓΑΙΑΝΕΧΟΙΣΕΛΑΦΡΑΝ [27]

[24] Above at p. 143.

[25] Thus, too, at Argos, "a ruined castle, of lower Greek or Frank construction, which occupies the summit of this rocky hill, still preserves, amidst the rude masonry of its crumbling walls, some remains of those of the ancient Acropolis." See Colonel LEAKE'S excellent work, Travels in the Morea, Vol. II. p. 395.

[26] Τοῦ Σταυρομένου of the Crucifix, or the Holy Rood, as it used to be called in England.

[27] Μή μου ἐννυβρίξῃς ἀγνὸν τάφον, ὦ παροδῖτα,
μή σοι μηνίσῃ πικρὸν ἔπ' Ἀγεσίλας,
Φερσεφόνα

Insult not this my tomb, O passer by,
Lest thou incur Agesilas's wrath,
And stern Phersephone's: but, passing nigh,
Say, to Arate, "on thee lie light the earth!"

The name Agesilas is here bestowed on Pluto, to whom it is also given by Aeschylus, and other authors[28]. The inscription was incorrectly copied, several centuries ago, and is published in Gruter[29]. In the *Epagesime*, which, owing to the carelessness of the transcriber, was found at the end of the second verse, the sagacity of Bentley detected the Aeschylean epithet of Pluto; and the conjecture of "Cam's mighty Aristarch", ἐπ' Αγεσίλᾳ, all but restored the true reading of the inscription[30]. Ruhnken, retaining μηνίσῃ, which Bentley had changed into μηνίῳ, suggested that the ἔπι was separated from its case σοι, and that Ἀγεσίλας must have been the original word of the epitaph[31]: an ingenious and happy conjecture, which receives a more complete proof of its truth, by my copy of the inscription, than can ordinarily be obtained by any piece of conjectural criticism.

Φερσεφόνα τε κόρα Δαματέρος· ἀλλὰ παρέρπων
εἰπὸν Ἀρατίῳ· Γαῖαν ἔχοις ἐλαφράν.

With the concluding words the reader may compare the well-known letters of Roman sepulcral inscriptions, S. T. T. L. Sit tibi terra levis, and many passages of ancient poets. OVID, Amor. III. 10. 67.

Ossa quieta, precor, tuta requiescite in urna
Et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo.

PERSIUS, I. 37.

Non levior cippus nunc imprimit ossa!

[28] ATHENAEUS, III. p. 99. B. Οἶδα δ' ὅτι καὶ Σιμωνίδης που ὁ ποιητὴς ἀρίσταρχον εἶπε τὸν Δία, καὶ Αἰσχύλος τὸν Ἅιδην ἀγησίλαον. CALLIMACHUS, Bath of Pallas, v. 130.

Καὶ μόνος, εὖτε θάνῃ, πεπνυμένος ἐν νεκύεσσιν
φοιτασεῖ, μεγάλῳ τίμιος Ἀγεσίλᾳ.

See JACOBS, Anthologia Graeca, Tom. XII. p. 339. On the words Phersephone and Persephassa, applied to the daughter of Demeter, see HESYCHIUS, in Φερσεφόνεια: SPANHEIM, on Aristoph. Nub. 683. HEINDORF, on Plat. Cratyl. p. 404. KOCH, Antonin. Liberal. p. 234: and on the etymology of the name of Phersephone, and its application to Aphrodite, see WELCKER, Sylloge Epigramm. Graec. p. 261. fol.

[29] GRUTER, p. MCXXX. No. 9.

[30] BENTLEY, on CALLIMACHUS, l. c. Tom. II. p. 13. ed. Ernest.

[31] RUHNKEN, Epistol. Crit. p. 113. Hemsterhuis also read Ἀγεσίλας.

The usage of ξ, instead of σ or σσ, in the word ἐννβρίξῃς, is not at all surprising. The Cretan inscriptions, published by Chishull, contain δικάξασθαι, ψαφιξαμένοις, and other similar Cretan dorisms.

This virgin daughter of Demeter, Persephone, was usually called Coré: and it is from her name, rather than from that of any other goddess, that one would wish to derive the Cretan Corion[32], were it not for the former existence of a temple, dedicated to the virgin Goddess Athene, at the place.

In the Orphic poems, and other repertories of those later legends, which delighted in fixing on Crete as the scene of many amours of both gods and goddesses, we find frequent mention of Persephone.

According to the poet Bacchylides, she was carried off by Pluto, not from the shores of Sicily, but from those of Crete[33]. One origin of the name of the Corybantes was derived from the guard which they were said to have kept over Persephone[34], in order to defend her against the incestuous designs of Zeus. The love which that peculiarly Cretan god had once felt for Demeter, or Rhea, was now transferred to her daughter. The sacred form of serpents was assumed by both the maiden and her suitor[35], and, in due time, Persephone became the mother of the celebrated Zagreus; who, while yet a child, was

[32] Above, p. 72.

[33] HESIOD, Theog. 913.

Ἣ τέκε Περσεφόνην λευκώλενον, ἣν Ἀϊδωνεύς
ἥρπασεν ἧς παρὰ μητρός.

Where the SCHOLIAST says: Ἡρπάσθαι δὲ τὴν Περσεφόνην φασὶν οἱ μὲν ἐκ Σικελίας, Βακχυλίδης δὲ ἐκ Κρήτης.

[34] See LOBECK, Aglaophamus, p. 546. who cites PROCULUS, Theol. VI. 13. 382. Ἀνὰ λόγον τοῖς ἐκεῖ Κουρῆσι ἡ τῶν Κορυβάντων τάξις προβαίνουσα σὺν τῇ Κόρῃ, καὶ φρουροῦσα αὐτὴν ὡς φησιν ἡ θεολογία, διὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαχον ταύτην.

[35] LOBECK, l. c. p. 548. ATHENAGORAS, c. XX. p. 292. Ζεὺς δέ—καὶ τὴν μητέρα Ῥέαν ἀπαγορεύουσαν αὐτοῦ τὸν γάμον ἐδίωκε· δρακαίνης δὲ αὐτῆς γενομένης—ἐμίγη—εἶτα Φερσεφόνῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐμίγη βιασάμενος καὶ αὐτὴν ἐν δράκοντος σχήματι. OVID, Met. VI. 114. speaks of Jupiter,

Aureus ut Danaen; Asopida luserit igneus;
Mnemosynen pastor, varius Deoïda serpens.

placed in the throne of Heaven, and received, with the sceptre and thunderbolts of his father, power over both gods and men[36]. The Curetes were charged to watch over the infant deity, but failed to guard him from the treacherous Titans, by whom he was torn limb from limb[37].

In a private house I found another inscription, the characters of which were large, but so indistinct, that I could make nothing more out of it than that it was written in Doric Greek. Before leaving the village I found others, which I might perhaps have succeeded in decyphering, had I been able to spend more time in endeavouring to do so. As it was I copied enough to shew that one of them was a decree of a "common assembly of the Cretans."

ΕΔΟΞΕΤΩΙΚΟΙΝΩΙΤΩΙΚΡΗΤΑΙΕΩΝ
ΟΙΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΜΙΟΝΤΕΣΤ...ΩΙ.ΚΡΗ...Ε.Ν
ΤΗΙ.....Α....ΚΑΙ...ΤΕΥΤ...ΤΟΣ
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
....ΠΟΔΕΔΕΓΜΕΝΑΙΚΑΙ.....
. . . . . .
ΤΩΙΚΟΙΝΩΙΤΩΙΚΡΗΤΑΙ.....
. . . . . ΕΥΝΟΙΑΝΤΩ

[36] Nonnus, Dionys. vi. 165.

Ζαγρέα γειναμένη κερόεν βρέφος, ὃς Διὸς ἕδρης
μοῦνος ἐπουρανίης ἐπεβήσατο, χειρὶ δὲ βαιῇ
ἀστεροπὴν ἐλέλιζε, νεηγενέος δὲ φορῆος
νηπιάχοις παλάμῃσιν ἐλαφρίζοντο κεραυνοί.

[37] Nonnus, l. c. v. 174.

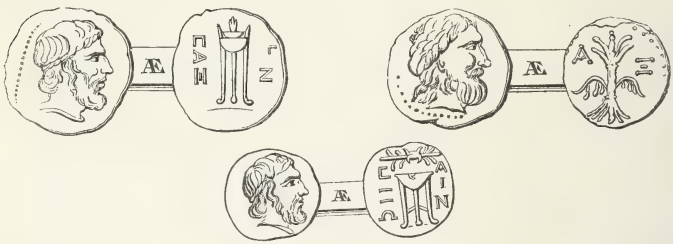
Ἔνθα διχαζομένων μελέων Τιτῆνι σιδήρῳ,
τέρμα βίου Διόνυσος ἔχων παλινάγρετον ἀρχήν,
ἀλλοφυὴς μορφοῦτο, πολυσπερὲς εἶδος ἀμείβων—
καὶ θρασὺς ὤκλασε ταῦρος· ἀμοιβαίῃ δὲ φονῆες
ταυροφυῆ Διόνυσον ἐμιστύλαντο μαχαίρῃ.

The mention of such a common assembly reminds us of the well-known *Syncretism*, as it was called. The different states of the island used always to lay aside their internal quarrels, and to unite in defence of their common country, whenever threatened by any foreign foe[38].

I also found the following fragment of an inscription:

ΟΙΟ
ΤΙΚΟCΜΙ
ΔΑΜΟΚΥΔ
ΤΟΝΕ
ΑΚΡΑΝΚΑ
ΚΑΙΤΑΝC
ΤΙΑΤΧΩ
ΤΩΝΝΙΩΓ
ΛΗCΕCΘ
ΤΟΔΙΚΟ

While I was in the modern Axos many coins of the ancient city, found by the peasants in tilling the ground, were shown to me. Out of nearly forty of them which I purchased, almost all were Cretan, and about sixteen were of Axos itself. None of them were of silver.



[38] PLUTARCH, on brotherly love, §. 19. (p. 490. b. or Tom. II. p. 993. ed. Wyttenb.) Μιμούμενον αὐτὸ γοῦν τοῦτο τῶν Κρητῶν, οἳ πολλάκις στασιάζοντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ πολεμοῦντες, ἔξωθεν ἐπιόντων πολεμίων διελύοντο καὶ συνίσταντο· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ὁ καλούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν συγκρητισμός. Compare the GREAT ETYMOLOGICON, in συγκρητίσαι, and HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 470.

Some silver coins of Axos have been published. The following is found in the Ducal cabinet at Modena, and is like one engraved in the Gotha Numaria of Liebe.

On leaving the village we began immediately to descend towards the river, which we crossed to the south-south-east of the acropolis, and soon after commenced our ascent. After passing the river we halted to look back on the district about Axos, which is certainly very barren and rocky. The situation of the city answers well to one of the etymologies of its name given in Stephanus of Byzantium: it was called Axos because the place is precipitous, Axos being used by the Cretans in the same sense as *agmos*, a break, was by the other Greeks[39].

The vicinity of the village is covered here and there by a few stunted olives, and some patches of tilled land: but the dreary barrenness of its immediate neighbourhood must always have been much the same as it is. I should imagine the district belonging to the ancient city to have extended down past Gharázo, and to have adjoined on the territory of Panormos somewhere in the fertile plain of Mylopótamos. Panormos is a city the remains of which are still seen not far from the shore, on a low hill near the ruins of Castle Mylopótamo, and they still retain their ancient name[40]. The situation of

[39] STEPHANUS BYZANT. v. Ὄαξος—τινὲς—διὰ τὸ κατάκρημνον εἶναι τὸν τόπον· καλοῦσι γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους τόπους ἄξους καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀγμούς.

[40] I did not visit this site, but have had the good fortune of finding, at Venice, the clearest indications of its situation, in one of the numerous Italian and Venetian manuscripts which I consulted respecting the history of Crete between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. This MS. is in the Correr Collection, and is entitled, "Historia Candiana descritta da Andrea Cornaro

this city might have been supposed to be in this neighbourhood, from the passages of Ptolemy and Pliny in which it is mentioned. The former of those authors places it at some distance to the west of Heracleion, and in the latter's list it is found to the east of Rhithymna. How a modern writer[41] should refer to these passages of Ptolemy and Pliny, and at the same time say that "Panormos is Porto Panormo, near *Mirabel*", is, I confess, to me difficult to understand. Mirabello, as may be seen by looking at any map of Crete, is more than twenty miles to the east of Karteró, which the same author supposes to have been the site of Heracleion, and is still further to the east of Megálo-Kástro, if Heracleion was situated there. I wonder that Professor Hoeck[42] should not have seen that these passages, particularly that of Pliny[43], can not be reconciled with the supposition that Panormos stood where we now find the principal city of the island[44].

After halting a little while, to take a distant sketch of 'Axos and its neighbourhood, we go on ascending, on the

Cornaro — nobile Veneto, habitante nella città di Candia metropoli del regno." It appears to have been written early in the last century. At p. 114 the author describes the siege by the Greeks under Leone Calergi, in the year 1341, of Castle Mylopótamo, "nel quale erano li Veneti per defenderlo et opponersi al nemico: et quinci non longi *in uno basso colle, si descerne ancora le vestigie della superba et bella città di Panormo così sin hoggi detta.*" We are much obliged to the Cretan historian for taking this step out of his way. The MS. No. 624. in this Correr Collection, is a duplicate of the same work. I may add that POCOCKE, (Vol. II. Part II. p. 258.) following an old map, had rightly placed this site west of the cape of the Holy Cross, and distant about eight miles from the village of Margarítes. We must not suppose from Cornaro's phrase, "le vestigie della bella et superba città di Panormo," that the remains are very considerable. I find them mentioned by CORONELLI, Isolario, &c. No. 58. "Panormo di cui si veggono tuttavia *poche vestigie*, sul promontorio dello stesso nome vicino al castello Milopotamo."

[41] Dr CRAMER, Description of ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 394.

[42] HOECK's Kreta, Vol. I. p. 394.

[43] Who, commencing with Phalasarna, enumerates all the principal cities of the northern coast in the order in which we have already seen most of them to have been situated.

[44] The conjecture would hardly have required a notice, had it only been made by OLIVIER, Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman, Tom. II. p. 270.

north side of a valley bounded by lofty mountains, for nearly two miles, and then turn to our left and cross the ridge. A descent of about twenty minutes brings us to a river: we follow its southern bank nearly a mile, and then cross it and again begin to ascend. As sunset approaches, and we mount higher and higher above the level of the sea, we find the cold become very piercing. We soon see snow scattered in patches over all the mountains about us: at length we reach the lofty level at which the village where we mean to rest for the night is situated. For about a mile our path traverses vineyards, all of which are partially covered with snow. Just before sunset we arrived, almost frozen, at the village of Goniés, and were soon provided with an extremely wretched lodging in the hut of the Proestós.

Goniés is the first place which I have seen in Crete, that can almost be said to possess no olive-trees: there are only about 150 roots of them in its whole district. As in a village which has no vineyards, we hardly ever obtain wine, so there was actually no oil to be found in this miserable hamlet.

Snow was lying in patches on the ground at Goniés[45], and some women were greatly surprised at seeing us come "to the snow", as they called it[46]. Aware that snow is almost unknown near the coasts and in the plains of Crete, the only distant regions with which they have any acquaintance, they were quite astonished to learn that I was familiar with it in my native land, and that I had often seen it there, even without going up "into the mountains."

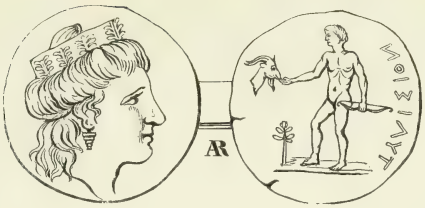
The extreme cold, which penetrated through the hut of the Proestós, could only be kept off by a wood-fire;

[45] The cold which prevails in the mountains of Crete is dwelt on by THEODOSIUS DIACONUS, Acroasis IV. 4.

Χειμῶνι πολλῷ καὶ κρυμοῖς ἀνενδότοις—
πληγέντες ὁρμῇ καὶ βολῇ τῇ τοῦ κρύους—
ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ὥρμησαν.

[46] Ἤλθατε στὸ χιόνι.

the smoke of which almost stifled and blinded us, since the cottage was built, in the common fashion, without a chimney. The whole night was spent most uncomfortably, and I was glad to rise, with the very dawn, in order to proceed to Megálo-Kástron.




COIN OF TYLISSOS.

## CHAPTER IX.

GONIES TO TYLISSO, THE SITE OF TYLISSOS. THE CRETAN IBEX, OR WILD-GOAT, AND THE DICTAMNON. FOUNTAIN OF SELVILI. SONG ON THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN THEODHOROS. ARRIVAL AT MEGALO-KASTRON. EUROPEAN CONSULATES, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN. THE BRITISH FLAG INSULTED BY A PASHA OF KHANIA.

*February* 27.

After I left Goniés, the country afforded but few signs of productiveness for miles, except some scattered olive and carob trees in the immediate neighbourhood of the village. After a descent of about half an hour, we began to follow the river, and continued our course, near its bank, for two miles: we then commenced the ascent of a range of rocky mountains, and, from their summit, obtained a view of the plain of Megálo-Kástron, the chief city of the island; the solid walls and lofty minarets of which we at the same time discerned. A somewhat tedious descent brought us to the village of Týlisso[1], where although I heard of neither coins nor other antiquities, yet I felt little or no doubt that I was standing on the site of the ancient Tylissos.

[1] Εἰς τὴν Τύλισσο.

Unfortunately the passage of Pliny, in which Tylissos is mentioned, proves nothing whatever as to its position; but the supposition that it was here, is confirmed by an examination of its ancient coins. On their reverse is represented a youth holding, in his right hand, the head of an ibex, or wild-goat[2], as the animal was called by the ancients, and in his left a bow. Now this village is at the foot of a lofty range of mountains, and wild-goats are still found in its neighbourhood. It appears that the island abounded in these animals in ancient times[3], and it is no where mentioned that they were peculiar to any one part of it. Doubtless the same rugged lofty mountain summits as they now frequent, and those alone, have always been their haunts; so that it is not likely that the types in question should occur, except in the coins of cities near Mount Ida, the White Mountains, and perhaps Lyttos. We are here at the foot of the north-eastern slopes of the Ida range, and Belon, who saw many of these animals in Crete, says that in *this part* of the island they ran "in troops[4]." Moreover this mountain gave an epithet to Artemis[5], and it is the dittany and the wild-goats of Mount Ida, rather than of any other part of the island, that both ancient and modern poets have celebrated in their verses. It will suffice to mention Virgil[6] and

[2] The animal is called a bouquetin by Buffon, and by French writers. I shall have to speak of it again when I penetrate into Sfakiá.

[3] Solinus, c. xvii. Ager Creticus silvestrium caprarum copiosus est.

[4] Belon, Singularitez etc. f. 17. After speaking of the western ranges of Mount Ida, he adds: "Il y a grād nombre de Boucs sauuages qu'on voit en troupeaux par la susdicte mōtagne."

[5] Julius Pollux, v. 13. Ἡ δὲ Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρα, καὶ κυνηγέτις, καὶ φιλόθηρος, καὶ ὀρεία, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν, καὶ Ἰδαία, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴδης.

[6] Virgil, Aen. xii. 412.

> Dictamnum genetrix Cretaea carpit ab Ida
> Puberibus caulem foliis et flore comantem
> Purpureo: non illa feris incognita capris
> Gramina, cum tergo volucres haesere sagittae.

Meursius, Creta, pp. 97, 110, 111. has collected the principal passages of ancient writers on the subject of this medicinal effect of the plant on the wounded wild-goat: among them are two of Plutarch, and others of Cicero, Pliny,

Tasso: in the Gerusalemme Liberata of the latter, Godfrey is wounded, and the Angel, (XI. 72.)

> Al duolo indegno
> Mosso di lui, colse dittamo in Ida—
> E ben mastra Natura alle montane
> Capre n' insegna la virtù celata,
> Qualor vengon percosse, e lor rimane
> Nel fianco affissa la saetta alata.

It is true that the very types of the coins of Tylissos, which have been mentioned, led the most distinguished numismatist of the last century, to fix its situation somewhere between Cydonia and Elyros, the bow being very common on the coins of the one, and the wild-goat's head on those of the other of those two cities[7]: and Professor Hoeck, adopting the idea of Eckhel, which, in fact, would have been far from unsatisfactory had I not found this village which preserves the ancient city's name, has pointed out Therisso[8] as its probable site, a place situated on the lower ridges of the White

Pliny, Theophrastus, Antigonus Carystius, Dioscorides, Aelian, and other authors. A passage of ARISTOTLE, Hist. Animal. IX. 6. Vol. I. p. 612. ed. Bekk. has escaped his notice: Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων τῶν τετραπόδων ποιεῖ πρὸς βοήθειαν αὐτοῖς φρονίμως, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ φασὶ τὰς αἴγας τὰς ἀγρίας, ὅταν τοξευθῶσι, ζητεῖν τὸ δίκταμνον· δοκεῖ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκβλητικὸν εἶναι τῶν τοξευμάτων ἐν τῷ σώματι.

[7] ECKHEL, Numi Veteres Anecdoti, pp. 156—158. Doctrina Numorum Veterum, Part. I. Vol. II. p. 321. ECKHEL, l. c. says, in speaking of another coin of this city, "Gubernaculum, quod in area numi Pelleriniani visitur, forte maritimam fuisse urbem denotat." This village Týlisso is at no great distance from the sea: the hunter with his bow and the ibex's head, as well as similar types on another coin, (MIONNET, Tom. II. p. 300.) more than compensate for the presence of a gubernaculum on one coin. Again, in PLINY's notice of Tylissos, (N. H. IV. 20.) it is mentioned as an inland town. TORRES Y RIBERA, Periplus Cretae, Cap. XXIX. p. 324. (a work which I have in vain endeavoured to find in some of our principal public libraries in England, and have only, at last, procured in the sale of the late Mr Boettiger's books at Dresden, after the preceding sheets had all been printed,) adopts Eckhel's suggestion, and places Tylissos on the south coast, near the western extremity of the island, in the neighbourhood of the modern Sélino-Kastéli.

[8] It may be observed that the etymology of the two names Thériso and Týlisso, is totally distinct, and it is difficult to see how sounds so different could be confounded.

Mountains, and not far from the sites of Cydonia and Elyros.

A citizen of Tylissos seems to be mentioned in an ancient inscription[9], where other Cretans are also spoken of as having received, in Corcyra, certain districts for vineyards, purchased for them as proxeni by the city.

Týlissos is now reduced to about twenty-five houses, a fourth of its size before the outbreaking of the Greek revolution, and is surrounded by carob-trees and olives, as well as by some vineyards. The rock about it is nearly as full of imbedded shells as that of Malta, or of the south-east of Italy. The day is delightful, and we can hardly believe ourselves within a dozen miles of the cold and snow of yesterday.

After leaving Týlissos we passed a ruined khan, which used formerly to afford good accommodation, and soon arrived at a copious and rather picturesque fountain: here I halted, and listened to a Cretan song, and to some of the innumerable stories, respecting the events of the war, which it seems that Maniás knows for every part of the island. The minuteness of his details, and their invariable agreement with all that I learn from other quarters, prove him to have been an observant actor in the scenes which he describes.

The song which exercised the vocal powers of the Sfakian Captain, while my artist was making a sketch of the fountain of Selvilí, celebrates the heroism and ill-fortunes of the Chieftain Theódhoros, who, during the early part of the Christian revolt in Crete, was arkhegós of the two districts of Mylopótamo and Malevísi. His troops were stationed at Sárko and Hághio

[9] Muratori, Nov. Thesaur. Vet. Inscrip. Tom. II. p. 588. and Mustoxidi, Illustrat. Corciresi, Tom. II. p. 65. The words which seem to relate to the Tylissian are

ΕΡΜΩΝΙ ΤΥΛΕΣΙΩΙ ΑΝΠΕΛΩΝ ΤΕΤΡΑΠΛΕ ΘΡΙΑΝ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΠΕΔΙΩΙ.

The Tylissian's name occurs between those of a Cnossian and an Apteraean; his city, if here, was situated between Cnossos and Aptera.

Mýro: he had with him but few of his fellow Sfakians, having dispatched his brother Russákes, with a detachment, to aid the Greeks of Lassíthi, before he came down towards the plain of Megálo-Kástron. On descending to this fountain of Selvilí, and to the village of Gázi, he fell in with the Mohammedan forces, which were greatly superior in number to his own. The engagement lasted from three hours after sunrise till two hours before sunset. The Christian leader wore a very rich dress, and had most splendid arms: thus he was recognized, and, at length, perished in a furious charge made by the Arnaut cavalry. The Cretan song, which Maniás sings, commences with an account of the splendour and value of Theódhoros's arms, and of the beauty of his person, and then proceeds:

Ὁ Κουμαντάτης τοῦ 'στειλε
μίαν διαταγὴν γραμμένην
Τοῦρκος νὰ μὴ 'πομείνῃ πλέον
'ς ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην·

ἡ μάνα[10] του τὸν ἐμήνυσε
καρὰ νὰ πολεμήσῃ,
τῶν 'Αρναούτων τἄρογα
κανένα μὴν ἀφήσῃ.

* * *

στὸ Σερβιλὶ κατέβηκε
καὶ 'στασε τὰ τζαντήρια,
στὸ Γάζι ἐκατέβηκε
κ' ἔπαιξαν τὰ παιγνίδια.

* * *

[10] **Μάνα.** On μάνα see DU CANGE, Glossarium, 861.
Ἔχασε μάνα τὸ παιδὶ καὶ τὸ παιδὶ τὴν μάνα.
On the older word μάμμη, (in English, *mamma*,) consult PHOTIUS, Lex. p. 245. DU CANGE, Glossarium, 859. PHRYNICHUS, p. 135. and LOBECK.

πορρούς Τούρκους ἐσκότωσεν
ὁ φοβεροαγιασμένος
μὰ ἤτονι ἡ Τουρκιά πολλή,
κ' ἐκεῖνος κουριασμένος.

* * *

"οἱ Μυλοποταμίται μᾶς,
πορροὶ 'ναι σὰν τὰ δάση,
ὁλημερινοὺς νὰ τζὴ ἀπαντᾷς
φεύγουνι ὡσὰ βραδιάση.

καιεμένοι πάρτα 'Ανοιανοί,
κ' ἔτι οἱ Χρουσανιώται,
ἀποῦ πολεμᾶτε μὲ τὴν Τουρκιά
ὡσὰν κ' οἱ Λακιώται[11]."

"ὤφου καιεμένε μου ἀδερφέ,
διατὶ νὰ σ' ἀποβγάρω;
νὰ μὴ βοηθήξῃς ἐπαδὰ
νὰ πάρω ἕνα ζάρο;

ὤφου καιεμένε μοῦ 'δερφέ,
νὰ ἤθελες τὸ κατέχει
πῶς σήμερον ἐγὼ 'σκοτώθηκα·
χαμπέρι[12] ἐσὺ δὲν τὸ ἔχεις!

* * *

χαιρετᾶτε μοῦ τζὴ Σφακιανοὺς
κ' ὅρα τὰ παλλικάρια
και 'πὲ τζὴ ὅπως μου 'κάμασιν
οἱ 'Αρναοῦται μάγια."

[11] The Lakiótes were celebrated for their courage throughout the war: the brave mountaineers of the district between 'Axos and Týlissos are therefore compared with the Lakiótes, while they are distinguished from the less warlike inhabitants of the plains of Mylopótamo.

[12] The Turkish خبر khabér.

To him our Commandante did
A written order give,
That he permit no Musulman
In Grecia's world to live:

His mother too had bidden him
A warrior's part to play,
Nor let a single Arnaut steed
Escape from out the fray.

* * *

To Selvilí he did descend
And there his tents deployed;
And, further onward, Gázi's sports
His warriors all enjoyed.

* * *

The warlike Champion of the Cross
Full many a Moslem slew:
But still the Moslem host was strong,
While he quite wearied grew.

* * *

"Our men of Mylopótamo,
Though dense as groves they be,
When they're resisted all the day
With evening's sun will flee.

Alas, ill-fated Anoians,
And ye brave Khrusaniótes,
Who all contend with Moslem foes,
E'en like the Lakiótes!"

"Alas! alas! my brother dear,
Why sent I thee away?
Thy force, if here, had well secured
A safe retreat from th' fray.

Alas! alas! my brother dear,
I would that thou could'st learn
The fatal news of this day's fight,
My death that thou must mourn!

* * *

Salute from me the Sfakians,
And each brave pallikár,
And tell them how I've vanquish'd been
In this our Arnaut war."

As soon as a sketch of the fountain was made, and Maniás's song and stories were ended, we recommenced our journey, and, after finishing what little there remained of descent, arrived at the bridge of Gázi, the stream under which is considerable: we passed it, and afterwards, three or four other bridges, over streams which all discharge themselves into the sea a little below the places where we crossed them. In rather more than an hour from the time of our leaving the fountain, we reached the gate of Megálo-Kástron, and the usual external adjunct of a large Mohammedan town, an extensive burial ground. On entering within the walls of the city, I saw that I was once more in Turkey: and, the bazárs, though filled with fewer costly articles of eastern luxury, are still so exclusively Turkish in their character as to recall to mind those of Smyrna and Constantinople.

I obtained an apartment in the house of Dhemétrio, the Pashá's Greek secretary. My host expressed great delight at receiving in his dwelling an Englishman, who

had studied "the Hellenic language[13]". The moment he found that I had read Homer, he asked me if I was also acquainted with Synesius[14].

After establishing myself in these quarters, I proceeded to visit the consular representatives of Great Britain and France. Monsieur Fabreguette had given me a letter of introduction to Monsieur Godebout, the French Consular Agent, who seems to be the person of most consideration among the so-called Frank population of this city. His house is spacious, and is fitted up with some of the ordinary comforts and luxuries of civilized Europe. I declined, however, to accept of his proffered hospitality, since I had obtained a very comfortable apartment with Dhemétrio, and had made arrangements for being duly supplied with dinner, &c. from a kind of locanda[15] in the city. On a subsequent occasion I became M. Godebout's guest.

I need hardly say that the French agent[16] is a native of the country which he represents here. The English agent, on the contrary, is a Levantine, who was born at Malta, has passed many years of his life as a slave in Barbary; and, like his principal in Khaniá, is totally unacquainted with English. He is, however, a good-natured old man, and knows enough Italian and Greek to be able to maintain a conversation in either of those languages.

[13] Τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον.

[14] Before I left Megálo-Kástron I found out the link which united Homer and Synesius in the mind of my host: he possessed a small volume, probably his only Hellenic book, containing extracts from those two authors.

[15] The ξενοδοχεῖον, which has lately been restored, after an absence of many centuries, to Nauplia and Athens, has not yet found its way into Crete.

[16] M. Godebout was appointed Vice-Consul while I remained in the island. No Consul or Vice-Consul of France, who receives a salary from his own nation, is allowed to occupy himself with commerce: he is thus under no inducement to make his flag promote his own personal interests, to the prejudice of other merchants. This is an excellent regulation, and one which every one, who knows the East, would be glad to see adopted by other nations.

It is impossible not to regret the state of the Consular establishment of Great Britain throughout the East; the whole of it requires a very careful revision; and does not seem, at any time, to have occupied much of the attention of the Foreign Office. We have been represented, in most of the small ports of the Turkish empire, for the last century, by persons, who, to use the strong language of a naval officer, possess *none* of the requisite qualities of a consul, "are without independence of character, and are really a disgrace to our flag[17]".

I have already mentioned the vain attempts made at Khaniá, under the old Turkish government of Crete, by persons called the representatives of Great Britain, to obtain the right of displaying above their dwellings, the ensign of the country which protected them[18]. I learn, from the archives of the French consulate at Khaniá, that Great Britain once possessed this privilege, under the old regime, in Crete; but her representative then, as now, was not an Englishman, and she lost her flag in the following manner.

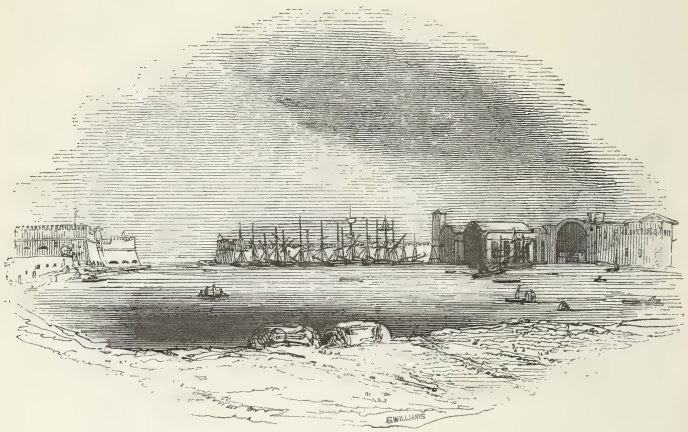
In 1765 the British consul was actually a *baratary* of the Sublime Porte. The attention, not of the Cabinet in Downing Street, but of the Divan at Constantinople, was drawn to the evils resulting from the occupation of such situations by such most unbecoming and improper persons. A hatí-sheríf of the Sultan forbade all "raýa-consuls" any longer to exercise their consular functions, and required that they should in future pay the kharatj, like the other Christian subjects of the Porte. When the Imperial order arrived in Crete, the raýa who then

[17] BEAUFORT, Karamania, p. 88.

[18] The following is an extract from an official letter of the French Consul, at Khaniá, to his Government, dated the 31st of March, 1826. "Le Consul de France est le seul qui batte pavillon sur sa maison: les autres Consuls ont, jusqu'à ce moment, fait en vain des démarches pour obtenir le même privilège. Les autorités et les habitans de la Canée le leur ont refusé en prétendant que, de tems immemoriel, on n'avait vu dans cette ville que le pavillon de France, et que lui seul pouvait être arboré."

held the office of "Consul of His Britannic Majesty", at Khaniá, was dragged before the Pashá of that city, and a party of the Pashá's servants, with a few Turkish sailors, were sent to the British Consulate, to pull down and trample under foot our national ensign[19].

[19] CORRESPONDANCE DU CONSUL DE FRANCE, le 27 Fevrier 1765. The Consul of France had been summoned on the 26th to attend a Divan to hear read a hatí-sherif du Grand Seigneur, concernant les Consuls nationaux. Its import was "que les Consulats des nations étrangères et franques, ne soyent pas exercés *par des Consuls rayats:* de destituer ceux qui en cette qualité en font les fonctions: de retirer tous les *barats* et fermans qui ont été delivrés par les predecesseurs de Sa Hautesse: de faire payer *carach* à ceux qui en sont munis." Now for the special proceedings with respect to the British Consul, who is described as being moreover "Chargé des Affaires du Grand Duc de Toscane, de la Republique Serenissime de Venise, et de leurs Hautes Puissances Seigneurs les Etats Generaux de Hollande." He made a protest, to the following effect, at the French Consulate, when the affair was ended: that the Pasha's emissaries "lui auroient ordonné, de la part du dit Pacha, de se rendre au palais, et de porter avec lui le barat et autres pieces du Grand Seigneur, qui l'autorisoient dans l'exercise des fonctions de Consul de S. M. B. et de l'agence des affaires des autres nations susmentionnées." The orders of his unceremonious visitors were to take him bodily to the Pashá: "de l'amener, et de l'y faire porter s'il étoit necessaire." He was taken to the Pashá's palace: was ordered to stand, almost at the very door of the Pashá's apartment: was addressed "Raýa!" by the Pashá: and heard read a special order of the Sultan, to the Pashá, "de ne plus permettre au dit Sieur Consul d'Angleterre de battre et arborer, sur la terrasse de sa maison, le pavillon de Sa Majesté Britannique." On the poor baratary's return to his Consulate, he saw arrive "plusieurs gens du palais, et des matelots, aux fins d'abattre le mât qui servoit etc." Their object was speedily accomplished.



THE PORT OF MEGALO-KASTRON.

## CHAPTER X.

VISIT TO MUSTAFA-PASHA. CHANGE IN THE TREATMENT OF EUROPEANS BY MOHAMMEDANS OF RANK. OSMAN-BEY. MY HOST DHEMETRIO. VENETIAN REMAINS. CATHEDRAL OF ST TITUS. THE SAINT'S SKULL COMPARED WITH THE HEAD OF ORPHEUS. OTHER SUPERSTITIONS, BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN. NAMES OF MOSQUES SOMETIMES DERIVED FROM CHRISTIAN SAINTS. ANCIENT AND MODERN FEMALE DRESS IN THESE COUNTRIES. ORIENTAL AND ANCIENT SECLUSION OF WOMEN. THE HOT BATH. ANCIENT AND MODERN CLEANLINESS.

*February* 28.

On visiting his Excellency Mustafá-pashá, the Seraskier of the island, about nine o'clock this morning, I was accompanied by Monsieur Godebout, and also by the English consular agent. We found the band of one of the Arab regiments, now quartered in the city, playing in the anteroom. The Pashá, who

had been forewarned of my visit, rose and descended from his divan, advancing a few steps to meet me, as I entered his apartment. While coffee and pipes were handed round, we conversed on various topics: the Pashá, at first, spoke Turkish, through the medium of a Jewish dragoman; but, after a while, something was said in Greek, from which he found out, equally as it seemed to his surprise and pleasure, that I was acquainted with that language, and immediately began to converse with me in it. Thus all my intercourse with Mustafá-pashá was released from the bonds which usually fetter the conversation of European travellers with men of rank in Turkey. Little can indeed be the communication where every word that is said on either side must pass through the mouth of an illiterate Jew before it can be understood by the other party.

Mustafá-pashá, like his master the Viceroy of Egypt, is a native of Cavallo or its neighbourhood: he is now probably thirty-five years of age, and has become acquainted with Greek since his residence in Crete. Most of the members of his kharém, including the two mothers of his children, are Greek women: and, his daily intercourse with them alone would account for his acquaintance with their language. I was astonished to discover, that, although he reads Turkish and Arabic, he has not thought it worth while to learn the *written* Greek character: and thus, while he speaks the language of the island almost with the fluency of a native, he cannot read even the superscription of a letter[1].

Mustafá-pashá inquired after "the Admiral Malcolm," whom I had left at Malta, and with whom the events of the war here during Sir Pulteney's command in the Mediterranean, some time after the battle of Navarino, rendered him personally acquainted. As the Pashá had descended from his divan on my entering

[1] The Pashá, whom I used often to see, once asked me to read to him the directions of several letters, one of which was in French, another in Greek, and a third in Armenian: they were all equally illegible to him.

the room, so he did also on my rising to take leave: and, on this latter occasion, he accompanied me several steps towards the door of the apartment; an honour which probably no European ever received, from a Turk of his rank, until within the last half century. Little more than a hundred years ago, a Pashá of Crete remained seated on his divan, even when the ambassador of France at the Sublime Porte took leave of him at the close of a visit of ceremony[2].

From the hall of audience of the Pashá I went to see Osmán-bey, a general officer, who is governor of the city and of all the parts of the island which are considered as belonging to it[3]. I found that he speaks French with tolerable fluency: and thus with him, as with the Governor-General, no interpreter was needed. Monsieur Godebout is convinced that Osmán-bey is far the most intelligent person in authority in the whole island. The formation of this opinion has in all probability been aided, if not wholly produced, by the fact that M. Godebout can converse with the General in French. M. Godebout tells me that when his interpreter is the organ of communication between himself and Mustafá-pashá, or the President of the Council, he sometimes looks to the person with whom the Jew enables him to converse, expecting a smile, and sees a grave countenance. I myself discovered that the interpreters here never even try to *translate* the *words* used: they give what they suppose to be the sense of a whole sentence, and since they frequently misunderstand what is said, they equally falsify both the form and substance of what they ought to translate.

[2] Louis Chevalier, M. S. Voyage du Levant, (quoted above, p. 9.) p. 108. "Le Pacha accepta cet offre avec bien du plaisir, et luy marqua toute sa reconnaissance. Monsieur l'Ambassadeur luy fit aussi present d'une monstre, et un moment après prit congé de luy, et se leva. *Le Pacha ne se leva point, et luy fit seulement une inclination de la teste.*"

[3] All Τὰ Καστρινά, they include *all* the parts to the east of the Kastron, and some distance to the west.

After these visits to the Pashá and Osmán-bey, I returned to my apartment in the house of Dhemétrio. My host's late uncle was bishop of Cnossos, and thus the intelligent Greek is naturally full of information on the temporal affairs of the church in Crete. I learn from him the extent of each Episcopal see, and the amount of revenues, both of the bishops and the inferior clergy. On the antiquities of the island, Dhemétrio's knowledge is, as might be expected, much less extensive: he knows only of some ancient remains called Mákro-teíkho, in the immediate neighbourhood of this city, and of "the sepulchre of Zeus" on Mount Júktas.

Dhemétrio was a widower when he married his present youthful and pretty wife: she is a native of Goniés, the village at which I slept the night before last.

*March* 1.

The most considerable of the Venetian remains, at Megálo-Kástron, next to the massive walls by which the city is surrounded, and the arches seen here, as at Khaniá, near the port, are those of a large building, which I suppose to have been the cathedral church of the Latin Archbishop. It has been totally neglected ever since the Venetians lost the city, and is now in a state of great dilapidation. This cathedral was dedicated to Saint Titus, the peculiar patron of his native island[4].

The Greeks of Crete, considering St Mark as the protector of their foreign lords, used themselves to raise the standard of St Titus, whenever they rebelled against the Most Serene Republic. This was also done by the Venetian colonists, when they rose against their mother country, and united themselves with the Greeks of the island[5]. According to an old chronicler as soon as

[4] See above, p. 6.

[5] Cornelius, Creta Sacra, Vol. II. p. 318.

Lucchino dal Vermo[6] obtained, at the head of the Venetian forces, a great victory over the rebels, "he entered into the city of Candia, on the tenth of May 1364, put to death and destroyed many of the traitors, and took away the ensign of St Titus, replacing it by that of the Evangelist St Mark, with great festivity and rejoicing[7]."

It was in this cathedral that no less valuable a relique than the head of St Titus was preserved during the Venetian rule. According to the Christian legends of the middle ages, the body of the saint, who had been buried in his own cathedral[8], could never be found after the capture of Gortyna by the Saracens. His head, however, used to be exhibited on certain occasions, and with great solemnity, to the people of Megálo-Kástron[9]. The Latin priests of Candia left not the precious relique within the walls of what, on their departure, became a Mohammedan city; but duly transported the so-called

[6] He was a native of Verona, one of the most distinguished generals of his age, and a personal friend of Francesco Petrarca, who addressed to him a book "De Officio et virtutibus Imperatoriis." He thus concludes his address to him: "Memento hanc ipsam, ad quam tu oppugnandam pergis Insulam, dum ditior olim esset, multoque potentior, a Metello, qui ob id Creticus dictus est, facili domitam incursu, tibique utinam reservatum, eventu simili sit cognomen."

[7] CRONACA VENEZIANA dal principio della città sino al MCCCCX. Codice XVIII. of the Biblioteca Marciana, fol. 97. "E puo a die x del dito messe elli ave la tera liberamente ço fo chandia intrando dentro tajando e olçidando molltij delli traditori chelli trouua e montando in sul palazo elli olçixe Mess. Marcho Gradenigo de Chandia che iera fato so ducha e tollse via la sua insegna de San Titto e messe quella del Vangelista San Marcho chon gran fessta e alegreça." In Codice XX. of the same collection (described in the Catalogo della Biblioteca Marciana, p. 227.) at fol. 87. "Fo morto el suo ducha—e tirada zoxo la so insegna de San Tito e messe quella de San Marcho." Another Chronicler says that they "cut in pieces" Gradenigo, and then sacked the city in honour of Saint Mark, and that afterwards "el fu butado a tera la insegna di San Tito, e fo levado quela di San Marco."

[8] CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Vol. I. p. 194.

[9] CORNELIUS, l. c. p. 195. The very frauds thus practised by the modern priests are those with which the Christian biographer of Constantine reproaches their heathen predecessors: EUSEBIUS, V. C. III. 57. cited above, p. 123.

head of Titus to Venice, where it was deposited in the rich *Reliquiario* of St Mark's church[10].

As the Cretan Christians for many centuries reverenced this head of Titus, though deprived of its body, so their heathen ancestors used annually to honour, by a religious festival, the body of Molos, the well-known father of Meriones[11], though deprived of its head.

The legend told to explain the ancient ceremony, in which the headless statue of a man was thus exhibited, was that after Molos got possession of a nymph's person, without having first obtained her consent, his body was found, but his head had disappeared. Plutarch may well speak of the annual religious commemoration of such an event, as "a strange festival[12]."

There is a church of St Seraphim, at Dobó in Boeotia, in which the skull of the saint is now deposited, as that of Titus was formerly supposed to rest in his cathedral here, and is believed to possess "wondrous power in driving away all kinds of evil[13]." Thus also at the monastery Lávra, on the Holy Mountain, are preserved, with other valuable reliques, the skulls "of several Saints[14]."

St John Lateran's church at Rome possesses the skulls of St Peter and St Paul: they are considered as

[10] A decree of the Venetian Senate, dated the 26th of February, 1669, provides that the Venetians shall have the benefit of a similar annual exhibition: "La testa di San Tito così venerato, e di tanto grido, doverà pur esser decentemente conservata nel Santuario, et esposta annualmente, il giorno dello stesso Santo, sopra l'altar Maggiore, all' adorazione."

[11] HOMER, Il. x. 269. xiii. 249. DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 79.

[12] PLUTARCH, de orac. defect. p. 417. e. *Ἔνιοι δὲ τοὐναντίον, ὥσπερ ἐν Κρήτῃ χρόνον συχνὸν διάγων ἔγγυων ἄτοπόν τινα τελουμένην ἑορτήν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ εἴδωλον ἀνδρὸς ἀκέφαλον ἀναδεικνύουσι, καὶ λέγουσιν, ὡς οὗτος ἦν Μόλος ὁ Μηριόνου πατήρ, νύμφῃ δὲ πρὸς βίαν συγγενόμενος, ἀκέφαλος εὑρεθείη.*

[13] LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. II. p. 517, who adds: "The holy relic has just been sent for to Thebes, to put a stop to an epidemic disorder which has made its appearance in that town."

[14] LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. III. p. 129. In addition to the skulls were "the hand of St Chrysostom, and the foot of St Cerycus, who died a martyr at three years of age."

its most sacred reliques, although the church also contains a shirt, which is said to have been made for Christ by the Virgin herself.

The alleged removal of the head of Titus, from the ruins of Gortyna to the chief city of the island, and its subsequent occasional exhibitions to the gaze of a credulous multitude, as well as the miracles said to be now performed by the skull of St Seraphim, shrink into events of relative insignificance, when compared with some of the absurdities which were believed in by the ancient heathens.

The well-known and miraculous transfer of the head of Orpheus[15]—

> Whose goary visage down the stream was sent,
> Down the swift Hebrus, to the Lesbian shore—

might have made the propagators of the Christian legend blush for their own want of proficiency in their craft, lament the excess of heathen credulity over even that of their own day, and envy the priests of ancient Greece those profitable frauds which they were able constantly to practise. The head of Orpheus did not remain, like that of the Christian saint, a mere inanimate object of respect and adoration; but used, from time to time, like the *teraphim* of Jewish idolaters[16], *to utter oracles*[17];

[15] PHANOCLES, p. 196. ed. Bach.

> Τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κεφαλὴν χαλκῷ τάμον, αὐτίκα δ' αὐτὴν
> εἰς ἅλα Θρηϊκίην ῥίψαν ὁμοῦ χέλυϊ—
> τὰς δ' ἱερῇ Λέσβῳ πολίη ἐπέκελσε θάλασσα.

LUCIAN, adv. Indoct. 11. Tom. III. p. 109. ed. Hemst. Ὅτε τὸν Ὀρφέα διεσπάσαντο αἱ Θρᾷτται, φασί, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ σὺν τῇ λύρᾳ εἰς τὸν Ἕβρον ἐμπεσοῦσαν ἐμβληθῆναι εἰς τὸν μέλανα πόντον, καὶ ἐπιπλεῖν γε τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ λύρᾳ—καὶ οὕτω μετ' ᾠδῆς προσενεχθῆναι τῇ Λέσβῳ. See also EUSTATHIUS, on Dionysius Periegetes, v. 536. In OVID, Met. XI. 50. foll. the head and lyre perform the same voyage down the Hebrus,

> Jamque mare invectae flumen populare relinquunt,
> Et Methymnaeae potiuntur litore Lesbi.

[16] ZECHARIAH, X. 2. Compare GENESIS, XXXI. 19. BOHLEN, p. 306. and GEUSIUS, Victimae Humanae, P. I. p. 323.

[17] PHILOSTRATUS, Heroica, p. 128. Boisson. Ἡ κεφαλὴ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον, ἐς Λέσβον κατασχοῦσα, ῥῆγμα τῆς Λέσβου ᾤκησε, καὶ

while his body was separated from it by the wide sea which intervenes between Lesbos and Thrace. At length, its responses became so celebrated, that the shrines, even of the Gryneian, the Clarian, and the Pythian Apollo, were all deserted[18].

A rich harvest of similar reliques is found in the field of ancient Pagan superstition, where their growth was sedulously cultivated by the priestcraft of the day. As the body of Titus was supposed to protect Gortyna, until the Mohammedans broke the imaginary spell in the ninth century, so it was declared, in more ancient times, that the city which possessed the corpse of Alexander would never be conquered[19]: so Zoroaster assured the Persians that their kingdom would last as long as they guarded his bones[20]: and so also the dead body of Oedipus, who, according to Homer[21], was buried at Thebes, was supposed by the Athenian Tragic writers[22] to have been interred at a borough of Attica, and thus to protect their country: and in later ages the bones of the parricide king were believed to have been transferred to Athens itself, where they became an object of religious worship and sacrifice, and were regarded as a defence of the city against invading foes[23].

καὶ ἐν κοιλῇ τῇ γῇ ἐχρησμῴδει· ὅθεν ἐχρῶντο τότε αὐτῇ τὰ μαντικὰ Λέσβιοί τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ξύμπαν Αἰολικόν, καὶ Ἴωνες Αἰολεῦσι πρόσοικοι. Compare p. 154. and Boissonade, p. 539.

[18] PHILOSTRATUS, Life of Apollonius, L. IV. c. 14. p. 151. Παρῆλθε καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἄδυτον, προσορμισάμενος τῇ Λέσβῳ—μήτε ἐς Γρύνειον ἐφοίτων ἔτι ὑπὲρ χρησμῶν ἄνθρωποι, μήτε ἐς Κλάρου, μήτ' ἔνθα ὁ τρίπους ὁ Ἀπόλλωνος, Ὀρφεὺς δὲ ἔχρα μόνος. See also ANTIGONUS CARYSTIUS, c. v. and NICLAS and BECKMANN, p. 10.

[19] AELIAN, V. H. XII. 64. Πανευδαίμων τε ἔσται καὶ ἀπόρθητος δι' αἰῶνος.

[20] CHRONICON PASCHALE, p. 37. c. and LOBECK, Aglaophamus, p. 280.

[21] HOMER, Il. XXIII. 679.

[22] SOPHOCLES, Oed. C. 91. VALCKENAER, on Eurip. Phoen. p. 568. and LOBECK, l. c.

[23] PAUSANIAS, I. p. 69. VALERIUS MAXIMUS, V. 3. 3. LOBECK, l. c. WORDSWORTH, Athens and Attica, p. 237. Professor LOBECK, l. c. p. 281, gives many other instances of dead bodies which thus protected the countries in which they were interred.

Sometimes the preservation of a certain part of a *living* body was supposed to be an equally efficacious talisman to defend a country. An instance of this is afforded by the ancient Cretan legend[24] of Minos's war with Megara, and of the purple lock which Scylla cut off from the head of her sleeping father,

> Cui roseus medio fulgebat vertice crinis:
> Cujus quam servata diu natura fuisset,
> Tam patriam incolumem Nisi, regnumque futurum,
> Concordes stabili firmarunt numine Parcae.

According to Aeschylus[25], Scylla had received from Minos a present of a splendid Cretan necklace, but the more common tradition describes her as having fallen in love with the Cnossian monarch[26].

Among the mosques of Megálo-Kástron is one called after Saint Catherine, its name being Haghía-Katerína-djamé. I suppose she must have been the saint to whom the building was dedicated before it received the accession of its minaret. The Mohammedans seem never to have had any reluctance to adopt the names of Greek saints, even when given to places of religious worship. Thus the Saint Sophia's church of the Christian has become the Haghía-Sophía-djamé of the Moslem[27]. In Crete many villages continue to be

[24] It was rejected by the Megarians: see PAUSANIAS, I. p. 96. and HEYNE, on Apollod. p. 882.

[25] AESCHYLUS, Choeph. 613.

> Ἄλλαν δεῖ τιν' ἐν λόγοις στυγεῖν
> φοινίαν Σκύλλαν,
> ἅτ' ἐχθρῶν ὕπερ φῶτ' ἀπώλεσεν φίλον, Κρητικοῖς
> χρυσεοδμήτοισιν ὅρμοις πιθήσασα δώροισι Μίνω,
> Νῖσον ἀθανάτας τριχὸς νοσφίσασ' ἀπροβούλως.

[26] PROPERTIUS, III. 17. 21.

> Tuque o Minoa venumdata, Scylla, figura,
> Tondens purpurea regna paterna coma.

OVID, Met. VIII. 90.

> Suasit amor facinus, proles ego regia Nisi—
> Praemia nulla peto nisi te.

[27] Though the vulgar regard Haghía Sophía as a saint, yet the word properly denotes a mere abstraction, the Holy Wisdom of the Deity: see above, p. 142. The well-known description of Wisdom, in PROVERBS, VIII. 22—31, is quoted by VON BOHLEN, Das alte Indien, Vol. I. p. 160.

called by the names of well-known Christian saints, even now that all their inhabitants have become Mohammedans: thus St Dionysius, St George, St John, and many other members of the celestial hierarchy, including even the Panaghía, no longer find a single worshipper within the places which were called by their names, and for many centuries were supposed to be under their especial protection.

There is scarcely any perceptible difference, to an eye neither practised nor skilful in observing articles of female apparel, between the dresses of Greek and Turkish ladies in this city. The Christian fair one conceals her charms from every eye, when she once leaves the interior of her husband's house, as completely as any of her Mohammedan neighbours. Before I was aware of this *Greek* concealment of the face, I was not a little surprised to find myself graciously regarded by a pair of eyes belonging, as I supposed, to some unknown Turkish lady, but which, as I afterwards found out, were those of my hostess. Her husband says that he thinks the custom even still more proper for a Greek's wife than for a Turk's; for if she did not observe it, she might attract the gaze of some true believer.

Although the supposition, that the seclusion of Greek women has arisen from an imitation of Turkish manners, is generally received; it may, I think, be shewn to be totally erroneous. The general practice of the ancient Greeks is well known[28]: and, if we find the modern seclusion observed long before the Turkish conquest, we must assign it to its ancient source; and not to the

[28] MENANDER, p. 87. Meinek.

Τοὺς τῆς γαμετῆς ὅρους ὑπερβαίνεις, γύναι,
τὴν αὐλίαν· πέρας γὰρ αὔλιος θύρα
ἐλευθέρα γυναικὶ νενόμιστ' οἰκίας.

Compare TOUP, on Suidas, Vol. I. p. 34. WYTTENBACH, on Plutarch, Praecept. Conjug. p. 140. d. (Tom. VI. p. 884.) The *unmarried* women, in the Dorian states, had somewhat more freedom: see MUELLER, Dorier, Vol. II. p. 262. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 519: but even at Sparta married women were veiled; see MUELLER, l. c.

influence of Asiatic manners imported by the Turks. Now there is ample evidence that, while the Venetians were masters of Crete, the Greek women used never to go out of their houses[29] except to perform certain religious ceremonies[30]. The Turks therefore found manners like their own, in this respect at least, on first landing in the island.

The same hereditary custom, derived from ancient times, sufficiently accounts for the similar concealment of Greek women in other parts of Turkey[31]; and for the undoubted fact that the seclusion of the Sfakian women is greater than that of any other Christians in this island.

[29] FOSCARINI, Relatione ec. p. 96. "Le donne non vanno mai di giorno fuori di casa, che non si lassano mai veder."

[30] BELON, Observations etc. fol. 6. "La coustume est que les femmes des Grecs ne se monstrent en public: et toutesfois s'il y a quelque belle femme en la ville on l'on pleure le trepassé elle se sentira moult heureuse d'auoir trouvé l'occasion de monstrer sa beauté, accompaignant les autres par la ville: attendu qu'elles vont en troupe toutes escheuelées et espoitrinées, monstrants aumoins leur belle charnure. En ces entrefaictes les hommes s'y trouvent aussi, ayants aumoins le plaisir de voir celle fois les femmes et filles de leurs voisins bien à leur aise: car de les voir en autre saison, il n'y a pas grand ordre." Compare the account of BUONDELMONTI, in CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Vol. I. p. 91. An English writer, Sandys, who travelled more than two centuries ago, describes the same religious ceremony, observed by the Greeks, in nearly the same terms: "Then the choice and prime women of the city, if the deceased were of note, do assist their obsequies, with bosoms displaid, and their haire disheveled: glad that they have the occasion to manifest their beautie, which at other times is secluded from admirers." SANDYS, Travailes, a Relation of a Journey begun A. D. 1610. p. 65. 5th ed. London 1652.

[31] THEVENOT, Voyages, Tom. I. p. 261. ed. 3ieme Amsterd. 1727. or Voyage de Levant, c. LV., in describing the manners of the Greeks generally, says, "Les filles ne se monstrent point avant que d'être mariées, encore se tiennent-elles cachées long-tems après, ne se laissant pas voir même aux parens: elles ne vont point à l'église de peur d'être vues." Thus in some parts a couple who may have been betrothed when the girl was nine or ten years of age "are denied the privilege of seeing each other till the moment of marriage:" HOLLAND, Travels in Albania, Ch. VIII. p. 154. who was present at a marriage "where the bride and bridegroom had actually never met before." CHANDLER, Travels in Greece, c. XXVI, observes: "The liberty of the fair sex at Athens is almost equally abridged by Turks and Greeks."

The ordinary seclusion of Turkish women, and their veiled and mummy-like appearance, whenever they walk out, have the sanction of a religious command[32], to which they are partly, if not chiefly, owing. The custom of the Greeks, however, comes not from the precepts of St Paul[33], or Tertullian[34], but from the practice of their heathen ancestors: and the description which Dicaearchus has given of the dress of the Theban ladies in his time, when they wore veils which so concealed all the face that *only the eyes* could be seen[35], may serve as a faithful account of the head-dress of all the female population, Moslem and Christian, of the principal city of Crete at the present day.

Khaniá possesses a most indifferent khamám or hot-bath. Those of Megálo-Kástron are comparatively excellent. The hot-baths of ancient Greece used to be frequented by both sexes quite as regularly as they are in modern Turkey[36].

[32] Sale, Koran, The true believers, c. xxiii. "And speak unto the believing women, that they preserve their modesty — and let them throw a veil over their bosoms," &c.

[33] 1 Cor. xi. 5—10. : 1 Tim. iii. 9.

[34] Tertullian, de veland. Virgin. c. 1. Latine quoque ostendam virgines nostras velari oportere.

[35] Dicaearchus, State of Greece, p. 16. ed. Hudson. Τὸ τῶν ἱματίων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κάλυμμα, τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὥστε προσωπιδίῳ δοκεῖν πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον κατειλῆφθαι. οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ διαφαίνουται μόνον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη τοῦ προσώπου πάντα κατέχεται τοῖς ἱματίοις. The presence of a considerable Frank population, in most of the smaller islands, and their more frequent intercourse with Europeans, may have contributed to Europeanize the manners of their women, but even now at the but little frequented and remote Skyros, "the women live quite retired in the houses, and hide themselves on the approach of a stranger." Leake, N. G. iii. p. 110.

[36] Simonides, in Aelian, N. A. xvi. c. 24.

Λοῦται δὲ πάσης ἡμέρας ἄπο ῥύπου
δίς, ἄλλοτε τρίς, καὶ μύροις ἀλείφεται.

Menander, in Athenaeus, iv. p. 166. a.

Καίτοι νέος ποτ' ἐγενόμην κἀγώ, γύναι,
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλούμην πεντάκις τῆς ἡμέρας:

where Le Clerc, (Meineke, p. 128.) refers to Arrian's account of the last days of Alexander, (vii. 25.)

The Turkish ladies seem also to resemble those of ancient Greece in another point: I mean in the extraordinary care which they bestow on their personal cleanliness[37]. The peculiar practice to which I more especially allude, was general among the ladies of ancient Greece, at least with the young and beautiful[38], though not so with older matrons[39]. It has not only been

[37] TOURNEFORT, Voyage, Lettre XIII. Vol. II. p. 94. "Leur propreté est extraordinaire; elles se baignent deux fois la semaine, et ne souffrent pas le moindre poil, ni la moindre crasse, sur leurs corps: tout cela contribue fort à leur santé." The custom of depilation is also observed by the ladies of Persia: see the KITABI KULSUM NANEH, or Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia, translated by Mr Atkinson, Lond. 1832. pp. 17–18.

[38] ARISTOPHANES, Frogs, 517.

Ἠβυλλιῶσαι κἄρτι παρατετιλμέναι.

Compare Lysist. 89. 151. Eccles. 13.

[39] In ARISTOPHANES, Lysist. 825. an aged dame says, boastingly,

Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἂν οὐκ ἴδοις,
καίπερ οὖσης γραός, ὅντ' αὐ-
τὸν κομήτην, ἀλλ' ἀπεψι-
λωμένον τῷ λύχνῳ.

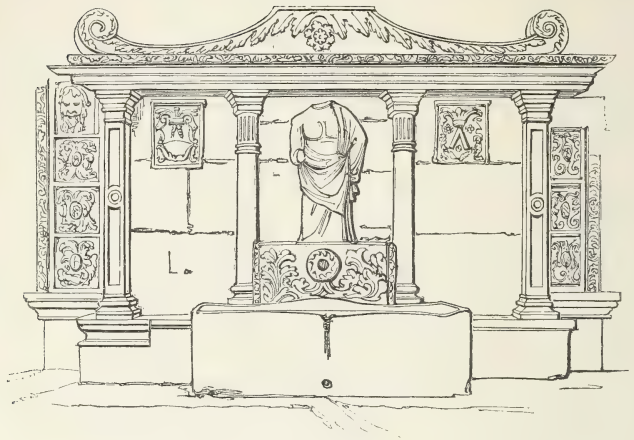
Thesm. 537.

Τέφραν ποθὲν λαβοῦσαι
ταύτης ἀποψιλώσομεν τὸν χοῖρον, ἵνα διδαχθῇ
γυνὴ γυναῖκας οὖσα μὴ κακῶς λέγειν τὸ λοιπόν:

where the poet represents Mnesilochus as an old woman (v. 637. Ἐννέα παίδων μητέρα.) The τέφρα in question is elsewhere mentioned by Aristophanes. An unguent called ὀρώπαξ was used for the same purpose, and is spoken of, by SYNESIUS, Calvit. Encom. p. 75. as ὃς ἀκριβέστερον σιδήρου ταῖς θριξὶν ἐπεξέρχεται: see TOUP's learned note, Emendat. in Suid. Vol. I. p. 143—145. The generic name for such depilatories was ψίλωθρον, and they are frequently mentioned, by both Greek and Latin authors. The usage in question was anciently regarded as highly effeminate, and excited the indignation of the Roman Satirists. JUVENAL, VIII. 16. IX. 14. PERSIUS, IV. 36. LUCIAN, also, in the Cynic, §. 14. Tom. III. p. 547. speaks of the men of his day as λεαίνοντες καὶ ψιλούμενοι πᾶν τοῦ σώματος μέρος, καὶ μηδὲ τῶν ἀπορρήτων οὐδέν, ἢ πέφυκεν, ἔχειν ἐῶντες. To such an extent did the custom prevail among men that at length a class of *women*, called παρατίλτριαι, attended in the baths, ut hominibus pilos evellerent: see, however, OLEARIUS, on Philostratus, V. A. IV. 27. p. 167. n. 8. At the present day the practice extends to men as well as women, among the Turks: and the observations of SANDYS, Travailes, p. 49. are still perfectly true: "The Turks be generally well complexioned, of good statures, and full bodies, proportionably compacted. They nourish no hair about them, but a lock on the crown, and on their faces only. But their beards they wear at full length; insomuch that they will scoffe at such Christians as cut, or naturally want them, as if suffering themselves to be abused against nature."

adopted by the female Mohammedans of Greece and Constantinople, but is also preserved, in some few places, among the Christian population[40].

[40] Villoison, in the Annales des Voyages, Tom. II. p. 178. "Dans l'île de Cos, et peût-être ailleurs, les femmes Grecques se dépilent."



FOUNTAIN IN MEGALO-KASTRON.

## CHAPTER XI.

VISIT TO THE ARCHBISHOP. TITLES AND CELIBACY OF THE GREEK HIERARCHY. THE COMMON EUROPEAN NAME OF CRETE UNKNOWN IN THE ISLAND. GREEK CHURCHES. MIRACULOUS JOURNEY OF A PAINTING. OTHER SUPERSTITIOUS LEGENDS. MARRIAGE OF MOHAMMEDANS WITH CHRISTIAN WOMEN IN CRETE. THE GREEK'S HATRED OF HERETICS GREATER THAN THAT AGAINST MOHAMMEDANS. INTERVIEW WITH RATIB-EFFENDI.

*March* 2, 1834.

I WENT this morning to visit the Archbishop; whom I found surrounded by several episcopal dignitaries, and a few other persons. The conclave rose as I entered, and I had a seat assigned me on the divan, to the right of the Metropolitan. The usual cup of coffee, and a modest pipe, unadorned of course by any such precious stones as are usually seen on that of a Turk

of consideration, were presented to me: conserves were afterwards handed round.

The Archbishop is a tall and handsome man: his beard is long and his manner dignified. I had the misfortune of finding out, before I left his Holiness, that he is even more ignorant than is usually the case with individuals of his profession in these parts of the world. His Oekonómos however fully made up for the deficiencies of his superior. While I remained at the levee, several Greeks of the city came in to pay their respects to the Archbishop. On approaching the part of the divan, where he was seated, they touched the ground with the right hand: after kissing his Holiness's hand, they again touched the ground as before, while they retreated towards the entrance of the apartment.

The Bishops of the Oriental church are sometimes called Hierarchs, and sometimes High Priests[1], but more generally Despots. The latter lordly title they have long enjoyed, not, like the Bishops of England, in common with men, most of whom have greater fortunes and higher rank than their spiritual compeers, but as the peculiar address to which the Episcopal Dignitary is alone entitled. These Oriental ecclesiastics have certainly outstepped their western brethren in loud-sounding and pompous appellations, as much as they have fallen short of them in the enjoyment of the more substantial benefits both of a well-paid establishment and of temporal power[2]. Every Greek Bishop,

[1] A word in which Mánias used to delight was Ἀρχιερεύς: he used it constantly instead of Δεσπότης, when speaking of a bishop in the third person.

[2] The reverend satirist, SKELTON, thus addresses the Roman Catholic prelates of his day:

Ye are so puffed wyth pryde
That no man may abide
Your high and lordly lokes—
Ye bryng all to nought,
And that is all your thought.
For the lordes temporall
Their rule is very small,
Almost nothing at al.

though, in a mere worldly view, sometimes little removed from the condition of Paul and the Apostles, the labour of whose hands ministered to their daily necessities, yet enjoys the title of *His Holiness*, which, at Rome, contents even the successor of St Peter. The Patriarch at Constantinople must, of course, be of superior sanctity to a common Bishop, and is therefore addressed as *His All-Holiness*.

What the peculiar holiness of these mitred dignitaries, under the sun of Greece, really is, may be easily conjectured when it is known that they are *monks*. Although the Greek church not only allows, but, perhaps wisely, *compels* all her working clergy to marry[3], still her Bishops can be united to the spouse of Christ alone; and are therefore chosen solely from the members of the monastic order[4].

Thus the Archbishop of Gortyna is, and must ever remain, an unmarried man. His Oekonómos, however, has a wife, who is generally considered, at Megálo-Kástron, as a very beautiful woman[5]. This ecclesiastic, whose house adjoins on "the Metropolis," has to spend most of his time in visiting different parts of the Archbishop's extensive diocese; while his wife, of course, remains at home. The scandal of the city assigns a very obvious reason for the episcopal behests, in consequence of which the poor Oekonómos has so frequently to separate himself from the partner of his bed.

One of the Greeks, who remained for some time seated in the apartment, told me that there are very considerable remains of antiquity in the island of Kárpatho[6]. Two of the sites which he mentioned by name, as rich in such monuments, were Palaeókastron and

[3] The Papás must be married before he can be fully ordained.

[4] The Papás or parish priest can only become a bishop if a widower.

[5] She is tall and immoderately fat: the last point, as is well known, is considered an indispensable requisite for the perfection of female beauty in every part of Greece and Turkey. Hence the lover, when he wishes to pay his mistress the highest compliment, compares her walk with the waddle of a goose.

[6] Εἰς τὴν Κάρπαθο.

Palátia[7]. He said that there were, in the whole, four places of the kind in the island[8].

In the course of my conversation with the Archbishop, and the other prelates and priests assembled at the palace, I received a confirmation of what I had long supposed to be the case, that *no one* in the island, not even the dignified ecclesiastics with whom I conversed, knew of the existence of any other name than ἡ Κρήτη, or Crete, to designate their country. The word Candia has never been pronounced by any Cretan unacquainted with the Italian language.

The common European name of the island was obtained from that which the Venetians first used to designate its principal city. The Saracenic conquerors of Crete, in the ninth century, who started not directly from Spain, as has been commonly stated, but from Alexandria[9], first landed at Súdha, and the Akrotéri is called by Byzantine historians of the event, "the promontory Kharax." Súdha and Kharax are synonymous words in the writers of the lower empire: they are used, especially the former, to denote a trench defended by stakes[10]. The chieftain Abu Kaab, or Apokhaps, as he is called by the Byzantine writers[11], and his companions, soon afterwards founded the city

[7] Τὸ Παλαιόκαστρον and τὰ Παλάτια. The site of the principal ancient city of the island Proconnesos, in the Propontis, is now called by the same name, Palátia, or rather Palátion. The plague was raging in the town, which was in consequence abandoned by all its wealthier inhabitants, at the time of my visit to it in 1833. I copied several inscriptions in and near the place. The name of the Cyzicenes occurs in one of them. For the connexion between Proconnesus and Cyzicus, see the Authors referred to by Dr CRAMER, Asia Minor, I. 48. My inscriptions copied there, will, in all probability, appear in the second volume of Professor Boeckh's great work.

[8] In SCYLAX, p. 38. ed. Huds. Carpathos is mentioned as τρίπολις, but in STRABO, X. p. 489. the epithet τετράπολις is bestowed on it.

[9] See MURPHY, History of the Mohammedan Empire in Spain, p. 88. ASCHBACH, Geschichte der Ommaijaden in Spanien, p. 232.

[10] See DU CANGE, Glossarium, 1408. KORAY, ATAKTA, Tom. IV. p. 530.

[11] Abu is converted into Ἀπὸ, as Hippo was in another word: see above, p. 62.

"Khandax," the present Megálo-Kástron, in a more central situation; and its Saracenic name, which was adopted for a while by the Greeks, became, with Dandolo, Candida, and, with other Venetian writers, Candia. For a long time the word denoted only the principal city of Crete, which retained its ancient name with chroniclers[12], as well as in "The Tuscan father's Comedy Divine[13]."

At length, however, the Italian name of the chief town was also extended to the whole island, which has consequently been known at all events in Italy, France, and England, from the fifteenth century till the present day, only as Candia, Candie or Candy[14]. I hope it will now again recover in literary Europe the ancient name which alone has ever been pronounced by the tongues of its unlettered inhabitants.

[12] CODICE ANONIMO, della Biblioteca Estense, segnato MS. VII. B. 19. From the year 1205, and the election of Piero Ziani as Doge, the Chronicle extends to 1361, very soon after which time it was doubtless written. It is quite clear that it belongs to the fourteenth century. "E de presente ello fe armar XXXI gallie de le qual fo Capitanij li nobelli homeni Rayner Dandolo e Rugier Premari: li qual despartandosi de Venexia elli ave p' força darme li castelli de Corfu, de Coron, e de Modon. E po navegando alysola de Crede elli prese Lion Vetran, cũ molti oltri Cenoexi chandava scorseçando lo mar. E fin al mente elli acquista Candia, cũ le oltre citade e castelli in quel lidi, anche p' força darme. E p' comandamento del dito doxe la dita ysola fo devisa e partida dentro dali Venetiani liqualli fo mandadi li."

[13] DANTE, Inferno. XIV. 93.

In mezzo 'l mar siede *un paese guasto:*
Diss' egli allora; che s' appella Creta.

I transcribe an extract, which I made at Modena, from RAMBALDI DA IMOLA's manuscript commentary. (MS. VI. H. 11. della Biblioteca Estense,) "Nunc ad literam dicit auctor *dis egli alora* s. ille virgilius. *un paese guasto che s' apella Creta.* Respexit ad tempus modernum, quia insula ista est hodie sub potestate Venetorum, multiplici servitute oppressa, et multum desolata. Quod quia est notum omnibus et largum esset enarrare dimitto."

[14] Which we English made from Candia, just as we had reduced Italia and Sicilia to Italy and Sicily. The word is found in the first translation of the New Testament from Greek into English, published in 1526, and made by TYNDALE, Acts, c. XXVII. "Syrs ye shulde have herde me, and not have departed from Candy:" and we also meet with it in SHAKSPEARE, Twelfth Night, v. I.

Orsino, this is that Antonio
That took the Phoenix, and her fraught, from Candy.

The cathedral church of the Archbishop, which is close by his residence, is highly adorned with silver ornaments and with paintings. Here, as well as in the other Greek church of the city, there is a latticed gallery, with a separate entrance for the women, so that the devotions of the male assembly are never disturbed in the way in which they always may be, and frequently are, in civilized Europe.

The practice thus observed by the Oriental church had become so general in the time of Constantine, that it is mentioned of his mother, the Empress Helena, that even she used always to pray with the women in their part of the building. The latticed galleries within which they are concealed at the present day, are precisely the same sort of place which old ecclesiastical writers[15] describe as appropriated to them: the existence of a separate entrance in ancient times is also distinctly stated.

I know not whether miraculous legends are told of any of the pictorial ornaments of this cathedral. In the mountains of Lassíthi, a short day's ride to the east-south-east of Megálo-Kástron, is found a picture which is believed to have come, spontaneously and unaided, through the air, from Constantinople.

Similarly another sacred image of "the Mother of God[16]," saved by pious men from the fury of here-

[15] Quoted by BINGHAM, Antiquities of the Christian Church, VIII. v. Sections VI. and VII. Compare LEO ALLATIUS, de Templis Graecorum recentioribus, Section XXXI. p. 34. where he concludes, "Et hoc non recentiorum solummodo Graecorum more sed vetustissima consuetudine receptum esse habeo ex Clemente constit. Apostolic. Cap. LVII. Philone Judaeo de vita contemplativa, Augustino, Lib. III. de Civit. Dei, c. XXVIII. et Lib. XXII. c. VIII. Chrysostomo, homil. LXXIV. in Matthaeum, S. Maximo de Ecclesiastica Mystagogia, Cap. III." Among the Armenians also the women are skreened by lattice-work from the gaze of the men: SMITH and DWIGHT, Missionary Researches in Armenia, Letter VII. p. 139.

[16] The phrase "Mother of God" is now little known in England, but is one of the commonest epithets of the great ever-virgin Goddess of modern Greece. This word Θεοτόκος was the chief stumblingblock in the way of the unfortunate Nestorius, who thought the word Χριστοτόκος, or "Mother of

tical iconoclasts, made not an aerial but an aqueous voyage from Constantinople, many centuries ago. She or it, which I should say I know not, was seen, after no great time had elapsed, standing up on the waves of the sea in the neighbourhood of Mount Athos. All attempts made by both people and priests to obtain possession of the miraculous picture were in vain. The Deity[17] at last communicated to the Bishop the ceremonies by observing which alone it would be possible to lay hold of the sacred image: and thus at length it was deprived, by the performance of the prescribed rites, of its power of dancing on the water, and of eluding the grasp of its zealous and devout pursuers. The monastery Ibéron, at the Holy Mountain, was built in honour of the wonderful event.

The pious heathen of ancient times, who believed certain sacred but inanimate things to have travelled from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos, thought it necessary to provide them with a human escort for their long and tedious journey[18]: but the Oriental Christian, both a few centuries ago and at the present day, in his unlimited faith and credulity, needs

of Christ," sufficiently expressive of the peculiar relation which she bore to the Deity. The orthodoxy of the day, however, thought it right to excommunicate and anathematize the so-called heretic, who consequently became the founder of a sect which was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus, and the numbers of which are said, with those of the Jacobites, to have once surpassed the Greek and Latin communions: see GIBBON, c. XLVII. The Mother-of-God-worship of Greece is sufficiently known from the writings of modern travellers, as well as from the Greek ritual. Her station is equally elevated among the Armenians, with whom a Protestant missionary in vain searches to discover any recognition of Christ's intercession with the Father, but finds innumerable prayers to the "holy Mother of God," in which she is implored "to intercede with Christ," for the objects of her suppliant's prayer: see SMITH and DWIGHT, Missionary Researches in Armenia, p. 108. They even once heard asserted her equality with the persons of the Trinity: l. c. p. 222.

[17] LEO ALLATIUS, de quorund. Graecor. opinat. p. 171. "Confugiunt ad preces; et lacrymis ac suspiriis exorant Deum, ut, quid facto opus sit, manifestet. Deus indicat Episcopo, Imaginem istam haberi non posse, nisi in eandem solemnitatem Iberi, quos jam diximus, convenirent."

[18] HERODOTUS, IV. 33.

no such aids; and feels neither hesitation nor difficulty in supposing, that his sacred and miracle-working pictures, have either flown through the air[19], or floated on the sea, all the way from Constantinople, to Crete or Mount Athos.

When the heathen legend seemed to require the personal agency of a God or Goddess, it was of course easily obtained; like that of the Saint or Virgin of the present mythology. Thus as we find that our Lady of Loretto once flew with a house through the air, from Syria to Italy, so, in ancient Greece, Athene transported a mountain from Pallene to the neighbourhood of Athens; and Lycabettos, or Anchesmos as it was afterwards called, became a permanent token of the miraculous protection designed by the tutelary Goddess of Athens for her favoured city[20].

The Greek tradition respecting the wonderful self-directed journey of the Virgin's picture to this island, will justify the mention of a Roman Catholic legend, the alleged scene of which was the cathedral church of Megálo-Kástron. At the celebration of mass, as soon as the wafer had been consecrated, it rose up in the air, eluded the priest's attempt to recover possession of it[21],

[19] Every one, who is acquainted with the mythology of modern Italy, will be reminded of legends, according to which holy pictures have descended from Heaven, like the Diopetés of Ephesus, or the Ancile of Rome.

[20] ANTIGONUS CARYSTIUS, c. XII. LEAKE, Topography of Athens, p. 70. and Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. IV. p. 579. WORDSWORTH, Athens and Attica, p. 59. On similar legends of the northern mythology consult J. GRIMM, Deutsche Mythologie, p. 309.

[21] To feel the full force of such a horrible, and even blasphemous legend as this, we must remember, that the bread becomes, in the opinion of all Roman Catholics, the very body of the living God, by the mere act of consecration. Before Kings had assumed the attributes and titles of the Deity, whom they were supposed to represent on earth, Majesty belonged to the God of Heaven alone: and a singular vestige, of this old and proper sense of the word, is found at the present day, in the popular name, "His Majesty," bestowed in some Roman Catholic countries, on the consecrated wafer, in which the Romanist beholds the body of the Deity. The oriental Christian equally speaks of the tangible bread and wine as "the King of the world:" FAURIEL, Tom. II. p. 338.

Σιμὰ νὰ βγοῦν τὰ ἅγια κ' ὁ βασιλεὰς τοῦ κόσμου.

and flew into the hands of Pasquale Cigogna, the pious Duke of Candia[22].

When we reflect on the manner in which the population of modern Crete had become half Mohammedan at the outbreaking of the Greek revolution, we need hardly wonder that, in this island, the credulity and superstitions of the Mohammedans should closely resemble those of the Christian population. Thus any supposed apparition of the Panaghía, in a particular spot, draws even Moslem devotees to implore her aid; and, in this city, the devout Mohammedan women burn incense every Friday, and some of them suspend bits of rag, and similar votive offerings, to honour an ancient statue, seen in the opposite plate and in the engraving of a fountain at the head of this chapter. The tradition current among them is that the saint was an Arab, to whose dress the ancient robe of the statue bears some resemblance, and that he greatly distinguished himself during the famous siege of the Kástron. The reason for his transmutation into stone is also assigned[23].

The social and religious position of the Cretan Musulman is certainly curious. We have already seen how the Musulman population of the island has been produced, like that of Albania[24], by the apostasy of its Christian inhabitants, and without any influx of strangers to the soil[25]. We have also noticed some

[22] He was elected Duke of Candia in 1567. The legend is recorded by SANSOVINO, Venetia Descritta (Venet. 1581) quoted by CORNARO, Cret. Sacr. Tom. II. p. 428. "Mentre udiva la messa, un giorno, in Candia, si levò l'Ostia consegrata all' altare, e, levatosi in aere, *benchè il sacerdote facesse ogni sforzo per receverlo*, andò a fermarsi nelle mani di questo Prencipe." Cornelius adds l. c. that some persons assigned Corfu as the place of the miracle.

[23] Unfortunately I have both mislaid my memorandum made on the spot respecting this matter, and have forgotten the reason given for the metamorphosis. On other transmutations into stone see above, p. 24. n. 24.

[24] On which see LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. I. p. 49. p. 235. and p. 347.

[25] In Arabia Petraea the present Musulman population partly consists of converts from Christianity: some families of Christian Bedouins were still found in the last century: see BURCKHARDT, Travels in Syria, p. 564.

A. Schranz del. L. Haghe Lith.

Day & Haghe Lith. to the King

MEGALO-KASTRON.

J. Murray, Albemarle St.

of the peculiarities of the Cretan Mohammedan's position: for instance his becoming, not unfrequently, the spiritual father of his Christian neighbour's child[26], and his most un-musulman habit of drinking the excellent wine which is produced in his native island. Another characteristic of their social position should also be pointed out: they have been very generally in the habit of taking as their wives Christian maidens, who retained their own faith, but all whose children were ordinarily brought up as followers of the prophet[27].

La Motraye spent a few days in Crete in 1710, and lodged one night with Alí-oglú, who had thus taken a Christian as his wife. "Ce couple vivoit fort bien ensemble: Ali-oglou alloit à la mosquée, et sa femme à l'église[28]. Pour les enfans, ils étoient élevez dans le Mahometisme. Il ne faisoit point de scrupule d'allumer pour elle la lampe les samedis, devant l'image de la Panagia."

This ignorant, or philosophical Musulman, acted sufficiently in the spirit of his religion, which is tolerant of all others, except of that professed by its own heretics. A fetva of the Múfti Abdúllah, pronounced in 1723, on a declaration of war, by the Turkish Emperor, against the Persians, declared, that "as to heretics (that is the Persians), it is not permitted to form any alliance with their women until they embrace the true faith. As to the unbelievers (Christians), any

[26] Above, p. 11.

[27] In some villages of the episcopal province of Ioánnina, where Mohammedans are married to Christian women, "the sons are educated as Turks, the daughters as Christians, and pork and mutton are eaten at the same table." LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. I. p. 49.

[28] The ancient heathens allowed the wife less liberty of conscience: PLUTARCH, Praecept. Conjug. p. 140. d. *Θεοὺς οὓς ὁ ἀνὴρ νομίζει, σέβεσθαι τῇ γαμετῇ καὶ γινώσκειν μόνους προσήκει· περιέργοις δὲ θρησκείαις καὶ ξέναις δεισιδαιμονίαις ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι τὴν αὔλειον.* Hence the wife is called "socia rei humanae et divinae." Thus a patrician maiden who married a plebeian was no longer permitted to worship the patrician Gods or Goddesses, but only those of her husband: see the story told in LIVY, (X. 23.) and cited by LOMEIER, de Lust. Vet. Gent. Cap. XXX. pp. 283–4.

such alliance may be made with their women, even without their so becoming Moslems[29]."

Although marriages of Christian *women* with Mohammedans have been common in Crete, and also elsewhere, yet, no doubt, many men among the Greeks would submit to death rather than marry a woman who had not been duly baptized. And, even with respect to their daughters, there are alliances, their aversion to which is almost insuperable: for instance those contracted with members of the Roman Catholic church[30]. With the Greek, as with the Mohammedan, the heretic is more hateful than the infidel; and the follower of the Prophet is preferred as a son-in-law to the bondman of the Pope[31].

Not half a century has passed since a Patriarch of Constantinople, regarding, as perhaps became the subject of an absolute monarch, his sovereign, the Turkish Emperor, in the light of God's Vicegerent on earth, even congratulated his Christian world, on the favour shewn them by the Deity in raising up the powerful nation of the Turks, *to insure the spiritual*

[29] VON HAMMER, Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, Vol. VII. p. 300. Compare what has been said above, pp. 66–67.

[30] VILLOISON has made this observation. The Florentine priest BUONDELMONTI says (Cornel. Cret. Sacr. Tom. I. p. 108.) "Cum aliis contrahere non volunt, sed una intra se generatio copulatur." I became acquainted with a Venetian settler in Crete, who refused both to give up his own peculiar mode of making the sign of the cross, and to adopt the fasts of the Greek church, and therefore had to wait *many years*, and to confer all kinds of obligations on the family of her whom he wished to marry, before her parents could be brought to consent to the union of an orthodox Greek maiden with a Romish heretic. A reverend missionary has observed that "Notwithstanding the similarity existing between the Eastern and Western Churches, a bitter animosity inflames the respective members of these communions—if a Roman Catholic conforms to the Greek Church, *as is not unusual, for the sake of marriage*, he is rebaptized: and it is asserted that he is sometimes retained in the water for a very considerable space of time, in order that the Papal infection may be more completely effaced." HARTLEY, Researches in Greece, Ch. V. p. 80.

[31] The chief minister of the last Greek Emperor declared, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mohammed, than the tiara of the Pope: see GIBBON, Decline and Fall, Ch. LXVIII.

*salvation of his elect people*, by protecting them from the heresies of the western churches[32].

I learnt, from M. Godebout and other persons, that the Greek Archbishop adopted, on a recent occasion, a practice of the ancient Greeks and Romans, which is seldom observed by Christians, though of common occurrence at the festive entertainments of Mohammedan gentlemen. In order to enliven a party, at which the Pashá, and Osmán-bey, as well as the consular agents and the principal Cretans of the city, were present, the Prelate procured the attendance of a number of dancing-girls[33].

The Metropolitan might have defended this practice, not only by the powerful argument of its antiquity, but even by the authority of Socrates. In the Symposion of Xenophon, the great Athenian sage, who is said by Cicero to have brought down philosophy to the earth, to arbitrate on the ordinary social relations and affairs of mankind, is described as having made the varied and agile motions of a dancing-girl the basis of a philosophical lesson, which he bestowed on his disciples.

I suppose that, at the present day, such an exhibition of the free and easy motions of such females, cannot be of ordinary occurrence in the palaces of Christian Prelates, either in the Oriental or in any other church. But we have the high and conclusive authority of a General Council, as evidence that this convivial usage of the ancient heathens was adopted and enjoyed by members of the Christian priesthood,

[32] ANTHIMOS, Διδασκαλία Πατρική, in LEAKE, Researches in Greece, p. 194. *Ὕψωσε τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτὴν τῶν Ὀθαμανῶν περισσότερον ἀπὸ κάθε ἄλλην, διὰ νὰ ἀποδείξῃ ἀναμφιβόλως ὅτι θείῳ ἐγένετο βουλήματι, καὶ ὄχι μὲ δύναμιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ νὰ πιστοποιήσῃ πάντας τοὺς πιστούς—νὰ οἰκονομήσῃ τὴν σωτηρίαν—εἰς τοὺς ἐπιλεκτούς του λαούς. Κατέστησε—αὐτὴν τὴν ὑψηλὴν βασιλείαν—διὰ νὰ εἶναι εἰς μὲν τοὺς δυτικοὺς ὡσὰν ἕνας χαλινός, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἀνατολικοὺς ἡμᾶς πρόξενος σωτηρίας.*

[33] ARISTOPHANES, Ach. 1056.

*Στέφανοι, μύρον, τραγήματθ', αἱ πόρναι πάρα—*
*ὀρχηστρίδες, τὰ φίλταθ' Ἁρμοδίου, καλαί.*

very soon after Constantine had bestowed on them rank and wealth and temporal power[34].

From the levee of the Christian Archbishop I again went to the palace of the Mohammedan Governor-General. His answer to various requests, which I made for permission to excavate on ancient sites, to take sketches, and to draw plans, &c. &c. was uniformly a ready assent: "Péke!" He had just received information of the loss, by fire, in the port of Alexandria, of a new and beautiful frigate of 62 guns. The general, Osmán-bey, seemed greatly afflicted at the news: he observed to me that he feared they were not yet rightly disciplined, and said that, in the British navy, a lighted candle would not have been left on a wooden table. I mentioned the loss of the Kent East-Indiaman, which proved that, even with English discipline, such an accident might occur, and was therefore a ground of consolation to my Turkish friends.

I found the Pashá engaged this morning in the study of the military art, with a European instructor, a native of Corsica.

Mustafá-pashá has had ample experience in the warfare of *irregular* troops during the long struggle of the Cretans: but till lately was totally ignorant of the regular art of war.

After visiting the Pashá, I went to Ratíb-efféndi, an Egyptian Turk, the President of the Council of Megálo-

[34] The authority of the Council did not suffice to stop the practice, which the Archbishop of Gortýna still observes, and we find it again expressly prohibited in the Theodosian code. I was once present at a similar exhibition, which formed part of the entertainment given at a great festival by a Turk of high rank. The motions of these females may be well described by a few passages of ancient authors. POLLUX, IV. 14. Ἀσελγῆ εἴδη ὀρχήσεων ἐν τῇ τῆς ὄσφυος περιφορᾷ. JUVENAL, VI. 63. SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, IX. Ep. XIII. in a description of a feast:

Juvat et vago rotatu
Dare fracta membra ludo:
Simulare vel trementes
Pede, veste, voce Bacchas.

Additional authorities are indicated in the ANTICHITA DI ERCOLANO, Tom. I. p. 97.

Kástron. I found on his divan two Cretans, one the chief of the custom-house-department, under the old Turkish rule, and the other a certain Cretan bey, now a member of the Council. We soon discovered the incompetency of the French consular agent's interpreter to explain what was said on either side, and we all found a great relief from his ignorance and stupidity, when the Cretans began to talk with me in Greek, and to interpret to Ratíb-efféndi, whenever he joined in the conversation. He has been here ever since the Council was established, but does not as yet himself understand Greek.

The President expressed a wish to know something of our system of laws in England. I endeavoured to make him understand, as well as I could, the different sources of legal authority: our common law, our acts of parliament, and our innumerable tomes of decisions made in the principal law courts. He requested instances of all three kinds, which I gave him. In speaking of the first, I said, that according to its principles the eldest son succeeds to all the land of his intestate father. The President, and his two correligionaries, thought they had not rightly understood me, and rejoined, "But supposing the man to have left other children?" When I repeated to them that the eldest son would still have the whole estate, they thought we must have misunderstood one another; and on learning, at last, that there was no mistake in the case, seemed to consider our custom as a strange and unnatural piece of injustice. I could only say, that at all events our laws were definite on innumerable points on which a brief code could hardly decide; that they were also capable of receiving daily alterations and improvements; and that, in fact, many points are altered by Parliament every year. This led to a long discussion of *their* law: I argued in favour of the common Christian system, which leaves the supreme controul over all the municipal laws of a country in the hands of its govern-

ment; but I was put down by the assurance that though, with other people, such a supreme controul over merely human ordinances, might be most advantageous, still with them it was both impossible and unnecessary; "for the writings of the Prophet contain every thing: he left nothing unsaid[35]."

The two Cretan gentlemen, who both speak Turkish as fluently as Greek, complain of the poverty of the Turkish language, and praise the great richness of the Greek, which contains, as it were, within itself the power of forming almost every imaginable new word, without receiving it from other languages; while Turkish borrows, not only from Arabic and Persian, but even from the different dialects of Europe[36].

A good deal of this long conversation was translated by one or other of the Cretans to the President: a few words were also addressed to him by myself directly: but he naturally missed a good deal, and was sufficiently interested in the whole of it to express his deep regret at not speaking Greek, and to press me to visit him again.

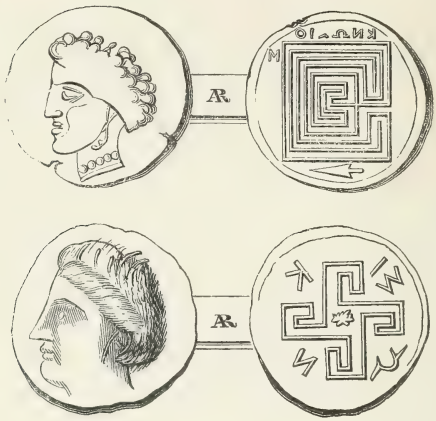
It is so very rare a thing for a European traveller ever to enter into a dialogue with a Turkish gentleman, except through the medium of a Jew interpreter, that the very novelty and singularity of such a conversation would alone have made it somewhat interesting. I need hardly observe that not one syllable respecting religion or "the law" of all true Moslems, would any Turk of rank and education ever have suffered to pass through the mouth of an ignorant and unbelieving Jew.

We also conversed on many other topics, besides the most important of all, law and religion: among them were the antiquities of Crete, of the hundred

[35] Δὲν ἄφηκε τίποτες ἀνομίλητο.

[36] Thus *bir fregat*, a frigate. Half-educated Mohammedans of the *towns* in Crete, who speak Turkish, also use many Italian words. I have heard a man speak of *bir copia*, a copy.

ancient cities of which my friends had heard a report; of my artist and his sketches; of my object in carefully exploring all the antiquities of the island; of the laws by which the Greeks were governed before the Turkish capture of Constantinople; of Egypt and the inundation of the Nile; of the principles of hydrostatics, with the use of the Turkish sú-terassí, which is seen in many aqueducts; and of various other matters. Interesting as the conversation was to the parties who were present, it is hardly worth while to drag my reader through all its details. Our costly pipes were several times replenished, coffee was twice handed round, and sherbet once, before I rose and took my leave.



COINS OF CNOSSOS.

## CHAPTER XII.

POPULATION OF MEGALO-KASTRON. INSCRIPTION ON A VENETIAN FOUNTAIN. MARRIAGE OF ZEUS AND HERE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF CNOSSOS. VESTIGES OF CNOSSOS AT MAKRO-TEIKHO. CRETAN BISHOPRICS. LEGENDARY TOMB OF THE HIGH-PRIEST CAIAPHAS. TOMBS OF IDOMENEUS AND MERIONES. DISTINGUISHED CNOSSIANS. THE MYTHICAL LABYRINTH, AND ITS INHABITANT THE MINOTAUR. COINS OF CNOSSOS.

*March* 3.

THE population of Megálo-Kástron is about 12,000 souls, 11,000 of whom are Mohammedans. Scarcely any change has been produced by the war in the number of its inhabitants. The places of many who perished have been taken by new settlers from the country. The small Mohammedan proprietor used to have his field tilled by his Christian neighbour, and is no longer able, under the rule of Mehmét-Alí, to continue the system

of the good old times. Thus, knowing not either how to plough his field, or to dig his vineyard himself, he finds it easier to keep a shop in the city than to dwell on his land in the country. I was assured by many persons that this class of new residents at Megálo-Kástron is numerous.

Near the old Jewish quarter of the city is seen a Venetian fountain, which, however, has long ceased to be supplied with water. The following Latin inscription records the occasion of its erection, and the name of the Venetian Proveditor by whose beneficence it was built.

D. O. M.
BELLO ÆSTVANTE QVATVOR
ELAPSIS IAM LVSTRIS VRBI
OBSESSÆ AQVIS EXHAVSTÆ
LATICES E TERRÆ LATEBRIS
EXTRA MOENIA SVRGENTES
MIRA SOLERTIA PROVIDA
CHARITATE AVXIT ANTONIVS
PRIOLVS IN DIFFICILLIMIS
REIPVBLICÆ TEMPORIBVS
PROV. GENERALIS EXTRA
ORDINEM PIVS PRVDENS
OPTIME MERITVS NONDVM
CRETÆ PERFVNCTO REGIMINE
AD CONSVLAREM VENETIARM
MOX PROCONSVLAREM DAL:
MATIÆ ALBANIÆQ. FASTIGIVM
SVMMA ACCLAMATIONE EVECTVS
ANNO DNI MDCLXVI.

After my long and interesting conversation with Ratíb-efféndi, mentioned in the latter part of the preceding chapter, I rode, attended only by Captain Maniás, past the village of Fortezza to "Cave-bridge[1]," near which I noticed several caverns, and many ancient

[1] Εἰς τὰ σπήλαια ἡ καμάρα.

sepulchres excavated in the rocky sides of the neighbouring hills.

We are here in the immediate vicinity of the site of Cnossos, and I suppose this stream to be the ancient Tethris[2], or Theron[3], in the neighbourhood of which, according to the Cretan tradition, the marriage of Zeus and Heré was celebrated. The event was commemorated by annual sacrifices and ceremonies, performed in a temple erected on the spot, and in which a mimetic representation of the marriage was exhibited to the gaze of the assembled Cretans. Other traditions assigned a different locality to this supposed union of Zeus and Heré[4], and the words of Theocritus make it obvious that the question was one of recondite mythology in his day[5].

From Cave-bridge I proceeded to Mákro-teíkho, undoubtedly the site of Cnossos. All the now existing vestiges of the ancient "metropolis" of Crete, are some rude masses of Roman brick-work[6], part of the so-called long wall from which the modern name of the site has been derived.

Savary and Sonnini both assert that the hamlet where these ruins are situated, is called Gnossú. The former's words are "Depuis ce moment, la superbe Cnosse, couchée dans la poussière, ne s'est point relevée de ses ruines; mais des monceaux de pierres, d'anciens

[2] PAUSANIAS, I. p. 66. and SIEBELIS, p. 98.

[3] DIODORUS SICULUS, V. 72. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γάμους τούς τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἐν τῇ Κνωσίων χώρᾳ γενέσθαι κατά τινα τόπον πλησίον τοῦ Θήρωνος ποταμοῦ, καθ' ὃν νῦν ἱερόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ θυσίας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἁγίους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων συντελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἀπομιμεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι παρεδόθησαν.

[4] AELIAN, N. A. XII. 30. STEPHAN. BYZANT. v. Κάρυστος, and other authors: see HEMSTERHUSIUS, in Valck. on Theocrit. Adoniaz. p. 366. c.

[5] THEOCRITUS, XV. 64.

Πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι, καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἀγάγεθ' Ἥραν.

[6] STRABO, X. p. 477. Νῦν δὲ Κνωσσὸς καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν ἔχει. A coin, representing on one side the head of Mark Antony, and on the other that of Octavianus, has been supposed to have been struck here: see the learned investigation of D. CELESTINO CAVEDONI, Appendice al Saggio di Osservazioni sulle Medaglie di Famiglie Romane, etc. pp. 104—106.

murs à moitié démolis, et le nom de *Cnossou*, que cet emplacement a conservé, font connaître, d'une manière certaine, le lieu qu'elle occupait[7]." This totally untrue statement respecting the preservation of the name of Cnossos, seems to be introduced to round the period, and to give to the ruins of Mákro-teíkho an additional interest, and an undoubted identity with the celebrated ancient city.

Pococke who, though frequently hasty and careless, is certainly never guilty of making similar wilful misstatements, mentions the name of Cnossú as belonging to the castellate, or eparkhía, as it would be called by the Cretans. The name was that of a bishopric, which existed till a few years ago, but it is no unusual thing for ancient names to be thus preserved by bishops long after every vestige of the places to which they once belonged has been lost. Pococke says[8], "the spot where the small remains of old Cnossos are, is now called Candake, doubtless from the trenches which the Turks made there round their camp, that being the meaning of the word in modern Greek." This must be an unintentional, as Savary's appears to have been a wilful error. I not only learn that the present name of the site is Mákro-teíkho, but also find that it was long known by the same appellation, even to the Venetians.

It is under this name that it was mentioned by Buondelmonti four hundred years ago, and Cornaro, who wrote the history of Crete at the beginning of the seventeenth century, speaks of the existing vestiges of the ancient city, and observes that its name of Mákro-teíkho was judged to have been derived from the long wall which was part of the ruins[9].

[7] See also SAVARY, Lettre XXI. p. 187. "C'est à cet éloignement de Candie, (25 stades,) vers le sud-est, que l'on trouve le village de *Cnossou*, où l'on voit les débris de cette ville autrefois fameuse."

[8] POCOCKE, Vol. II. Part I. p. 255.

[9] ANDREA CORNARO, Historia Candiana, fol. 2. He speaks of the site of Cnossos, where were seen, "molte machine di volti, et marmi, con infinità di rovine, et in particolar un muro, lungo di molti passi e ben grosso—si giudica che prese d'esso il nome di Macrotigho."

The diocese of Cnossós has been lately united, with Khersónesos, to the metropolitan see of Gortýna. As the ordinary benefices of our Protestant Establishment, in England, are daily bought and sold, so the Episcopal Dignities of the Oriental Church are usually obtained, if not always by the best bidder, like an English living, at all events on the payment of a considerable sum of money.

> They gaspe and they gape
> Al to have promocion;
> There is their whole devocion,
> With money, if it will hap
> To catch the forked cap.

The necessary expenses, at Constantinople, of the purchase of a bishopric, are so serious that, since the revolution, a considerable alteration has been introduced into the Cretan dioceses, which are now only eight in number: Gortýna, Hierá, Mirabéllo, Arkadhía, Avlopótamos, Hághio-Vasíli or Lámpe, Kydhonía, and Rhithýmne. There were, till the recent change, the four others of Sitía, Cnossós, Khersónesos, and Kísamos[10].

According to an ancient tradition, Idomeneus and Meriones, were buried at Cnossos[11]; and a Christian legend has long pointed out, near this site, the tomb of Caiaphas. Mention is made of this latter monument by both the Tuscan traveller Buondelmonti[12], and the Cretan historian Cornaro[13]. Pococke has described

[10] In Greek these Bishops, or Arch-Priests (Ἀρχιερεῖς), are designated ὁ Μητροπολίτης, ὁ Ἱερᾶς, ὁ Μιραμπέλου, ὁ Ἀρκαδίας, ὁ Αὐλοποτάμου, ὁ ἁγίου Βασιλείου, ὁ Κυδωνίας, and ὁ Ριθύμνης, with ὁ Σητείας, ὁ Κνωσσοῦ, ὁ Χερρονήσου, and ὁ Κισάμου.

[11] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 79. Τὸν τάφον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Κνωσῷ δεικνύουσιν, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα τοιάνδε,

> Κνωσίου Ἰδομενῆος ὅρα τάφον· αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοι
> πλησίον ἵδρυμαι, Μηριόνης ὁ Μόλου.

[12] BUONDELMONTI, in CORNELIUS, I. p. 12. and p. 97.

[13] ANDREA CORNARO, in CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, I. p. 58. "Nell' anno 23 di Tiberio—nell' andar a Roma Pilato Presidente della Giudea, et Gioseffo detto Caifasso Pontefice della Giudea—capitarono per viaggio in Creta, et, essendosi ammalato, Caifasso morì" etc.

the tomb which was thus pointed out to him as belonging to the Jewish High-priest[14].

Cnossos numbers some distinguished names in the list of her sons. Chersiphron and his son Metagenes were the architects of the great temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Iophon, the expounder of oracles, was likewise a Cnossian[15], as well as Aenesidemus the philosopher, Petellides the historian, and the so-called Dictys Cretensis. Cnossos was also the birth-place of Ergoteles, whose victories in the Olympian, Pythian, and Isthmian games are celebrated by Pindar[16].

> Son of Philanor! in the secret shade
> Thus had thy speed, unknown to fame, decay'd;
> And, like the crested bird, at home
> Inglorious had'st thou spent thy bloom;
> Had not sedition's civil broils
> Expell'd thee from the Cnossian plain,
> And driven thee, with more glorious toils,
> The Olympic crown in Pisa's vale to gain.

[14] POCOCKE, Vol. II. Part I. Book IV. c. v. p. 256. "There are some little remains of the walls (of Cnossos), especially to the north—about a quarter of a mile to the west of the town there is a building near the road, which is ten feet square within; the walls are six feet thick, and cased with brick inside and out; it seems to have been some ancient sepulchre; the people say it is the tomb of Caiaphas, and the most modest account they give of it is, that he landed at this place, where he died and was buried; that his body being found above ground, they buried it again, which happened seven times, and at last they built this strong fabric over it, which they say prevented its rising again, to which they add many other circumstances equally ridiculous. I mention this only to show, that the people of Crete have now as great a genius for inventing and spreading fables, as they had in the times of Paganism."

[15] PAUSANIAS, I. p. 84. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 389. ULRICI, Geschichte der Hellenischen Dichtkunst, Vol. II. p. 239. A love story of two Cnossian youths, Promachus and Leucocomas, was told by Conon: see PHOTIUS, Biblioth. p. 133. a. 23. ed. Bekk.

[16] PINDAR, Ol. XII. 19. Gibbon, who ascribed the fruits of his own education to the fortunate banishment which placed him at Lausanne, used sometimes to apply to his fate these verses of Pindar. See the autobiographical MEMOIRS, in his Miscellaneous Works, Vol. I. p. 88. ed. Basle 1796. On the passage of Pindar, as relating to the insulation and separation of Crete from the rest of Greece, see HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 445.

The natural caverns and excavated sepulchres seen in the immediate neighbourhood of the site of Cnossos[17], call to mind the well-known ancient legend respecting the Cretan labyrinth, the locality of which is uniformly assigned to this city. It was described as a building[18], erected by the celebrated artist Daedalus, and designed as a dwelling for the Minotaur[19]. There is, however, no sufficient reason for believing that the Cretan labyrinth ever had a more real existence than its fabled occupant. Much as is said, in the Homeric poems, of Daedalus, Minos, Ariadne, and other Cretan worthies, it is in vain that we search, to find in them any evidence of the material existence of this monument. Hesiod and Herodotus are equally silent on the subject of the imaginary edifice, and the latter author, who compares the Egyptian labyrinth with the temples of Ephesus and Samos[20], could hardly have avoided mentioning the labyrinth of Crete, if there had been such a building in existence. It is scarcely necessary to add, that I found no traces of any such monument in the neighbourhood of Mákro-Teíkho.

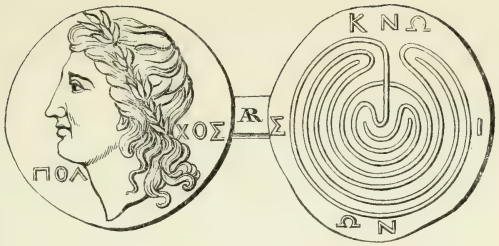
The forms of the mythical labyrinth, as exhibited on the coins of Cnossos, are naturally varied, since they represent not a material edifice, but a work of the imagination. The first of the two coins exhibited at the head of this chapter is of high antiquity, and of a rudeness of execution which is truly Cretan. I procured it in the Sfakian mountains. Two others of those engraved on the opposite page are found in the

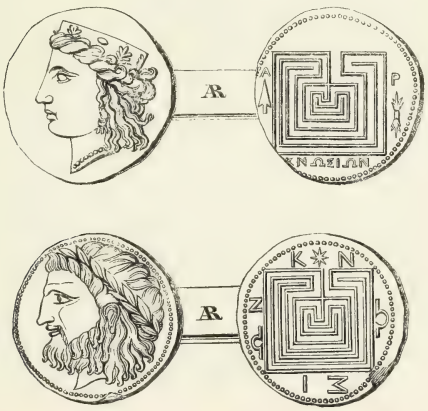
[17] Above, p. 204.

[18] Diodorus Siculus, i. 61. Apollodorus, iii. 4.

[19] The legendary offspring of Pasiphae was called not Minotauros but Asterios by the Cretans: see Apollodorus, iii. 1. 4. Πασιφάη Ἀστέριον ἐγέννησε τὸν κληθέντα Μινώταυρον. Pausanias, ii. p. 183. Ἀστερίωνα τὸν Μίνω καταγωνισάμενος ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης. Tzetzes, on Lycophr. 1301. On the different forms with which the Minotaur is represented, by ancient artists and authors, see the learned Italian editors of the Antichita di Ercolano, Tom. i. p. 24.

[20] Herodotus, ii. 148.






COINS OF CNOSSOS.

Ducal cabinet at Modena[21]; but they are all, with the exception of that which I obtained in Sfakiá, known to numismatists. It may be added, that even authors who understood the ancient myths as records of strictly historical facts, admit that the edifice of the labyrinth had dissolved into thin air, before their time, and, like the fabric of a dream, had "left not a rack behind[22]."

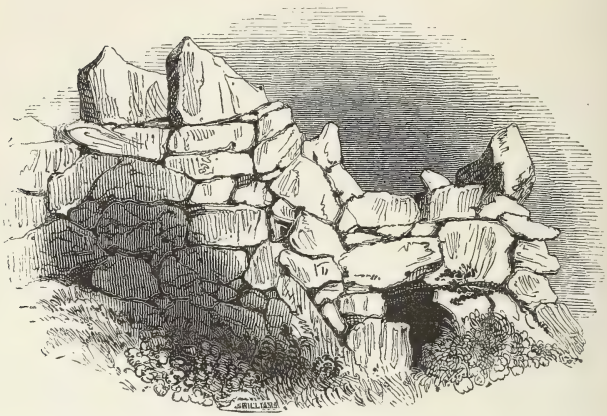
The head of Pallas is represented on some of the coins of Cnossos, and on others that of Demeter, crowned with ears of corn. We read in Solinus "Gnosii Minervam civem deam numerant;" and the same author adds, that the Cnossians contended with the Athenians for the praise of having first produced corn for the use of man[23].

The mythological celebrity and historical importance of Cnossos, demand a more careful and minute attention than can be bestowed on them in a mere book of travels. But, since I write as a traveller, and nothing more remains to be examined at Mákro-Teíkho, I shall at once bid farewell to this capital of ancient Crete, which, even after the Roman conquest, remained for some time a considerable city, but, under the Venetian and Turkish rule, has dwindled down into this miserable hamlet, and the few shapeless heaps of masonry, which alone recal to the remembrance of the passing traveller its ancient and bygone splendour.

[21] They may be thus described: 1. Caput muliebre, ad s. capillis retro defluis, corona fastigiata floribus distincta, auripendentibus et monili exornatum. ⋕ KNΩΣIΩN. Labyrinthus quadratus: in area, hinc A et pilum hastae, inde P et fulmen. 2. Caput Jovis laureatum, barbatum, ad s. ⋕ KNΩΣIΩN. Labyrinthus quadratus, ad cujus aditum stella.

[22] Diodorus Siculus, i. 61. Ὁ μὲν κατὰ Κρήτην ἠφανίσθη τελέως, εἴτε δυνάστου τινὸς κατασκάψαντος, εἴτε τοῦ χρόνου τὸ ἔργον λυμηναμένου. Pliny, xxxvi. 19. "Exstantque adhuc reliquiae ejus (Lemnii labyrinthi) cum Cretici Italicique nulla vestigia exstent." See Professor Hoeck, Kreta, Vol. i. pp. 56—63. by whom the question respecting this Cretan labyrinth is placed in so clear and strong a light that a doubt respecting it can hardly remain on any mind.

[23] Solinus, c. xi. "Primumque apud se fruges satas audacter cum Atticis contendunt."



ANCIENT WALLS ON MOUNT JUKTAS.

## CHAPTER XIII.

KASTRON TO ARKHANES. MOUNT JUKTAS. VENETIAN FOUNTAIN. SEPULCHRE OF ZEUS. ANCIENT WALLS. MODERN CRETANS. RIDE TO KANI-KASTELI. MIDDLE-AGE REMAINS. CASTLE TEMENOS. THE SITES OF THENAE AND OMPHALION. THE RIVER TRITON. ATHENE TRITOGENEIA. TRAGICAL EVENTS AT KANI-KASTELI. MONASTERY OF HAGHIO GHEORGHIO EPANO-SIPHES.

*March* 5.

We left Megálo-Kástron early this afternoon, and soon past Fortezza[1] a little on our left. In somewhat less than an hour and a half, we quitted the undulating and cultivated surface of the plain which surrounds the capital of the island, and began to ascend the stony slopes of the eastern side of Mount Júktas. At length

[1] I adopt the Italian orthography: a Greek would write the word Φουρτέτζα.

we saw before us, on a slightly rising ground, the village of Arkhánes, about which are a few olives and cypresses.

I was of course anxious to hear something of the sepulchre of Zeus; but it was in vain that I inquired of my host, Dhemétrio's brother, for any cave on the mountain. He knew of nothing of the kind; and all that I could learn from him was that, about a mile off, there is a fountain with an inscription on it. When I had thus failed in obtaining any information about the cave, I said, rather meaning to tell him an old story, than supposing that I should learn any thing, that one Zeus, a god of the Hellenes, was said to have been buried there; and that it was his tomb[2] that I wished to see. I had pronounced the very name by which a place on the summit of the mountain is known to all the people in the neighbourhood, although only a few shepherds have ever seen it. My host had never heard it called by any other name than the tomb of Zeus, and therefore had not understood me at first, when I inquired after a cave. It was too late to visit the top of Júktas to-night: so I went to look at the fountain, which is in a stony valley at the foot of the hill, and is distant about a mile to the north of the village. Its waters join those of an aqueduct which passes close by it, conveying a copious stream from Mount Júktas to the city. A Latin inscription tells us that it was the work of Francesco Morosini, the Proveditore of Crete in 1627, when the chief city was in great want of water.

Over the doorway of the church of the Panaghía, at this village of Arkhánes, are bas-reliefs seemingly of the time of the Venetians. Epáno-Arkhánes still contains about 150 houses: at Káto-Arkhánes there are only 30. The government, here as in most other places, now receives the tithe, or rather the seventh, of all the produce. The chief growth of the village is its

[2] Τοῦ Διὸς τὸ μνημεῖον, or τοῦ Διὸς τὸ μνῆμα, were my words.

wine[3], which is excellent; and of which it produces, in a good season, from 8,000 to 10,000 stamnia[4].

What I learn from individuals with whom I become acquainted in my travels, gives me a lively idea of the widely spread misery, and of the destruction of human life, brought about in Crete between 1821 and 1830. My host here lost his father and three brothers: his wife's father and one of her brothers were also put to death by the Mohammedans. The poor woman took these afflictions to heart so heavily, that she died of grief. After losing her my host could not flee to the mountains with two young children, and therefore went and lived for three years in the Kástron.

This village contains no less than nine churches, its population being entirely Christian. In five alone is service ever performed, and of these only regularly at the Panaghía's. The people attend at the other churches on the particular festivals of their respective Saints. There is, about two miles off, a monastery of the Panaghía Spelaeótissa[5], which has now only six or eight kalógheri.

*March* 6.

I found, as a guide up the mountain, a shepherd, who had become acquainted with the tomb of Zeus in tending his flock. A good hour was spent in reaching the summit, towards the northern extremity of which I observed foundations of the massive walls of a building

[3] BUONDELMONTI in CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Vol. I. p. 10. says, "Ab alia parte versus Orientem planus est bacchi fertilissimus, Archanes nomine, in quo plura et ampla rura manent."

[4] On this ancient and proper usage of the word *σταμνίον*, see PHRYNICHUS, p. 400. ed. Lobeck. *Σταμνία· οἱ μὲν ἀμαθεῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμίδων τάττουσιν· οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι ἐπὶ τῶν οἰνηρῶν ἀγγείων.* In all probability no *ἀμίς* has ever been used by the inhabitants of Arkhánes, or even of ancient cities in its neighbourhood, and therefore the old usage of the word *σταμνίον* has easily been preserved free from corruption. The commonest article of bedroom furniture, in civilized Europe, was hardly known to any Athenian, when I was at Athens in 1833; and the idea of using such a thing in a house was even shocking to their notions of cleanliness.

[5] See above, p. 93.

the length of which was about eighty feet. Within this space is an aperture in the ground, which may perhaps once have led into a moderate-sized cave; but, whatever may have been its former size, it is now so filled up, that a man cannot stand in it, and its diameter is not above eight or ten feet[6].

These then are the only remains of that object of deep religious veneration, the supposed tomb of "the Father of gods and men," with its celebrated inscription,

> All which devouring Time, in his so mighty waste,
> Demolishing those walls, hath utterly defac'd:
> So that the earth doth feel the ruinous heaps of stones,
> That with their burd'nous weight now press his sacred bones[7].

I now stand on the spot, in which Zeus was supposed to be at rest from all celestial and terrestrial cares, and which was so celebrated during many ages! The testimony of a long series of ancient and ecclesiastical authors[8], proves fully and distinctly, that the

[6] A good deal of alteration has been produced, during the last four centuries, in the cavern, if its locality was the same in the days of BUONDELMONTI, in CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Vol. I. p. 10. "Juxta viam euntem ad montem Jurte ad dexteram spileum in saxo parvo ore est, cujus longitudo XLII, latitudo vero IV, passuum, in cujus capite sepulcrum Jovis maximi est, cum literis deletis." Ibid. p. 97. "Cum epitaphio tam deleto quod vix literam cognoscere potuimus aliquam, sed quia per totam insulam ita esse pervulgatum cognovi, omnia credere non difficile fuit." See also BELON, Observations etc. c. XVII. "Le sepulcre de Jupiter, tel que les anciens l'ont descrit, est encor monstré pour le jour d'huy, qui dure en son entier." I cannot believe the incredulous sneer of TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Tom. I. p. 68. to be deserved by this careful and trustworthy observer. SAVARY was shewn the summit like myself, Lettre XXII. p. 194. If the supposed tomb was here, on the summit of Júktas, we may compare it with another at the top of a lofty mountain, near Petra the capital of Idumea, and which, according to traditions preserved among the Arabs, is the burial-place of the prophet Harun or Aaron: see NUMBERS XX. 22—29. and LABORDE, Arabia Petraea, p. 191. and 194. ed. Lond. This comparison becomes still more appropriate, if we follow the SCHOLIAST OF CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Zeus, v. 8. who says that the tomb was, at first, that of the Cretan lawgiver Minos, and that its inscription was Μίνωος τοῦ Διὸς τάφος.

[7] DRAYTON, Poly-Olbion, Song XVI.

[8] CICERO, de N. D. III. 21. "Tertium (Jovem) Cretensem, Saturni filium: cujus in illa insula sepulcrum ostenditur." DIODORUS SICULUS, III. 61. (p. 230.) Δεικνυμένου τοῦ τὴν ταφὴν δεξαμένου τόπου μέχρι τῶν κατ'

tomb remained an object of curiosity to strangers, and of veneration to the Cretans, from an early period till after the age of Constantine. The legal establishment of Christianity, as the paid religion of the state, by that Emperor, did but little in Greece towards extinguishing the ancient superstitions[9]. The Christian ruler of the Roman world, in his earnest desire for the conversion of all his heathen subjects, undoubtedly held out many strong inducements to make them adopt the newly established religion: he bestowed temporal prizes on conformity[10], and, sometimes, used violence and persecution to attain his end[11]. Still he *professed* to tolerate those who adhered to the old theology: "Let not any one molest another, but let each person follow the religion which he prefers," were his words[12], although his conduct did not always correspond with them[13].

καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων. LUCIAN, de Sacrif. 10. Tom. I. p. 634. ed. Hemst. and de Jov. Tragoed. 45. Tom. II. p. 693. Ἐπεὶ οἵ γε ἐκ Κρήτης ἥκοντες ἄλλα ἡμῖν διηγοῦνται, τάφον τινὰ κεῖθι δείκνυσθαι, καὶ στήλην ἐφεστάναι, δηλοῦσαν ὡς οὐκέτι βροντήσειεν ἂν ὁ Ζεύς, τεθνεὼς πάλαι. ORIGEN, c. Cels. III. 43. p. 475. ed. Par. Καταγελῶμεν τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν Δία, ἐπεὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ δείκνυται. The same fact is spoken of by many other authors: see MEURSIUS, Cret. p. 80. and ELMENHORSTIUS and WOWERUS, on Minucius Felix, p. 213. ed. Lugd. Bat. 1692.

[9] It is observed by FALLMERAYER, Gesch. der Morea, p. 113. that after Constantine's time still "Olympia, Amyklae und Eleusis, die drei Hauptquartiere des Hellenismus, blieben unberuehrt—die Zerstoerung derselben das Signal eines allgemeinen Aufstandes gewesen waere. Fuer ihren Glauben, und fuer ihre Goetter, wussten Heiden eben so gut zu sterben als Christen fuer die Wahrheit der neuen Lehre—Mit Julians Thronbesteigung (361 nach. Chr.) schien Zeus noch einmal—ueber den Christengott zu triumphiren. Die Heiden waren ueberall die Mehrzahl, erhielten alle oeffentlichen Aemter; Opfer und Spiele zu Delphi, zu Korinth, zu Argos, und Olympia, wurden mit erneuter Pracht gefeiert; in Korinth, in Argos, und sogar in Sparta philosophische Stuetzen fuer die sinkenden Altaere der Goetter gezimmert."

[10] EUSEBIUS, Life of Constantine, III. 21. The consequence of this was that many conformed externally, but retained their inner belief in the old superstitions: EUSEBIUS, l. c. IV. 59.

[11] See EUSEBIUS, l. c. III. 58. and de laudib. Const. c. VIII. HEINICHEN, on III. 54. not. 3. and IV. 19. not. 5.

[12] EUSEBIUS, l. c. II. 56. Ὁμοίαν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν οἱ πλανώμενοι χαίροντες λαμβανέτωσαν εἰρήνης τε καὶ ἡσυχίας ἀπόλαυσιν—μηδεὶς τὸν ἕτερον παρενοχλείτω· ἕκαστος ὅπερ ἡ ψυχὴ βούλεται, τοῦτο καὶ πραττέτω.

[13] HEINICHEN, l. c. Excurs. II. ad II. 68—72. p. 528.

We find that the Cretans continued to worship the old deities of their island, and to venerate the tomb of Zeus, half a century after this legal establishment of Christianity throughout the empire[14]. It was only when the Spaniard Theodosius made himself the blind instrument of orthodox fanatics, and annexed the severest penalties to the celebration of the sacrifices and ceremonies of the old religion, that the corrupted Christianity of the fourth century prevailed. Those who wish not to see penal laws applied to religious opinions, will regret that such unholy aids should have been had recourse to, in order to accelerate the triumph of the Christian faith, which its own truth, and its comparatively tolerant establishment by Constantine, must, soon or late, have caused to spread into every part of the empire[15].

After the Theodosian persecution of the heathens, we hear no more of the tomb of Zeus as an object of reverence to the people of his native island. But, at all events, it seems as if the pomps and glories of the old religion retained, for nearly four centuries after the Christian era, an unrelaxed hold on the convictions and affections of the Cretan people, notwithstanding the labours of Titus, and the elders whom he established among them. And it does not surprise us that Christianity should have failed to take root suddenly and deeply in a mountainous country like Crete; the inhabitants of which, though they must have been pretty free from that vain wisdom and false philosophy, which made the disputants in the schools of Athens turn a deaf ear to the preaching of St Paul, yet, being a nation of mountaineers, would naturally be like the other Pagans of whom we read, and the stubbornness of

[14] JULIUS FIRMICUS, de Error. Prof. Rel. p. 19. A vanis Cretensibus adhuc mortui Jovis tumulus adoratur.

[15] NEANDER's account of the Theodosian persecution is fuller and more impartial than Mr FALLMERAYER's, which is briefly given, in very strong language, in his interesting work, Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea waehrend des Mittelalters, p. 113. foll.

whose hearts it was everywhere difficult to overcome[16]. We should also remember that their country was the very stronghold of heathen superstitions: the birth-place, not only of the King of Heaven[17], but of many of its other Deities, so that,

Al tempo degli Dei falsi e bugiardi,

scarcely a fountain, or stream, or glen existed in it, where ancient traditions were not preserved of the time when gods dwelt among the sons and daughters of men.

A well-known couplet of Callimachus accuses the Cretans of being liars, because they asserted that the immortal Zeus had been buried in a tomb, which, as the poet says, was the work of their own hands[18]. I know not why the religious zeal of this learned writer should have taken offence at the Cretan tradition that Zeus was buried in the land of his birth. According to other ancient legends similar fates befel many of the gods. Hermes was interred at Hermopolis, Ares in Thrace, Aphrodite in Cyprus[19], and the tomb of the Theban Dionysos was long shewn at Delphi[20]. It is evident that, if Zeus was not exempted from the common lot of humanity, he could have no fitter resting-place

[16] We know how severe a decree was passed, at an earlier epoch, by the citizens of Lyttos, against the Epicurean subverters of the popular theology: see SUIDAS, v. Ἐπίκουρος.

[17] Crete was generally so regarded. Zeus was however also said to have been born in Arcadia, PAUSANIAS, VIII. p. 678. CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Zeus, v. 10. in Messenia, PAUSANIAS, IV. p. 361. in Boeotia, TZETZES and MEURSIUS, on Lycophron, v. 1194. on the Phrygian Ida, SCHOLIAST ON APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, III. 134. (see LOBECK, Aglaoph. p. 1047.) and in other places: see LOBECK, l. c. and HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 173.

[18] CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Zeus, 8.

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί.

[19] CLEMENS, Recogn. X. 24. p. 594. Jovis et filiorum ejus sepulcra manifestissime demonstrantur: Mercurii apud Hermopolim, Cypriae Veneris apud Cyprum, Martis in Thracia, Liberi apud Thebas. See LOBECK, Aglaophamus, p. 573.

[20] TATIAN, c. Gr. VIII. p. 251. CYRIL, c. Jul. X. p. 341. AUGUSTIN, de civ. dei, XVII. 12. EUSTATHIUS, p. 889. 20. LOBECK, l. c.

than in his native island. And his fate was not unusual, even if we view him as the Supreme Ruler of heaven and earth. His father Kronos paid the debt of nature, and was buried at Mount Caucasos[21]: Uranos had perished long before[22]; and, according to the Orphic traditions, those ancient and mighty rulers of the world who preceded him, Phanes and Night, had also endured the common fate of gods and men[23]. Still less reason shall we find for peculiar indignation at the Cretan legend, when we remember that Aeschylus ventured to make Prometheus declare, even before an Athenian audience, that Zeus would very soon be hurled with disgrace from his throne, as his predecessors had been[24].

These considerations are of little avail to shew that the Cretans had worthy notions of the Deity; but they prove that their traditions were like those of every other part of Greece, and that the abuse heaped upon them, on account of what they asserted respecting the tomb of Zeus[25], was not deserved, at all events from heathen writers.

[21] CLEMENS OF ALEXANDRIA, Hom. v. 23. p. 668. Κρόνου ἐν τοῖς Καυκασίοις ὄρεσι τάφος δείκνυται. Compare PLUTARCH, de Flumin. XIX. p. 1162. c. and LOBECK, l. c. p. 576.

[22] AESCHYLUS, Agam. 162.

Οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας
παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων
οὐδὲν ἂν λέξαι πρὶν ὤν·
ὃς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφυ, τρια-
κτῆρος οἴχεται τυχών.
Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλάζων
τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν.

[23] See the passages collected by LOBECK, Aglaophamus, Vol. I. p. 577.

[24] AESCHYLUS, Prom. 956.

Οὐκ ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐγώ
δισσοὺς τυράννους ἐκπεσόντας ἠσθόμην;
τρίτον δὲ τὸν νῦν κοιρανοῦντ' ἐπόψομαι
αἴσχιστα καὶ τάχιστα.

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, I. 503—507. follows Aeschylus, and, after naming Ophion and Eurynome as the first rulers of snow-clad Olympus, says that they gave way, βίῃ καὶ χερσίν, to Kronos and Rhea. See also POTTER, on Lycophron, 1192.

[25] See CALLIMACHUS, l. c. LUCAN, Pharsal. VIII. 872.

Tam mendax Magni tumulo quam Creta tonantis

STATIUS.

The uniform veneration shewn to the tomb, and the belief in a yearly miracle, which took place in the cave where Zeus was born[26], acquit the Cretans of the charge of impiety and irreverence towards the God. The credulity of the people, and the craft of those interested in keeping up their superstitions, may perhaps account sufficiently for the phenomenon which used to shew itself in the cavern. Bright fire spontaneously burst forth from it[27], as at the Holy Sepulchre a similar occurrence happens every Easter, even in the age in which we live, and is regarded as a miraculous manifestation of divine power, by the crowd of pious and credulous pilgrims who gaze with awe and ecstasy on the flames[28].

STATIUS, I. Theb. 278.

Placet Ida nocens, mentitaque manes
Creta tuos.

NONNUS, VIII. 117.

Ἦ γὰρ (or Οὐ γὰρ) ἀεὶ παρέμιμνε Διὸς ψευδήμονι τύμβῳ
τερπομένη Κρήτεσσιν, ἐπεὶ πέλον ἠπεροπῆες:

and PHILOSTRATUS, in the Life of Antiochus the Sophist, quoted by MEURSIUS, p. 80.

[26] On this Ἰδαῖον ἄντρον, see DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, II. 61. who compares the interviews between Minos and Zeus, with those between Numa and Egeria; and the other authors quoted by MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 71. and HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 175.

[27] ANTONINUS LIBERALIS, c. XIX. Ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ ἀφωρισμένῳ ὁρᾶται καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος, πλεῖστον ἐκλάμπον ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου πῦρ· τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν ὅτ' ἂν ἐκζέῃ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως αἷμα. Thus also, in the temples of Hierocaesarea and Hypaepa, the priests used, on certain occasions, to recite some verses, and on this, pieces of wood, previously laid on the altar, burst spontaneously into a blaze of fire. PAUSANIAS, V. p. 449. CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor, c. LXXVI. Similar phenomena were also produced, by sacerdotal fraud, at Egnatia and elsewhere in Italy: HORACE, Sat. I. 5. 99. PLINY, N. H. II. 107. and likewise in a temple of Dionysos in Macedonia, and in the island of Tenos: see the book, de mirab. ausc. §. 33, (ARISTOT. Tom. II. p. 832. Bekk.) quoted by KORAY, Atakta, Vol. III. p. 330. Some of these miracles, and many others wrought by the priests of Paganism, are enumerated by Professor LOBECK, Aglaophamus, p. 123.

[28] The yearly miracle exhibited to the Christian pilgrims, "probably the grossest imposture at this moment practised by the impudence of any priesthood on the credulity of any people," is well described by Mr WADDINGTON, The present condition and prospects of the Greek or Oriental Church, p. 72—78. and also by SANDYS, Travailes, p. 134. ed. 1652. THEVENOT, Voyage de Levant, Liv. II. Ch. XLIII. p. 621—627. VAN EGMONT and HEYMAN,

Such is the history of this celebrated sepulchre, which may have been on the summit of Júktas, and

HEYMAN, Travels, Vol. I. Ch. XXIII. p. 354—358. Eng. tr. ed. Lond. 1759. Another element, water, is annually made to perform a miracle, on the same day, in a cistern contained in the acropolis of Demetrias: see LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. IV. p. 376. A still more wonderful aqueous miracle is related by LEO ALLATIUS, de quorund. Graecor. Opinat. p. 171. the scene of which is the salt sea near Mount Athos. On the feast of the Epiphany, Christ's baptism is celebrated by casting into the sea, first a Christ on his cross, and then a cross alone. A hymn is next struck up, and, as it is singing, all the waters of the sea *become fresh*, and remain so until the hymn has been thrice repeated, when they again return to their natural saltness. Aquae illae salsae, per totum illud littus gustatu dulcescunt, ad bibendum suavissimae factae; finito tertium hymno, in pristinam salsitudinem redeunt. Quare omnes turmatim in mare ingressi, delicatuli cyathis, rem ita esse, experiuntur; (thus at Jerusalem the pilgrims still find that the sacred fire *is innocuous*, and does not burn them;) alii alio modo aquas potantes, haesitantibus factum praedicant, et aquas ad gustandum propinant, repentinam et variam aquarum immutationem tam brevi tempore admirantes, et singulis in annis Christi Baptisma tanto miraculo celebrantes. The fire-miracle of Jerusalem was unknown till the age of the caliph Arun-al-Raschid and the emperor Charlemagne: see MOSHEIM, de lumin. sanct. sepulch. §. X. where its origin is well accounted for, and KORAY, *περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἁγίου φωτός*, p. 339. On the history of the sepulchre may also be consulted the Dissertations of ORTLOB and THILO, in the Thesaur. Theolog. P. II. pp. 252—261. ed. Amst. 1702. When the supposed celestial fire made its appearance, a hymn used to be chanted by the Patriarch, in the presence of the assembled multitude: see the anonymous Author quoted by LEO ALLATIUS, de quorund. Graecor. Opinat. p. 180. *Ἐξεφώνησεν οὖν ὁ πατριάρχης ὡς εὐχαριστίαν τοῦτον τὸν ὕμνον. Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης, ἀθανάτου πατρὸς οὐρανίου, ἁγίου μάκαρος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἐλθόντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἠλίου δύσιν· ἰδόντες φῶς ἑσπερινόν, ὑμνοῦμεν πατέρα, υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα θεοῦ. Ἄξιος εἶ πᾶσι καιροῖς ὑμνεῖσθαι φωναῖς αἰσίαις, υἱὲ θεοῦ, ζωὴν ὁ διδούς. διὸ ὁ κόσμος σὲ δοξάζει.* The following is a metrical version:

Joyous light of holy splendour,
Sent from Father and from Son,
We our lowly homage render
To thy blaze, ere day is done.

Let us, on the flame while gazing,
Which illumes this holy shrine,
Loud in song our voices raising,
Praise the Trinity Divine.

Thou are worthiest of honour,
Son of God, throughout all time:
Therefore, life's eternal donor,
Thou art praised in every clime.

There

must have been somewhere hereabouts. Little as I found at this spot to repay me for the trouble of the ascent, I had at all events the pleasure of an extensive view over the whole plain of the Kástron. Dhía lies nearly to the north: and to the north-east is pointed out to me the direction of the village of Khersónesos, and in the mountains to the east of us I learn that there is a place called Lýttos, where, no doubt, I shall find remains of the celebrated Dorian city. Our view is bounded to the west by the mountains, Strómbolo, Khruseanótika-Livádia, and Amurghiéles.

On the eastern side of the mountain, and about a hundred paces from its summit, I found considerable remains of ancient walls. The construction is chiefly of very large stones, among which a good many small ones were intermixed. Some of the latter have fallen out in places. These fragments seem to offer a good specimen of the so-called first cyclopean style. They are four or five in number, and the whole length of ground, which they partially cover, is between four and five hundred paces, of which not more than fifty paces are occupied by the actually existing remains. It is, however, evident that the old walls extended all round the summit, except where, as on its western side, it is nearly a perpendicular precipice. Above this wall I observed, scattered over the ground, many pieces of ancient pottery, which, as well as the wall, would rather serve to indicate an abode of the living than a resting-place of the dead.

On descending down the side of the mountain, we found in the ground, about half way down, a hole, the diameter of which is twelve feet, and its depth about ninety or a hundred feet. As far as I can judge by visible appearances from the outside, it leads into a cavern; which, since the rock is limestone, is probably

There is a strange observation, with reference to MATTHEW, XXVIII. 2–3. at p. 335. of the same treatise of Koray: it is, *ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ὡμοίαζε τὴν ἀστραπήν, ἀκολουθεῖ ὅτι καὶ ὅλος ὁ τάφος ἐφωτίσθη.*

full of beautiful stalactites, and is certainly as yet unexplored.

As we set out to return from the so-called tomb of Zeus, on the summit of the mountain, I saw Maniás carefully pick up some insignificant fragments of stone, and when I asked him why he took them, he replied that he meant to keep them, as memorials of his visit "to the Holy Sepulchre of the ancient Greeks," εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τάφον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, "for which," he added, "no doubt they fought formerly, as the Christians did afterwards, for Jerusalem."

I cannot leave Arkhánes without turning, for a moment, from the ancient to the modern Greeks. The guide who had conducted us to this spot, together with three or four other peasants, whom curiosity, excited by so singular an event as my arrival, had induced to accompany us, left us on our return to the village; and, when I wanted to remunerate him for his trouble, he was no where to be found. Such events as this happened to me frequently in Crete, and, sometimes, when I wished to recompense a man for a service which he had rendered me, he would ask, with all imaginable simplicity, why I offered him money: the idea that he would earn any reward by what he meant as a mere act of civility to a stranger, probably the first European he had ever seen among his native hills, had plainly never entered his mind.

The Venetian aqueduct, which I saw below the village yesterday, also runs along the side of our path for about a mile after our departure from Arkhánes. A second mile brings us to the highest point of our road. We now begin to descend, and as we wind round the southern escarpment of Mount Júktas, come in sight of the snow-clad mountains which bound the plain of Megálo-Kastron to the west. Our road, or rather path, now runs across ranges of low hills; and, in less than two hours after leaving Arkhánes, we arrive at the village called Kaní-Kastéli.

The word Kastéli here, as elsewhere, denotes the existence of a ruined middle-age fortress on the spot. I ascended to the summit of the remarkable hill on which it was situated. An old priest, with a venerable white beard, served as my guide to the remains. He spoke of "the Turk," whom he called, in good polemical phraseology, "the forerunner of Antichrist[29]": I should rather have expected to hear him described by the old Papás as Antichrist himself, than as his forerunner.

I had been told, before leaving the Kástron, of the Rhóka which I ought to see at Kaní-Kastéli[30]. My reader must remember that *rocca* means a castle or fortress[31], as in Dante's "Sicura quasi rocca in alto monte." The appellation bestowed on this castle by the Venetians[32] is therefore still possessed by its site, for my old guide tells me that the loftiest summit is called the Rhóka.

The space contained within the walls of the fortress is considerable, and includes two rocky summits, one to which the Papás has conducted me, and another, not quite so high, a little to the south-east. A single line of walls runs round them both, but this loftier summit was also fortified by an inner wall. After passing the outer line, in ascending, we observed remains of a church. I also noticed two cisterns. There are some slight remains of buildings between the two summits.

I have no doubt but that the Rhóka here is the Castello Temenos of the Venetians, the foundation of which, however, ascends to the year 961, when the Cretans, under their Saracenic leaders, were vanquished by the forces of the Greek Emperor. Nicephorus

[29] Ὁ Πρόδρομος τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου. MICHAEL PSELLUS, writing in the eleventh century, says, de operat. daemon. p. 25. Καιρὸς ἐφέστηκε νῦν, ὅτε βιώσουσιν ἄνθρωποι χεῖρον καὶ τῶν θηρίων· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου κράτος ἐγγὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἥκει.

[30] Ἀπὸ τζὴ Ἀρχάναις εἶναι ἕξι μίλια εἰς τὸ Κανί-Καστέλι, ὅπου εὑρίσκεται ἡ Ῥόκα, were the words of my informant.

[31] Properly its meaning is rather more general: see BOCCACCIO, in the Vocab. della Crusca, v. Rocca.

[32] Rocca.

Phocas, the victorious commander of the Byzantine army, determined to build a fort "on a lofty and steep hill at no very great distance from the city." He was probably recalled to Constantinople by the Emperor Romanus, before he had succeeded in effecting the pacification of the island, although he had stormed and plundered its principal city[33]. He built this fortress, since "the place seemed safe and adapted for a stronghold, being separated from the neighbouring district on each side by precipices and ravines, and having constant springs of fresh water on its summit." When the fortress was built, "he placed in it a sufficient garrison, and called the city Temenos."

This castle became celebrated in the Venetian history of the island, as the place of refuge of the Duke of Candia, when Marco Sanudo, the Duke of Naxos, boldly rebelled against Venice, and obtained for a while possession of the principal cities of Crete, being abetted in his struggle by the majority of the inhabitants of the island[34]. It was also one of the old castles which the Proveditor Foscarini, in the year 1576, advised the Venetian Senate to fortify and garrison, when the Turks were supposed to be on the point of making a descent on Crete. The Proveditor, who spent several months in the island, and speaks as an eye-witness of all that he describes, mentions Temenos as famous for its antiquity, and adds, "è un monte fra diversi monti, e tanto lontano per interposizione di profondissime valli, che non può esser da alcuna parte offeso. Ha due cima —lassano in mezzo una valle dando forma alla fortezza d'un pomo granato aperto: della qual la corona par che sia la parte più alta sopra; ma *vi era anticamente una rocca* che si vede hoggidi anco con molte maravigliose cose."

[33] He is said, by LEO DIACONUS, II. 8. to have returned to Constantinople, *τὴν νῆσον ἐξημερώσας ἅπασαν, Ἀρμενίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ συγκλύδων ἀνδρῶν φατρίας ἐνοικισάμενος.*

[34] FOSCARINI, della Letteratura Italiana, in CORNEL. II. p. 243.

The descriptions of Leo Diaconus and Foscarini seem sufficiently to identify this spot with Temenos[35].

Although it is at the most doubtful, notwithstanding the expression of Foscarini, whether any ancient city ever occupied the precise site of this Temenos, yet it is certain that Thenae was somewhere in our immediate neighbourhood. Callimachus fixes the situation of Thenae as close on the Omphalian plain[36]. It appears, moreover, from Stephanus of Byzantium[37], that Thenae was near Cnossus. From Diodorus of Sicily[38], we learn that the city in question, or rather the Omphalion which was very near it, was in the neighbourhood of the river Triton. Thus all these testimonies agree with any site which may be found any where in the neighbourhood, and somewhat to the east of the river. One argument in favour of this place as the ancient site would be, that its importance in the middle ages is a sufficient reason for the disappearance of every vestige, which one might have hoped to find of more ancient times.

The elevation of this acropolis is sufficient to bring into our view the northern sea, part of Dhía, and the plain about the Kástron, the walls of which are intercepted by the loftier peak of Mount Júktas. Below us, to the north-west, is the village of Kaní-Kastéli.

[35] CORONELLI, Isolario &c., mentions Temenos as one of the *ancient* cities of the island, and says that it had preserved its ancient name "et in gran parte l'antico splendore." He describes it as situated on a lofty mountain twelve miles from Candia.

[36] CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Zeus, 42.

Εὖτε Θενὰς ἀπέλειπεν, ἐπὶ Κνωσσοῖο φέρουσα,
Ζεῦ πάτερ ἡ νύμφη σέ, Θεναὶ δ' ἔσαν ἐγγύθι Κνωσσοῦ,
τουτάκι τοι πέσε, δαῖμον, ἀπ' ὀμφαλός· ἔνθεν ἐκεῖνο
Ὀμφάλιον μετέπειτα πέδον καλέουσι Κύδωνες.

[37] STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, Ὀμφάλιον, *τόπος Κρήτης, πλησίον Θενῶν καὶ Κνωσσοῦ.*

[38] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 70. *Φερομένου μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Διὸς) νηπίου, φασὶν ἀποπεσεῖν τὸν ὀμφαλὸν περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Τρίτωνα.* He adds that the place was called Omphalos, and the surrounding plain Ὀμφάλιον. The place Omphalos is also recorded by the SCHOLIAST ON NICANDER, Alexipharm. 7. See MEURSIUS, p. 64.

Its shape recalls to mind the form of an ancient Greek theatre, the houses here occupying the places of the seats, and looking down, towards the west, on the river, which is called Platypérama, but changes its name to Ghiófiro, as it approaches the sea.

This is the most considerable stream of the plain to the west of Megálo-Kástron, and is probably the ancient Triton. Athene is said to have been born at its source, where a temple sacred to her still existed in the time of Diodorus of Sicily[39]. It need hardly be added that she was supposed to be indebted to this river for her name Tritogeneia. It is, however, more probable that the real derivation of the epithet, in the Homeric poems, is from a stream called Triton in Boeotia[40]. Mueller has shewn beyond all doubt that the connexion of Libya and its Tritonian lake, with the wanderings of the Argonauts, arose long after Homer's time[41]: so that, in the Homeric age, nothing can have been known of the legend recorded by Herodotus[42], and followed by Aeschylus, where he speaks of the Libyan Triton as Athene's natal stream[43].

We find another river in Arcadia, which was likewise described by local tradition as the birth-place of the Tritonian Goddess[44].

[39] Diodorus Siculus, v. 72. p. 333. ed. Wess. Μυθολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὴν Αθηνᾶν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἐκ Διὸς ἐν ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ γεννηθῆναι· διὸ καὶ Τριτογένειαν ἐπονομασθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι περὶ τὰς πηγὰς ταύτας ἱερὸν ἄγιον τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῆς ὑπάρξαι μυθολογοῦσι.

[40] Scholiast on Apollon. Rhod. iv. 1311. Mueller, Orchomenos, p. 213. and p. 355. A temple was erected to her at Alalcomenae, the place where she was said to have been born: Strabo, ix. p. 413. Pausanias, ix. p. 777. Sir William Gell, Itinerary of Greece, p. 151. supposes that he found the site of both the town and temple: compare Colonel Leake, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. ii. p. 135, fol.

[41] Mueller, Orchomenos, l. c. Voelcker, Homerische Geographie, §. 68.

[42] Herodotus, iv. 180. Pausanias, i. p. 36. Eustathius, on Dionysius Perieget. 267.

[43] Aeschylus, Eumen. 292.

[44] At Aliphera in Arcadia, where there was a celebrated colossal statue of her. Pausanias, viii. p. 653. Polybius, iv. 78. Leake's Travels in

The birth of Athene is nowhere described in the Homeric poems; but later writers, for instance, Stesichorus[45], Hesiod[46], the author of one of the Homeric Hymns[47], and Pindar[48], sing of her springing all-armed from the head of Zeus. This account of her birth has also been made to supply an etymology of the word Tritogeneia by Hesychius, Photius, Suidas, Eustathius[49], and other authors[50], who tell us that an old word *trito* meant a head.

Pallas, the youthful playmate of Athene, to whom her name was afterwards applied, is said by Apollodorus to have been the daughter of Triton[51].

I staid some time in this village after descending from the Rhóka. The inhabitants of these parts of the island, where the Mohammedan population is nu-

the Morea, Vol. II. pp. 71—79. Another remarkable Tritonian lake existed in Thrace, and is mentioned by OVID, Met. XV. 356. VIBIUS SEQUESTER, de Flumin. p. 27. and Oberlinus, pp. 285–6. The name Triton was also given to the Nile: see PLINY, N. H. v. 10. LYCOPHRON, 119. and 576. SCHOLIAST ON APOLLONIUS RHOD. IV. 26. and MUELLER, Orchom. p. 356.

[45] THE SCHOLIAST ON APOLL. RHOD. IV. 1310. says, Πρῶτος Στησίχορος ἔφη σὺν ὅπλοις ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς ἀναπηδῆσαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, so that he makes both Hesiod and the Homeric Hymnist, as Heyne has observed, posterior to Stesichorus. See KLEINE, on Stesich. Fr. LXXVI. p. 127.

[46] HESIOD, Theogon. 888.

[47] THE HYMN TO ATHENE, v. 4.

Τριτογενῆ, τὴν αὐτὸς ἐγείνατο μητίετα Ζεὺς
σεμνῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς.

[48] PINDAR, Ol. VII. 65.

[49] HESYCHIUS in τριτώ. PHOTIUS, in Lexic. p. 603. 16. ed. Porson. Photius, like Suidas, has the form τρίτων, not τριτώ. His words are ἢ ἐπεὶ τρίτωνα τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἀθαμᾶνες λέγουσι. Hesychius also attributes τριτὼ to the Athamanes. Suidas speaks of it as used by the Athenians. The passage of EUSTATHIUS is on Homer, IL. Δ. p. 504. 27. He assigns the usage of the word τριτὼ to the Cretans. Again on IL. Θ. p. 696. 37. he says, τριτὼ γάρ, φασὶ, κατὰ γλῶσσαν Κρητῶν ἡ κεφαλή.

[50] Collected by VOSSIUS and ALBERTI, on Hesychius, (Tom. II. pp. 1421–2. ed. Albert.) to whose examples may be added TZETZES, on Lycophron, 519. (see Mueller, Orchom. p. 355.) and DIACONUS, on Hesiod's Theogony, v. 886. seqq. in Poet. Graec. Min. Tom. III. p. 491. ed. Gaisf.

[51] APOLLODORUS, III. 12. 3. and HEYNE, Not. p. 757. EUSTATHIUS, on Odyss. M. p. 1714. mentions Triton as the father of Scylla.

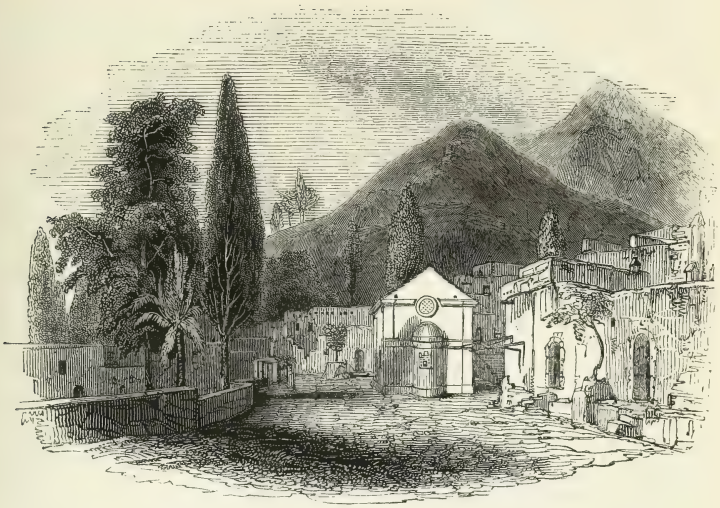
merous, and which are near the chief city, did not join the Greeks of western Crete in their attempt to shake off the Turkish yoke till more than a year after the outbreaking of the revolt. A very tragical scene occurred at Kaní-Kastéli, while it was still inhabited only by a few Mohammedans, and a peaceful and submissive Christian population.

On the morning of Good Friday, in the year 1822, the Greeks of Kaní-Kastéli assembled to celebrate the usual religious service of the day, in the church of their village. Two papádhes, a father and son, officiated. Three Mohammedans of the village thought the occasion too good to be let pass, and went well armed to the place of Christian worship. Since the Greeks of the district of Témenos, at that time, had none of them joined their correligionaries of Sfakiá and the western parts of the island, they were all unarmed. One of the three Mohammedans took his post outside the church-door. The other two entered it and shot thirty men dead on the spot. Five others were wounded but recovered. Two women also received severe wounds, inflicted by accident, for the Mohammedans meant only to massacre the men. One of these women died the next day. The young papás escaped through a window behind the altar. It would seem as if, from the moment when the partial insurrection of the mountaineers in the west took place, the Mohammedans had perpetrated every cold-blooded atrocity and cruelty that was likely to drive all the Christians of the island to make common cause with the Sfakians, who, if they died, at all events did so with arms in their hands, and were not butchered like sheep, as any Christian might be in all the other parts of Crete.

We left this place before sunset to go to the monastery of Haghio Ghéorghio Epáno-Síphi, which is about four miles hence, to the south-south-east beyond the small Mohammedan village of Karkadhiótissa. We did not experience the kindness of the Hegúmenos and

Kalógheri till after sunset. Their attentions were unremitting, and their generous hospitality soon furnished forth a table, which would not have disgraced the hall of a wealthier and more learned society. Mutton from their own flock, turkey, which, after a day's ride among these mountains, one cannot but think tenderer and more delicious than was ever tasted in civilized Europe, pilav, milk, salad, olives in oil, cheese, and almonds, formed the various dishes of a meal, which seemed to us luxurious; and which, since we were now lodged with the regular clergy, failed not to be accompanied by plenty of excellent wine[52]. After this our counterpanes were spread on the floor, for the monastery is not yet sufficiently recovered from the effects of the revolution to possess beds or sheets, and we were soon in that happy state of utter unconsciousness which speedily follows a long day's ride, and an hospitable reception.

[52] SAVARY, Lettres sur la Grèce, p. 200. is eloquent in speaking of the hospitality and good cheer which he found in this monastery. He says of their honey: "Ce miel transparent comme le cristal, étoit délicieux. Aussi parfumé que les fleurs, aussi délicat que les meilleures confitures, il flattoit également le goût et l'odorat."



MONASTERY OF ST GEORGE.

## CHAPTER XIV.

MONASTERY OF ST GEORGE. SITE OF ARCADIA NOT AT THE VILLAGE OR MONASTERY OF ARKADHI. VENERATO. MASSACRE OF UNARMED CHRISTIANS. HAGHIO MYRO, THE PROBABLE SITE OF RHAUCOS. SARKO AND ITS CAVERN.

*March* 7.

THIS monastery consists of the Hegúmenos, six patéres, two kalógheri, and two servants: before the revolution its numbers were twenty patéres, thirty kalógheri, and about fifty youths and servants. They possessed ten metókhis, the produce of which was mostly corn, though wine and oil enough for the consumption of the monastery were also supplied by them. The society has now only three pairs of oxen. The old

Hegúmenos complains of the unhappy situation of the monastery, in a district inhabited almost solely by Mohammedans. Cypresses and the palm-tree are seen in and about this pleasing retreat from the busy hum of men.

> Qui da' cipressi è cinto ombroso chiostro,
> E di palme il bel colle ancor verdeggia.

I learnt that Arkádhi, which is about three miles southward, is a very small Mohammedan village, and I could hear nothing of any remains of antiquity as existing there. I had with me an extract from the Peutinger Table, by which the ancient city of Arcadia appears to have lain more than forty miles to the east of Cnossos, and therefore I was not led to entertain any great hope of finding it near this village of Arkádhi, although I read[1], that "north-east of the ruins of Gortys is a spot named Arcadioti, which, from the similarity of name, and the vestiges of antiquity which may be traced in its vicinity[2], corresponds, doubtless, with the site of Arcadia, or Arcades, a Cretan city named by several writers."

Had I entertained high hopes of finding traces of the ancient city, they would all have been disappointed. The village has suffered severely during the revolution, and only five of its houses are now occupied: the people are all Mohammedans. Not a single stone can be seen, either in or near it, which may not have been laid within the memory of men who are living; and I could not even hear of an ancient coin.

Tournefort, wandering still more incautiously than Dr Cramer from the positive topographical indications of the old authors, no sooner arrives in "the most beau-

[1] In Dr CRAMER'S Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 385.

[2] It is much to be regretted, that when a fact so important as the existence of vestiges of antiquity, in any given place, is stated, the authority, on which the statement depends, should not be given. I have not had the good fortune to meet with any account of any such remains, and Dr Cramer gives no reference to support his assertion.

tiful and the richest convent of the island," at least fifty miles west of Cnossos, than he takes it for all that remains of the ancient city of which, as it appeared to him, it had preserved the name. Sieber, too, thinks that "without all doubt" that monastery occupies the site of the ancient city[3]. This supposition is too absurd to need any refutation; and nothing but the far superior scholarship of the learned author of the "Description of Ancient Greece" would induce me to detain my reader with an examination of a point, on which his views are almost as untenable and ungrounded as those of Tournefort and Sieber.

It will be very easy to shew that Arcadia must have been somewhere in the modern eparkhía of Mirabéllo, or on its confines in the direction of Rhizókastro or Hierápetra. I have already mentioned the evidence of the Peutinger Table. We know, moreover, from Pliny[4], that Arcadia was in a district abounding in rivers and fountains, a description which cannot be applied to the country near Arkádhi, but is applicable to many parts of the mountains about Lassíthi, and to the whole of Rhizókastro. Lastly, the diocese of the Greek bishop of Arkadhía[5] does not approach this village of Arkádhi, but contains the district of Rhizókastro, and borders on the mountains of Lassíthi and Mirabéllo. More might be said about Arcadia, but while in this village we are on ground so far distant from the probable site of that ancient city, that it seems undesirable now to dwell any longer on the question.

We leave Arkádhi at half-past ten, and, after winding round a chain of hills, which run nearly east and west, and cut off Júktas from our view, we arrive at the village of Galéne, where we are still in the eparkhía of Témenos, and are said to be three miles

[3] SIEBER's Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. II. p. 263. "Arcadia—ohne allen Zweifel auf der quellenreichen erhabenen Flaeche des Klosters Arcadi am Fusse des Berges Ida."

[4] PLINY, N. H. XXXI. 30.

[5] See above, p. 206.

from Kaní-kastéli. The summit of Strómbolo is N.N.W. from this place, while the loftiest snow-capt mountain is nearly due west. We crossed low ridges, and, a few minutes before twelve, came to a river, the western bank of which we followed, and, after crossing two tributary streamlets, pursued the valley of the second, and, in twenty minutes, came in sight of Veneráto, the only village I have yet found in Crete with a purely Italian name.

The ground which we have seen, in our ride from the monastery this morning, is chiefly uncultivated. The little that is made any use of is near this village, and is corn-land. The grass grows so on all the paths which we have seen and traversed to-day, that it is difficult, even for Captain Maniás, to find the way: and he made a villager accompany him, once or twice, for about half a mile. The only way in which roads, or rather paths, are kept in existence in Crete, and, in fact, in most parts of the Turkish empire, is by those who walk or ride along them, and thus they naturally disappear when people are not left to traverse them[6].

A few minutes after we came in sight of Veneráto, we reached a little metókhi of the monastery of Hághios Gheórghios Epáno-Síphes, with a church dedicated to the Holy Mother of God[7]: from it Dhafnídhes is more than a mile to the north, and Veneráto, of which my companion made a sketch, is above us and due west. A quarter of an hour's ascent from the metókhi brings us to the village. The ground about it is tolerably cultivated: it produces chiefly corn, although patches of olive-trees are seen here and there. Before the revolution, Veneráto had a considerable population: the villagers say nearly two hundred houses: its only inhabitants now are fifteen Christian families and one Mohammedan. A small party of mounted Arnauts is quartered in this

[6] Captain Maniás kept exclaiming this morning, that all the *δρόμοι* were *ἐρημασμένοι*, in consequence of the depopulation caused by the war.

[7] *Τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου.*

village: they have been here more than a year. We may easily conceive what is the feeling of the peasants towards these idle and licentious Albanians, who have nothing to do except to attend to their horses, smoke their pipes, and visit the cottage of any villager when he is absent, as is usually the case during the greater part of the day-time.

Veneráto is one of the many places where scenes were beheld, at the outbreaking of the Greek revolution in 1821, which rivalled those exhibited, on the same occasion, in the large cities of the Turkish empire. Parties of infuriated Moslems, issuing from the walls of Megálo-Kástron, scoured the country in every direction, and massacred all the male Christians they could find. A small band of them arrived in this village: most of the Christians, on the first rumour of their approach, had fled for safety to the lofty mountain-summits: twenty-seven men were however found, all of whom immediately lost their lives. This was on the Friday, the day after the great massacre within the Kástron. Women and children were not at all molested; but every man who was either met on the way-side, or could be found in the villages, though wholly unarmed and defenceless, was immediately shot! The object of this cruel and brutal butchery was, no doubt, to intimidate the Cretan Greeks, and, by atrocities rivalling those of Constantinople itself, to prevent them from following the example set by their correligionaries in Wallachia and the Moréa, in an attempt to shake off the Turkish yoke; or, to speak more correctly, as far as Crete is concerned, the yoke of their fellow-countrymen who professed Mohammedanism; for it was chiefly those gentlemen who tyrannized over and oppressed the unfortunate Christians of the island.

We leave Veneráto at half-past two, and, in a few minutes, cross the high road[8] between Megálo-Kástron

[8] Called, as every high-road is by the Greeks, *βασιλικὸς δρόμος*.

and the plain of Messará. At fifty-five minutes after two we pass Síva, which, like almost every other village, is in ruins: it has only about ten houses standing. At Síva we dismount, and, after descending rapidly for seven minutes, ford the stream which flows through this valley to the northern sea, and across which a bridge is erected a little lower down, under the village of Dhafnídhes. Our ascent on the western side of the river is as steep as the descent has been, and lasts for nearly half an hour, after which time we arrive at the village of Hághio Mýro, celebrated throughout the island for the excellence of its wine. Of its present reduced population of seventy families only three are Mohammedan. Before the revolution it contained two hundred houses.

For some time I knew not whether the name of this village should be written Míro, Méro or Mýro. I have, however, at length met with the holy person from whose name its appellation is derived, and find, to my great satisfaction, that he was a Cretan, and is not only in undisputed possession of the titles of Bishop, Saint and Worker-of-Miracles, but is also called a "holy martyr." It is, however, admitted that he died a natural and quiet death. He is said to have flourished in the reign of Decius. Rhaucos, his native place, was his episcopal seat, and, in an ecclesiastical notice of him, the city is spoken of as situated near Cnossos[9].

It therefore seems probable that this village is on the site of Rhaucos, which may certainly well have exchanged its ancient heathen name for that of its "Bishop, Saint and Martyr." In England, the Holy Neot be-

[9] LAMBECIUS, in Catalog. Bibliothec. Vindob. Lib. VIII. 261. (in Codex XIV.) which contains the Greek menology for August. *Μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ θ'. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Μύρωνος, ἐπισκόπου Κρήτης. ὁ ἅγιος καὶ θαυματουργός, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἱεράρχης, Μύρων, γεννᾶται ἐν Κρήτῃ τῇ νήσῳ, ἐν Ῥαυκίᾳ τῇ πόλει πλησίον Κνωσσοῦ, ἐπὶ Δεκίου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐξ εὐγενῶν φὺς γονέων, κ. τ. λ.* He is also received in the Roman Martyrology on the 8th August, "In Creta Sancti Myronis Episcopi, miraculis clari."

stowed his name, not only on a village in Cornwall, but also on Eynesbury, in Huntingdonshire, which place became possessed of the venerated body of the saint, about a hundred years after his death[10].

A story told in Aelian seems only explicable on the supposition that there were two cities of the same name Rhaucos in Crete[11]. The existence of two places so called in the island, would naturally give rise, among the ancient Greeks, to some such legend as that which he mentions. We have other pairs of cities known by one single name in Crete, as, for instance, the two called Kisamos, the two called Minoa, and the two called Khersonesos. I therefore think it probable, that this spot was *one* of the sites called Rhaucos. If so, its proximity to Mount Ida should perhaps induce us to consider it as the more ancient city of the two mentioned in the legendary account of Aelian.

On leaving Hághio Mýro we begin to descend, and in eighteen minutes reach Pýrgo, a village of twenty-five houses, having passed no less than three fountains by the road-side between the two places. From Pýrgo we go on descending for fifteen minutes more, and then cross a stream near a water-mill. This is the river which was visible from the Rhóka, and which, as we have above seen, is, in all probability, the Triton of the ancients. After an ascent of a quarter of an hour we reach the summit of the ridge, and soon see below us, a little to our left, the village of Sárko embowered among olive-trees. It is so quiet, retired and beautiful a spot, that one would fain believe that it must have been exempted from the horrors and devastation of the war: but, in a few minutes, the black ruins of half its former houses are discerned, and sufficiently prove that it has shared the common lot of every other village in the island.

[10] GORHAM, History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St Neot's, pp. 47—53. On the names of towns derived from local saints, see above, pp. 180–181.

[11] AELIAN, N. A. XVII. 35. and JACOBS, Vol. II. p. 585.

The olive-trees of Sárko were not, however, burnt; and a cavern which exists in the mountain to the west of the village, and the entrance of which could not be approached and filled up from above like those of Melidhóni or Vaffé, served as a place of refuge and security for the villagers, whenever Ate "cried havock, and let slip the dogs of war," against the Christians of this neighbourhood.

We took up our abode with a brother of the Archbishop's Oekonómos, who is himself a native of Sárko, and who had promised, before I left Megálo-Kástron, to meet me here. He had already arrived, and, since he is as intelligent as he is obliging, I spent some very agreeable hours with him, learning much from him, as I had also done in Megálo-Kástron, about the present condition, ecclesiastical as well as civil, of the island, and respecting the principal events of the ten years' war.

*March* 8.

The entrance of the cavern of Sárko is in a valley to the west of the village. We were less than a quarter of an hour in reaching it. The Oekonómos did not feel any wish to explore its recesses, and his ample clerical robes would have suffered severely had he entered it with us. We were in the cavern about three hours. I made no measurements of its dimensions, as we descended through its dark passages, and will therefore begin my description from the deepest and most distant part to which we penetrated.

We found ourselves, at last, in an apartment nearly circular, and about thirty feet in diameter: the ground is partly covered with water, which prevents me from attempting to explore some openings seen in the rocks at the sides of the chamber, as might in all probability be done in the months of July or August. Returning, we leave this chamber by a passage fifty feet long, and so narrow that there is only room for one person to pass at a time: it is low throughout, and in many places

is not above *two* feet high: the entrance into it from the apartment which we have left is so small that I could only just pass: water drips from the upper part of this passage very copiously, and we are thoroughly drenched as we crawl along its tedious length.

Permanat aquarum
Liquidus humor, et uberibus flent omnia guttis.

We emerge from this disagreeable chink in a room about twenty-two feet wide, from the opposite end of which a gap in the rock admits us into another apartment longer than the last, but not above fifteen feet high: its length running N.E. and S.W. We pass out at its north-eastern end, and soon find ourselves in a room eighty feet long, twelve feet wide and from six to twenty feet high: its length runs N.E. and S.W. We leave it by an opening on our left at the north-eastern end, and next find ourselves in a passage ten feet wide, from six to fifteen feet high, and nearly fifty feet long. The ground here rises considerably, so that we begin sensibly to ascend nearer to the realms of day. A narrow pass next brings us into an apartment or passage about thirty feet long and ten wide: the condition of the sand on the ground here shews that in the winter the water must flow in a stream down into the depths from which we are ascending. At the eastern corner of this passage is a small room, fifteen feet high, twenty feet long and eleven feet wide, and at the end of it we have to clamber up rocks which are so nearly perpendicular that if they were not very rugged, it would be impossible to pass them without a ladder.

We are now in a long passage in which we observe several turnings, although *in descending* these various chambers have all a common direction so that no one could miss the way. At length we began to feel uncertain about the path which we had taken: nevertheless we kept ascending, the ground being steep nearly all the way, for about one hundred and thirty feet, when

we saw a continuation of the cavern, leading to the left, the appearance of which was so new to us all that we were at once satisfied of our being in a terra incognita, a discovery far from satisfactory: and which reminded me of the well-known words both of a Greek and a Roman poet[12]. To increase the annoyance, the pitchy smoke of all the torches, carried by the peasants who accompanied me, became so oppressive, as it rose up in these higher and more confined regions into which we had ascended, that, when we now remained for a minute in deliberation as to what should be done, we found the atmosphere which immediately began to surround us one by which we should soon be suffocated. I alone of the party had a wax candle left; but still thought it well to order all the torches to be immediately extinguished. After ascertaining which man of the party was supposed to be best acquainted with the cavern, I bade him lead the way back, and go on descending until he should recognize some known point.

Our situation was by no means enviable, for, even on returning to a spacious part of the cave, where we should be able to use the torches, we should not have light enough to last for an hour under any circumstances; and it was plain that, when once in the dark, we should not be able even to move without incurring the risk of some serious accident. Had I not been accompanied by married villagers of Sárko, and had not the worthy Oekonómos been on the spot, the situation of my artist and myself would have been one of imminent danger; for the superstitious fears of the Greeks would most likely have left us to die of starvation. They would, in all probability, have supposed, that the Prince of Darkness had seized us, as impertinent and unlicensed trespassers within the frontiers of his

[12] AESCHYLUS, Pers. 686.

Οἱ κατὰ χθονὸς θεοί
λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθιέναι:

and VIRGIL, Aen. VI. 126.

kingdom. Doubtless, before trusting myself "all' alto passo," I ought to have exclaimed with Dante:

> Perchè venirvi? o chi 'l concede?
> Io non Enea, io non Paolo sono:
> Me degno a ciò nè io nè altri il crede.

But I felt sure that the Oekonómos would not leave us many hours without coming to see what had befallen us; and it was certain that, by returning to the place of the great and nearly perpendicular descent, we should be found by those who might come to restore us to the upper world; so that the danger by which we were threatened, was merely that of having to pass six or eight hours, after considerable bodily exertion, without food, in a humid and dark cavern, a few hundred feet below the earth's surface.

We retraced our steps down the passage, which we should never have entered had we not missed our way, and, a moment after we had taken a turn at the end of it, we found ourselves, to our great delight, in a known region: we were now, as I was assured by the Greeks, in no further danger of failing to retrace our steps to the cavern's mouth, and I recommenced my measurements. We proceeded to the end of this passage, which runs to the eastward, and is forty-four feet long, and, on leaving it, entered another, in which there is a considerable ascent for about 180 feet: the width of the cave here is twenty feet: its height varies from six to twenty feet. The sandy ground of the greater part of the cavern, is now no longer continued: and we have rugged and bare rocks both around us and under our feet[13]. The cave here suddenly rises to so great a height that our lights do not at all enable me to conjecture its dimensions: we still go in a north-easterly direction for twelve or fifteen paces. The whole of this apartment is very lofty, but the rocks near the ground

[13] Throughout the cavern are seen attempts at the formation of both stalactites and stalagmites, but none of them are very successful.

close together in such a way that they leave only a narrow passage through them, although the cavern is so lofty and spacious around us on every side.

A few paces more, after we had squeezed through the pass, brought us to a change in the direction of the cavern, and we again saw the blessed light of heaven. The perpendicular rocks, up which we had clambered on leaving the entrance-cavern, were only fifty feet from us: we gladly put out our disgusting torches, bade adieu to the recesses of the cave, and effected our descent, of about eighteen feet, over the rugged rocks in question. Only one person at a time can clamber either up or down this place, and it therefore follows, that the Christians of the neighbourhood, whenever they took refuge within the cavern, felt themselves to be lodged within an impregnable fortress. A single man, with a long pike, might alone have defended the pass.

The diameter of this entrance-cavern, within which this perpendicular ascent is found, is about thirty feet: the rocks, however, retire on every side as they rise from the ground; and thus they form a very ample canopy over head.

Near the mouth of the cavern are the walls of many cottages, which were erected and occupied by the Christians of Sárko during the war. The proximity of Sárko to the principal city exposed its inhabitants to an unexpected attack of the Turks at any moment; and they thus lived, for a long time, at the very entrance of their impregnable fortress.

Early in November 1822 the three Pashás of Crete, Lutflá-pashá of Khaniá, Osmán-pashá of Rhíthymnos, and the Seraskier of the whole island, Sherif-pashá of Megálo-Kástron, were encamped in the villages near Sárko. Khassán-pashá, the general of the Albanian forces sent by Mehmét-Alí, was also co-operating with them, his head-quarters being at Veneráto. Osmán-pashá and Lutflá-pashá entered Sárko with a few hundred Cretan Musulmans, and many of the unarmed

villagers surrendered to them, professing their obedience to the Sultan. It is said that, notwithstanding their submission, one or two of them were put to death. The majority of the inhabitants of Sárko had, however, provided for their safety by taking refuge within the cavern, the peculiar entrance of which rendered it absolutely impossible for their fortress to be taken by assault. The Mohammedans, however, approached the cave, and one of them, who ventured rather nearer to its entrance than the rest of the party, was shot by the Christians from within. On this the Mohammedans returned to Sárko, breathing vengeance on all those whom they should find left in it. Thirteen Christians were beheaded in the village, and ninety women and children were carried off from it as slaves[14]. Both Khassán-pashá and Sheríf-pashá were greatly indignant at these lawless proceedings of the other Pashás and the Cretan Mohammedans. It was not, however, until Khassán-pashá had actually threatened to declare war on the whole body of the offenders, and their leaders, that the women and children, who had been enslaved, were restored to freedom, and were allowed to betake themselves either to the city[15], or to the Christian places of refuge up in the mountains.

[14] Of the women twenty-eight were unmarried maidens: ὡς εἴκοσι ὀκτὼ κορίτζαις ἐχάλασαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι. The word ἐχάλασαν is equivalent to ἐδιάφθειραν: on this usage of διαφθείρω, see PHRYNICHUS, p. 70. ed. Lobeck.

[15] Where many of them were hospitably received in Mohammedan families.

CRETAN PEASANT.

## CHAPTER XV.

FROM SARKO TO RHOGDHIA. CARNIVAL FESTIVITIES. ANCIENT AND MODERN CRETAN TUMBLERS. DANCING. SONGS.

*March* 8, *continued.*

After partaking of refreshments, provided by my host, I left the village of Sárko before three P.M. and followed the bank of its river, going northwards for

nearly two miles. An ascent of about twenty minutes, to the north-west of the stream, then brought us in sight of the Cretan sea, and, in half an hour more, we passed the village of Kalésia, close on our left. The valley in its direction is about half covered with olive-trees, and is pretty well cultivated throughout its whole extent. A few minutes after five we passed Kávro-khóri on our right, and, after a steep descent of ten minutes, crossed the bridge of Kávro-khóri, and again saw the fountain of Selvilí[1]. Twenty minutes more brought us to Armyró. It was now about sun-set, and, very soon after the shades of night had overspread the mountains between Armyró and Rhogdhiá, we lost our path, and continued to ramble about, we knew not whither, till between eight and nine o'clock.

At length Captain Maniás began to exert his stentorian voice, in the hope that it might reach either the village of Rhogdhiá, or some other dwellingplace of men, and be the means of enabling us to quit the rugged mountain-paths, along which we were blindly wandering. After several minutes had been thus spent in shouting, the peasants of Rhogdhiá heard the loud calls, which were made through the stillness of the night, although, as it turned out, we were still above a mile distant from their village. Two or three bold spirits ventured forth from their houses, with a lanthorn, to make out who was calling: Maniás continued to speak as they approached. At length, as soon as I thought they would begin to distinguish the words uttered, I observed, from the rapid change which took place in the situation of the lanthorn, that the villagers were effecting their retreat. On this, I myself exhorted them most lustily not to leave us all night among their mountains. They again stopped, and, after a parley, which lasted nearly a quarter of an hour, with me, one of the party gained enough courage to come up to us with his lanthorn,

[1] Above, p. 164.

being, however, still in a state of considerable fear and trembling. On finding that his alarm, which had been caused, as I supposed, by his distinguishing the Sfakian accent of my guide[2], was wholly groundless, he called out to three other villagers, who had left their houses with him, but had not had courage enough to approach us. They now shewed themselves, and conducted us to Rhogdhiá, which we reached soon after nine o'clock.

We could only obtain some barley-bread and a few olives for our evening-meal[3]: "this village has no vineyards," was the reply to my inquiries for wine[4].

I went with Captain Maniás to a cottage, where about thirty men and women and a few children were assembled. It now wants little more than a week to the beginning of the rigorous Lent of the Oriental church. Here, as in Catholic countries at the same season,

> The people take their fill of recreation,
> And buy repentance, ere they grow devout.

Among the various sports which served to amuse the assembled Cretans was one called "the spleen[5]," which is a very rude dramatic representation. The principal actor alone was dressed for his part. Frequent peals of laughter were elicited by his performance. Soon after this a peasant entered the room, on such lofty stilts that his head was within a few inches of the rafters, on which the flat roof of the cottage is supported. The elevated performer walked up to me, and, after welcoming me to their sports (*παιγνίδια*), saluted most of his assembled fellow-villagers. I next saw several

[2] "As I approached you, I distinguished a Sfakian voice, *μίαν Σφακιανὴν φωνήν*."

[3] Pythagoras himself must have fared as well when he visited Crete. ALEXIS, in Athenaeus, IV. p. 161. c.

> Ἄρτος καθαρὸς εἷς ἑκατέρῳ, ποτήριον
> ὕδατος, τοσαῦτα ταῦτα.

[4] "Κρασὶ λείπει· δὲν ἔχει ἀμπέλια τοῦτο τὸ χωριό·" see above, p. 159.

[5] Ἡ σπλῆνα.

athletic games, one of which was certainly interesting from its calling to mind the practice of the ancient Cretan tumblers, who were celebrated for their skill even in Homer's time[6]. Two men placed themselves side by side and on their hands and knees. Their backs thus formed a sort of table. Two others took their station near them, one of whom stood on his feet, supporting the other with his heels upwards. Preserving their relative position, they next rolled over their artificial table: the heels, which had been suspended in the air, now descended to the earth, and the man who had been supported by his athletic companion a moment ago, had to support him in his turn. The tumbling operation was repeated until either the actors or spectators became weary.

Another performance, in which several of the peasants showed great skill, consisted in balancing a thin stick, about five feet long, along the ridge of the nose, and then leaning backward until one end of the stick touched the ground, its position of equilibrium on the nose remaining unaltered. There was a talk of exhibiting to me "the ship[7]", but this game I did not see. Before eleven o'clock these sports were abandoned, and the dance and its accompanying song were commenced. The cyclic chorus exhibited consisted of six women and as many men, each of whom held the hand of his neighbour. The coryphaeus favoured us by singing various poetical effusions as they danced.

It requires no great imaginative power to regard the dance of these Cretan youths and women, as an image, which still preserves some of the chief features

[6] HOMER, IL. XVIII. 604.

Δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτούς
μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους.

ATHENAEUS, v. p. 181. b. Τοῖς μὲν οὖν Κρησὶν ἥ τε ὄρχησις ἐπιχώριος καὶ τὸ κυβιστᾶν. The skill of the Athenian Hippocleides in this art is recorded in the well-known story of HERODOTUS, VI. 129. On this subject consult PACIAUDI, de Athletarum Κυβιστήσει in Palaestra Graecorum, Rom. 1756.

[7] Τὸ καράβι.

of the Cnossian chorus of three thousand years ago[8]. As songs are now sung by the peasants on these occasions, so, in ancient times, there was a *hyporchem*, or *ballad*, with which the Cretans, more than all other Greeks, delighted to accompany their motions in the dance[9].

The little songs thus sung, at the present day, are called Madhinádhas[10] by the Cretans: I collected many of them during my stay in the island. The commonest of all such songs of the Cretan peasant is "a woeful ballad, made to his mistress' eyebrow." The following are specimens.

O thou, my much-beloved maid,
Branch of a lofty tree,
With thee what mind can converse hold?
Who can dispute with thee[11]?

[8] HOMER, Il. XVIII. 590.

Ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις
τῷ ἴκελον, οἷόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ εὐρείῃ
Δαίδαλος ἤσκησε καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.
ἔνθα μὲν ἠίθεοι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι
ὠρχεῦντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχοντες.

[9] ATHENAEUS, v. p. 181. Κρητικὰ καλοῦσι τὰ ὑπορχήματα. PROCLUS, in Phot. p. 345. (or p. 384. ed. Gaisf.) Ὑπόρχημα δὲ τὸ μετ' ὀρχήσεως ᾀδόμενον μέλος ἐλέγετο. See also LUCIAN, on dancing, §. 16. Tom. II. p. 277. Hemst. PLUTARCH, on music, p. 1134. c. and SPANHEIM, on Callimachus, Hymn to Delos, v. 312. where the origin of the cyclic dance is described:

Πότνια, σὸν περὶ βωμὸν ἐγειρομένου κιθαρισμοῦ
κύκλιον ὠρχήσαντο· χοροῦ δ' ἡγήσατο Θησεύς.

On the hyporchem may be consulted ILGEN, disquis. de scolior. poesi, p. XXXIV. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 349. and foll. ULRICI, Geschichte der Hellenischen Dichtkunst, Vol. II. pp. 36–37. FAURIEL, Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne, Discours préliminaire, p. CVII. On the *canzone a ballo* of the Italians, see RITSON'S Historical Essay on National Song, p. XVI.

[10] The word μαδινάδα seems to be derived from ὁμάδι, and thus peculiarly to denote the stanzas sung on the occasion of such festive assemblies.

[11] ὦ πολὺ ἀγαπημένη μου
'ψηλοῦ δενδροῦ κλονάρι,
ποιὸς ἔχει νοῦν νὰ σου 'μιλῇ
καὶ νὰ σου ῥοζονάρῃ;

Bear witness brightly shining Moon,
And Hághio Kostandí!
Beauties like thine 'neath the expanse
Of Heaven I ne'er did see[12].

I heard thy beauty's far-spread fame,
And came its truth to prove;
And now my soul no more can bear
To flee from thee, my love[13].

The Sun, when rising in the east,
Lurks in thy bosom fair,
And all his setting glories hide
Beneath thy yellow hair[14].

[12] Φεγγάρι μου λαμπρότατο
κ' ἅγιο Κωσταντινάτο,
τὰ κάλλη σου δὲν εἶδ' ἐγώ
στὸν οὐρανὸν ἀποκάτω.

[13] Ἐγροίκουνα τὰ κάλλη σου
κ' ἦλθα νὰ τὰ 'ξανοίξω,
καὶ δὲν μου δίδει ὁ νοῦς μόυ πλέον,
νὰ φεύγω νὰ τὰ 'φήσω.

[14] Ὁ ἥλιος, ὥντα πρῶτα βγῇ,
στὰ στήθη σου κονεύει,
καὶ στὰ ξανθὰ σου τὰ μαλιά
πάγει καὶ βασιλεύει.

Yellow hair was as highly valued by the ancients as it is by the modern Greeks. Not only is it given to the most celebrated and beautiful courtezans, (compare SERVIUS, on Virg. Aen. IV. 698.) but even to the Lucretia of Ovid, (Fasti, II. 763.) and to the Lavinia of Virgil, (Aen. XII. 605.) Artificial means were sometimes used to produce the much-desired hue: MENANDER, in Clem. Alex. Paed. III. 2. (p. 235. Meinek.)

Νῦν δ' ἕρπ' ἀπ' οἴκων τῶνδε· τὴν γυναῖκα γάρ
τὴν σώφρον' οὐ δεῖ τὰς τρίχας ξανθὰς ποιεῖν.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS, II. 1. 5. "Quo formam suam concinniorem efficerent, summa cum diligentia capillos cinere rutilarunt." PETRONIUS ARBITER, CX. p. 655. See PERIZONIUS, on Aelian, V. H. IX. 9. p. 586.

Beauties like thine I never saw
Here at Kalésia's balls,
Nor throughout Mylopótamo,
Nor within Kástro's walls[15].

Thou likest art unto a Queen,
The world is ruled by thee;
Each heart thou will'st thou dost enslave,
And each thou will'st dost free[16].

Sometimes the lover dwells on his own feelings and sufferings, and thus "attunes his heart to elegies of woe."

My mind, and all my heart's desire,
Have thee as their sole aim:
I stand as if of sense bereft,
To hear pronounced thy name[17].

[15] Τὰ κάλλη σου δὲν εἶδ' ἐγώ
μούθε εἰς τὰ Καλέσια,
μούθε στὸ Μυλοπόταμο
μούθε στὸ Κάστρο μέσα.

[16] Εἶσαι ὡς μία βασίλισσα
κ' ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ὁρίζεις,
κἂν θέλεις πέρνεις τζὴ ψυχαίς
κἂν θέλεις τζὴ χαρίζεις.

The word *βασίλισσα*, though condemned by Phrynichus, is found in PHILEMON, Babylon. in Athen. XIII. p. 595. c. The rarer form *βασίλιννα* is also used by Menander. See STURZ, de dial. Maced. p. 151. LOBECK, on Phrynichus, p. 225. and fol. and MEINEKE, on Menand. p. 280. and 362.

[17] Ὁ νοῦς μου, ἡ διάνοια,
ἔπεσε μετ' ἐσένα·
καὶ στέκω νὰ κουζουλαθῶ
διὰ ὄνομα σουσένα.

My heart is closed, as in Khaniá
The gate when day is o'er:
Nor will it ope or smile again,
As it was wont before[18].

O thou afflicted heart of mine,
Who heaves a sigh for thee?
Who can thy sufferings declare?
Who tell thy misery[19]?

Be Heav'n my witness that I love;
The Lord doth know my pains,
He who together draws the clouds,
Who thunders, and who rains[20].

[18] Ἐκλείδωσ' ἡ καρδούλα μου
σὰν τῶν Χανιῶν ἡ πόρτα·
καὶ δὲν ἀνοίγει, δὲν γελᾷ,
καθὼς ἐγέλα πρῶτα.

[19] Καρδιά μου παραπονερά
ποιὸς σου παραπονᾶται;
ποιὸς τὰ λέγει τὰ γόϊα σου,
καὶ ποιὸς τὰ δηγᾶται;

[20] Ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ σε μὰ τὸν ἐς,
ὁ Κύριος τὸ κατέχει·
ἐκεῖνος ἀποῦ συννεφιᾷ,
καὶ βροντᾷ, καὶ βρέχει.

The elliptical phrase *μὰ τὸν ἐς* is very common in Crete, and is equivalent to *μὰ τὸν θεόν*. The word *κατέχει* in the next hemistich is the Cretan synonym for *ἐξεύρει*, and is in general use throughout the island: *ἐξεύρω* is hardly ever heard. The modern Cretan usage of *μὰ τὸν ἐς* seems to be derived from an ancient source. THE SCHOLIAST ON ARISTOPHANES, Ran. 1421. Ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐνίοτε μὴ προστιθέναι τὸν θεὸν εὐλαβείας χάριν—ὥστε εἰπεῖν μὲν μὰ τόν, ὄνομα δὲ μηκέτι προσθεῖναι. GREGORIUS, de dialect. Attic. §. LXXIX. Καὶ τὸ ἐλλειπτικῶς ὀμνύειν, μὰ τόν, μὴ προστιθέντες θεόν, Ἀττικόν ἐστι, where see KOENIUS, and compare HEINDORF, on Plat. Gorg. p. 466. e. Μὰ τὸν οὐ σύ γε. MEINEKE, on Menander, p. 131.

Alas! I am of sense bereft
For love of a Greek maid,
Whom once, and once alone, I saw,
At her lattice as she staid[21].

Within my heart a fire doth blaze,
There too a tree doth grow,
Which, from the flame's destructive force,
Wastes, and will soon lie low[22].

The connexion of the modern Cretan's religion with pictorial representations of the whole celestial hierarchy, will sufficiently account for such stanzas as the following:

Within a holy church's walls
Thy picture will I set,
Where service duly is performed,
That none may thee forget[23].

In order fully to enter into the force of this lover's language, we must remember that, throughout Greece, the Panaghía is the chief object of the Christian peasant's

[21] Ἀχ! καὶ κουζουλάθηκα
διὰ μιᾶς Ῥωμαίας χατίρι,
τὴν εἶδα μόνον μία φορά
ἀπὸ τὸ παραθύρι.

[22] Καρβουνίστια ἔχω στὴν καρδιά
κ' ἕνα δενδρὸ στὴ μέση
κ' ἀπὸ τὴν λαύρα τὴν πολλὴν
μαραίνεται νὰ πέσῃ.

[23] Εἰς μίαν μεγάλην ἐκκλησιά
ἀποῦ νὰ λειτουργᾶται
θὲ νὰ σε γράψω, ἀγάπη μου
νὰ μὴ σε λησμονᾶται.

adoration; and that thus, in his gallantry and devotion to his mistress, he declares that he will place her likeness in the church, by the side as it were of the Virgin herself. Though, in all probability, no Cretan peasant has ever seen any painting, except those which are hallowed in his eyes by religious associations, and to which not unfrequently his worship is immediately directed, yet I find that he renders, in many of his sentimental effusions, a somewhat similar tribute to the beauty of her whom he loves.

Now can I do no other thing
But thy dear likeness take,
And it within my bosom place,
And wear it for thy sake[24].

Thy likeness I received, as I
On England's waters roved:
Straight to my bosom it I pressed,
And cried, My own beloved[25]!

As we read in an ancient Comic Poet[26],

"Crete consecrates its cypress to the Gods,"

so, at the present day, the same beautiful tree, which abounds throughout the island, serves, at all events in

[24] Δὲν τὸ ἐμπορῶ νὰ κάμω ἀλλέως
μὰ θὰ σᾶς ζωγραφίσω,
νὰ σε βαστῶ στὸ κόρφο μου
νὰ μὴ σου λησμονήσω.

[25] Στῆς Ἰγγιλτέρρας τὰ νερά
ἔλαβα τὴν γραφή σου·
στὸν κόρφον μου τὴν ἔβαλα,
κ' εἶπα καρδιά δροσιά μου.

[26] HERMIPPUS, in Athenaeus, I. p. 27. f.
Ἡ δὲ καλὴ Κρήτη κυπάριττον τοῖσι θεοῖσιν.

the metaphors of poetry, as an offering to living objects of a sometimes equally idolatrous worship.

O thou so dearly by me loved!
Thou'rt like the cypress tall,
And, in thy conversation sweet,
The words like honey fall[27].

The resemblance between the beauty of the inanimate cypress, and that of the living object of the Cretan peasant's admiration, is dwelt on in other love-songs; and I have more than once heard such an expression as "she is tall and beautiful as a cypress."

The ancients seem to have perceived the same analogy between the beauty of women and cypresses, when they bestowed on those trees the name of the Graces[28]; and invented a legend, according to which the virgin daughters of Eteocles, on meeting with an untimely death, were changed into trees which resembled them in their beauty[29]. Aristaenetus compares the walk of

[27] Ὦ πολὺ ἀγαπημένη μου
τὸ μποΐ σου 'ναι σελβίνι,
καὶ τὸ ῥοζοναμέντο σου
μέλι μὲ ζάκκαρ εἶναι.

Σελβίνι is Turkish for κυπάρισσος, which latter word is alone used in the every-day language of the island. Ῥοζοναμέντο is from the Italian *ragionamento*, and, like ῥοζονάρω, from *ragionare*, is of common occurrence in the daily language of every Cretan. The phrase, μέλι μὲ ζάκκαρ, calls to mind Homer, and the Νεστόρειον εὔγλωσσον μέλι of Euripides.

[28] GEOPONICA, XI. 4. p. 796. Διττὸν αἱ κυπάρισσοι ὄνομα ἔχουσι, χάριτες μὲν διὰ τὴν τέρψιν.

[29] GEOPONICA, l. c. Ἐτεοκλέους δὲ αὗται καθεστήκασι παῖδες—γῆ δὲ ἐλεοῦσα τὸ πάθος φυτὰ εὐθαλῆ ὅμοια ταῖς κόραις ἀνῆκε. Other traditions are recorded by SERVIUS, on Aen. III. 680. Cyparissus Telephi filius fuit—Alii hunc Cyparissum Cretensem puerum pulcherrimum et castissimum fuisse—qui cum castitatem suam incorruptam tenere cuperet, relicta Creta ad Orontem fluvium, et montem Cassum dicitur pervenisse: atque ibi in cypressum arborem commutatus.

the celebrated Lais to the graceful motion of the cypress or the palm-tree, when gently agitated by the breeze[30].

My slender little cypress-tree,
With red cap on thy head!
Who'll be that happiest of men,
Who thee, fair maid, shall wed[31].

The happy consummation wished for in the last verse, is also the object of a lover's prayer and vow, in a couplet addressed to the Panaghía.

To thee a silver girdle now
I promise, if unite
Thou wilt, O Virgin, lovers true
In conjugal delight[32].

I heard many songs in Crete, which were equally called Madhinádhas, although they extended to the length of several verses. The following is one of these more lengthy effusions. It seems to belong to the period of the Venetian sway.

[30] ARISTAENETUS, Ep. I. Βάδισμα τεταγμένον, βραχὺ δέ, ὥσπερ κυπάριττος, ἢ φοίνιξ σειόμενος ἠσυχῇ.

[31] Λιγνὸ κυπαρισσάκι μου
μὲ κόκκινο κορφάτο,
ποιὸς θέλει νὰ κοιμηθῇ
στὸν ἴσχιον σου 'ποκάτω;

[32] Τάζω σου, Παναγία μου,
μίαν ἀσημένεαν ζώστρα
νὰ μᾶς συσμίξῃς καὶ τζὴ δυώ
εἰς ἕνα κρεββατοστρώσι.

On this Christian copy of a heathen original, see MIDDLETON, Letter from Rome, pp. 151—155. The ballad would belong to the class described by the term EYKTIKA, in PROCLUS, p. 389. ed. Gaisf. Εὐκτικὰ μέλη ἐγράφετο τοῖς αἰτουμένοις τι παρὰ θεοῦ γενέσθαι.

Thou jessamin with lofty top,
Thou sweet Sitían rose;
The beauty of thy fairest form
E'en distant Venice knows.

Would that to Heaven I could rise,
That, sitting down, I might,
With both my pen and book in hand,
Thy beauties all indite!

Thy beauties bright enchant Pashás,
Thy eyebrows a Vezír:
Thy body, with its angel-charms,
Enchants Karavukýr.

By Heaven! I should be content
To die, if on thy breast,
Of beauteous marble-like expanse,
My hand I once had prest[33].

[33] Ψηλοφουντό μου ἰασεμί
ῥόδον ἀπὸ τὴν Σητεία,
ἡ ὠμορφιά σου ἠκούστηκε
μέσα στὴν Βενετία.

θὰ ἀναβῶ στοὺς οὐρανούς,
νὰ διπλωθῶ, νὰ κάτσω,
νὰ πάρω πέννα καὶ χαρτί
τὰ κάλλη σου νὰ γράψω.

τὰ κάλλη σου κρεμοῦν Πασιά
τα 'φρύδια σου Βεζίρη
τὸ ἀγγελικό σου τὸ κορμί
κρεμᾷ Καραβουκύρη.

δὲν θέλω παρὰ μία φορά
τὴν χέρα μου νὰ βάνω
στὰ μαρμαρένεα σου βυζιά
κ' ἀπέκει—ἂς ἀποθάνω.

The

Some of the little Madhinádhas might seem to be meant for the beloved one's utterance; as in the following instance.

Now will I take thee as my love,
Which thou wast not before:
A hanger on, as from my ear
The flower of golden ore[34].

It must, however, be observed that no woman of the island *ever* sings: and the Sfakian women, whose seclusion and reserve is greater than that of the other female Cretans, never even dance, except on some great religious festivals, and then only with very near relations. Maniás, who thinks that the readiness, with which the women of Mylopótamo and other parts of the island join in the dance, is hardly creditable to them, was greatly horrified at the idea of any respectable

The phrase *μαρμαρένεα βυζιά* calls to mind the well-known description of EURIPIDES, Hec. 558.

Μαστούς τ' ἔδειξε, στέρνα θ', ὡς ἀγάλματος,
κάλλιστα·

but it is hardly the beauty of form, judged of by the eye, to which the modern Greek's metaphor *μαρμαρένεα βυζιά* applies. The Cretan peasant, who has never seen any beautiful work of the sculptor's art, could scarcely conceive

Wie einst mit fliehendem Verlangen
Pygmalion den Stein umschloss,

and probably means little more than is expressed by the simple words of PLAUTUS, (Pseud. I. 1.)

Papillarum *horridularum* obpressiunculae.

A similar feeling may have given rise to the comparison with *quinces*, in which many authors delight. ARISTOPHANES, Ach. 1161.

Τῶν τιτθίων, ὡς σκληρὰ καὶ κυδώνια.

Thus ARISTAENETUS, Ep. I. p. 6. ed. Boiss. says, *κυδωνιῶντες οἱ μαστοί*, which has been well expressed in French *ses tetons pommelans*. Again, I. III. p. 14. Τὸν *κυδωνιῶντα τῆς ποθουμένης μαστόν*. LEONIDAS TARENTINUS, XLI. (Anth. Gr. Tom. I. p. 231.)

Καὶ μαζός, ἀκμῆς ἄγγελος, κυδωνιᾶ·

see JACOBS, in Tom. VII. p. 102.

[34] Ἀγάπη μου δὲν ἠσουνι
ἐγὼ θὲ νὰ σε κάμω,
τζιτζέκι βαρακληδικό
στ' αὐτί μου νά σε βάνω.

female's ever singing; and assured me that it was quite impossible for a Greek woman to disgrace herself by doing anything so disreputable.

Having done justice to the tender feelings of the Cretan peasant, as expressed in his love-songs, I must add, that he not unfrequently gives utterance, in the Madhinádha, to hopes of emancipation from his present political thraldom. Aspirations after freedom, like the following, were doubtless of general occurrence during the long, and, in this island, vain struggle for independence.

God, and the Virgin, and the Lord,
Possess the power to give,
That we, henceforth, from Moslem rule
Emancipated live[35].

Thou Most High God whom I adore,
Who, with thy Angels bright,
Aloft amid the Heavens dost dwell,
Assist the Christian fight[36]:

[35] Ἔχει ὁ Θεὸς κ' ἡ Παναγιά,
κ' ὁ Κύριος νὰ δώσῃ
ἀπὸ τῶν Τουρκῶν τὰ χέρια
νὰ μᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃ.

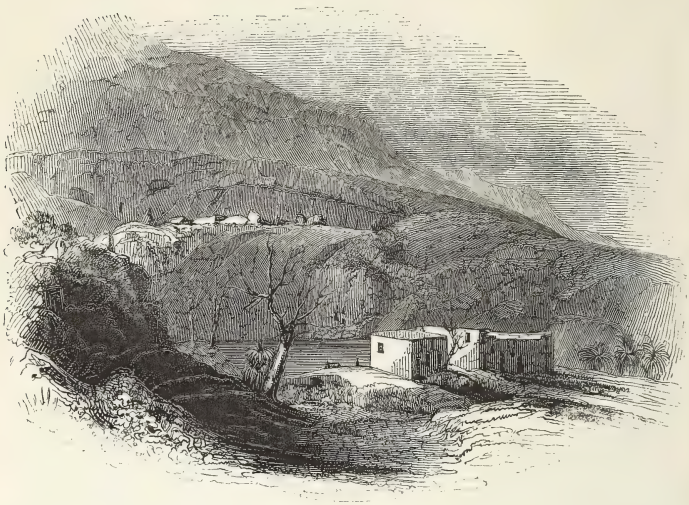
This modern Cretan madhinádha bears some little resemblance, at all events in the union of the Virgin with the Deity, to an ancient scolion preserved in ATHENAEUS, XV. p. 694. c.

Παλλὰς Τριτογένει' ἄνασσ' Ἀθηνᾶ,
ὄρθου τήνδε πόλιν τε καὶ πολίτας,
ἄτερ ἀλγέων καὶ στάσεων
καὶ θανάτων ἀώρων, σύ τε καὶ πατήρ.

[36] Ὦ Ὕψιστε Θεέ μου
ἀποῦ εἶσαι στοὺς οὐρανούς,
μὲ ὅλους τζὴ ἀγγέλους
βοηθᾶ τζὴ Χριστιανούς,

The Moslem that they conquer may,
And thus that they be freed,
Their Liberty obtaining
When thou assist'st the deed[37].

[37] Τὸν Τοῦρκον νὰ νικήσουν
καὶ νὰ 'λευθερωθοῦν,
κ' ἐλευθεριάν νὰ λάβουν
μὲ θέλημα θεοῦ.



ARMYRO.

## CHAPTER XVI.

EVENTS AT RHOGDHIA DURING THE WAR. PALAEOKASTRON THE SITE OF CYTAEUM. APOLLONIA AT OR NEAR ARMYRO, AND MATIUM AT MEGALO-KASTRON. LEPROSY. THE RIVER KAERATOS. KAKON-OROS. HERACLEIA. THE RIVER APOSELEMI. AMNISOS. SITE OF STRENOS. ARRIVAL AT EPISKOPIANO, NEAR THE SITE OF KHERSONESOS. VARIOUS NIGHTLY INMATES OF A GREEK CLERGYMAN'S HOUSE.

*March* 9.

THE young man who had the courage to approach us last night, was seized, when a mere boy, with others of his fellow-villagers, by a party of Mohammedans from Megálo-Kástron, and remained as a slave in the city for five years. At the time of the second revolt

of the Christian population, he had arrived at manhood, and, fleeing from his Mohammedan master, joined his correligionaries in their struggle[1].

There are only two women out of the whole female population of Rhogdhiá, who were not enslaved by the Mohammedans. Parties used to issue out of Megálo-Kástron, and to carry off five, ten, or twenty women at a time. The slave-market of Alexandria was the destination of many of them. The last return of any of these unfortunate women to their native land took place nearly a year ago. Two then came back from Egypt, where many still remain in bondage.

Rhogdhiá formerly contained nearly eighty families: there are now only twenty-five. The houses of the present Rhogdhiáns are all of recent construction, their old habitations having been entirely destroyed by the Mohammedans.

A descent of about half an hour from this picturesque village brings us to the ruins of a Venetian fortress called Palaeókastron, and situated near the sea-side, to the west of Rhogdhiá. I believe Palaeókastron to be the site not only of a Venetian castle, but of an ancient city.

Cytaeum is mentioned by Pliny[2], who places it between Panormus and Apollonia, by Ptolemy[3], and by Stephanus of Byzantium[4]. The poet Nonnus has also noticed it[5]. It appears clear that Pliny's list is more correct than Ptolemy's, in our present editions of him, on this part of the coast. We have already seen where Panormos was situated[6]; and I suppose this Palaeó-

[1] Ἔφευγα καὶ ἐπῆρα τὸ τουφέκι μου.

[2] Pliny, N. H. iv. 20. [3] Ptolemy, Geograph. iii. 17.

[4] Stephanus Byzant. v. Κύτα—ἔστι καὶ Κύταιον πόλις Κρήτης.

[5] Nonnus, xiii. 237. Καὶ ἄστεα καλὰ Κυταίου, an extraordinary usage of the plural. I should like to find καὶ ἄλσεα καλὰ Κυταίου: compare v. 288. of the same book, where the true reading is doubtless καὶ ἄλσεα καλὰ Λυκαίου, and where the corruption has seized not on ἄλσεα as in the first passage, but on Λυκαίου, which has given way to Κυταίου.

[6] Above, pp. 157–158.

kastron to be the site of the ancient Cytaeum. The existence here of a regularly constructed Venetian fortress, accounts for the disappearance of all such remains as might have indicated the site of the ancient city. It may perhaps be objected that the term Palaeókastron is applied to the mere ruins of the Venetian fortress. I reply that Palaeókastron is rarely a designation of middle-age remains, which are generally called Kastélia; and, a fact of much more importance to decide this question, I find the place mentioned, under the same name of Palaeókastron, in the very deliberations of the Venetians respecting the propriety of erecting the fortress on the spot[7]; so that the epithet, as usual, indicates the existence of an ancient site.

No Cretan city has experienced a harder fate, since the revival of letters, than the unfortunate Cytaeum. Domenico Negri, Ferrarius, and most of the early geographers, placed it at Megálo-Kástron; while others[8] condemned it to exile near the eastern extremity of the island. Meletius states its three supposed sites, and rightly objects to the hypothesis of its having been at Sitía[9].

[7] This I saw in MSS. at Venice. I find in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, an Italian manuscript, entitled, Descrittione de Candia, and at fol. 207. are the words "La fortezza fatta nuovamente, sopra il sasso nominato Paleo castro, spazza tutto il porto, e disloggia ogni sorte di vascello." The MS. volume is marked R. 4. 6.

[8] BELON, for instance; see his Singularitez etc. fol. 7. He was probably struck by a fancied resemblance in sound, as TOURNEFORT says (p. 31.) that "La Sude semble conserver encore quelques restes du nom de Cydonia," that is Σούδα, the present name of the fortress and gulf, (on the etymology of which word see Du Cange and Koray, cited above at p. 189.) resembles Κυδωνία: which it does just as much as *Su* and *Chi* resemble each other when pronounced by an Italian.

[9] MELETIUS, Geograph. p. 409. Κυταῖον λογιάζουσι τινὲς, ὅτι αὐτὸ νὰ εἶναι ἡ νῦν Κάνδια. καὶ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὸ Κυταῖον νὰ εἶναι ἡ Σιττία, ἀλλ' αὕτη τίθεται εἰς τὸ Ἀνατολικὸν μέρος. καὶ ἄλλοι ὅτι νὰ εἶναι ἡ Φράσκια. *La Fraschia* is the name of this spot in Venetian writers: the Capo della Fraschia is the Dium promontory. Mr SIEBER, Reise, Vol. II. p. 269. supposes two towns of the name Cytaeum (Κύταιον): in order, I suppose, that he may have the pleasure of placing one of them at *Sitía*.

I left Palaeókastron at eleven o'clock. The rocks, over which our path leads us, are marble and schistose. We follow their slope, at no great distance from the sea, for half an hour, and then reach the plain; and, in ten minutes more, arrive at the mills of Armyró, of which a sketch is seen at the head of this chapter.

Probably Apollonia was situated at Armyró: undoubtedly it must have been on the coast in this neighbourhood, either here or a little nearer to Megálo-Kástron, for instance, at the mouth of the Ghiófiro. The words of Stephanus of Byzantium would perhaps induce us to assign to it the latter position, as nearer to Cnossos[10].

I suppose that Megálo-Kástron itself occupies the site of the ancient Matium, the maritime city next to the east of Apollonia in Pliny's list[11]. It is spoken of as opposite to the island of Dia[12].

Torres y Ribera has endeavoured to shew that the modern Armyró is the site of Amnisos[13], which, however, I should suppose to have been somewhat to the east of Megálo-Kástron[14]. The locality of Armyró is fully described in the work of Dapper[15]. I am told that the water here is bitter during the summer: it is very good to drink at present. The peasants say that the flood, which issues from under the rocks, has a passage of about sixteen miles through the mountains from

[10] Stephanus Byzant. *Ἀπολλωνία—στ' ἐν Κρήτῃ, πρὸς τῇ Κνωσσῷ.*

[11] Pliny, iv. 20. Panhormum, Cytaeum, Apollonia, Matium.

[12] Pliny, l. c. Contra Matium Dia.

[13] Torres y Ribera, Periplus Cretae, Cap. xx. p. 220.

[14] See below, pp. 265—267.

[15] Dapper, Description exacte des Isles de l'Archipel. In speaking of the river he says, "Elle prend sa source—au pied du Mont Strombol, d'où elle sort par une grande ouverture avec tant d'impétuosité, et une si grande abondance d'eau, qu'elle forme d'abord un grand lac; en suite elle continue à rouler ses eaux avec un cours fort rapide à travers du lac, si bien qu'elle fait tourner dix moulins, établis sur ses bords; après elle sort de ce lac, et se répand dans un lit large, et profond, où continuant à couler l'espace d'environ mille pas, elle forme une rivière qui est fort abondante en poissons, et en écrevisses."

the district of Mylopótamo. The quantity of water in this now copious stream is so reduced, during the summer-time, that the considerable cave from which it issues may be then examined.

An hour's ride from Armyró, across the plain, brought us to the gates of Megálo-Kástron. In the evening I dined with Monsieur Godebout, and had great satisfaction in being practically reminded of the contrast between a cuisine à la Française, and that to which I had been of late accustomed, in the cottages of the Cretan peasants.

*March* 11.

We left Megálo-Kástron at half-past eight. The morning is one of those which announce the commencement of spring. Somewhat more than a mile from the eastern gate of the city, we crossed a streamlet, and I made a vain search for remains of antiquity near the metókhi on our left, not far from the sea. I found several caves in the neighbourhood. We had already seen many others in the rocks as we passed. A rude wall built up at the entrance of several of them had served to render them habitable. They used to be occupied by lepers, who, on being attacked by their disease, were always driven out of their own villages[16]. On resuming our route we followed the plain, which is almost entirely sterile, for half an hour, and then began to wind through a low range of hills, after passing which we came out near the sea, and at a river too deep to allow of our fording it. We therefore followed its western bank, and, in a few minutes,

[16] SAVARY, Lettres sur la Grèce, Lettre XXXIII. pp. 283—285. and SONNINI, Voyage en Grèce et en Turquie, Tom. I. pp. 396—399. draw a horrible and disgusting picture of the condition and habits of these victims of leprosy. When Mr SIEBER visited the island, there were some miserable huts occupied by them outside the walls of Khania: see his Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. I. pp. 149. and 164. The words lazar (whence lazaretto) and leper were formerly used with great latitude, and even those who were lue gallica infecti, were called lepers: see REISKE, on the Ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, p. 180, 6. ed. Bonn. or p. 106. B. 3. ed. L.

crossed it, over a bridge situated about half way between the sea and the village of Karteró.

The name Karteró reminds us of the river Kaeratos, mentioned by Strabo[17] and other writers[18] as flowing past Cnossos, which city was once known by the same name as the river. There can hardly be a doubt that the stream which we have just crossed is this Kaeratos of the ancients: it is mentioned not only by the authors referred to, but by both a Greek and a Roman poet[19].

Soon after crossing the river, we arrived, being still near the shore and only about three hundred paces to the west of Kakón-óros[20], at a little rocky hill, on which there are vestiges of buildings, together with a cistern and slight remains of a wall which surrounded the site. These ruins probably do not belong to an earlier period than that of the Venetian conquest. But, nevertheless, the situation of the hill is so well adapted for the site of a little Greek town in the early ages, that we need not be surprised if the records of the ancient geographers indicate to us the existence of a Cretan city hereabouts.

We have already seen[21] that Cytaeum was probably at Palaeókastron, Apollonia at Armyró, or near the mouth of the Ghiófiro, and Matium on the site of Megálo-Kástron. The next city, to the east of Matium, of which mention is made by Pliny[22], is Heraclea. Ptolemy[23] merely puts it between the Zephyrian promontory and Panormos, and therefore neither helps nor impedes us in our attempt to determine its precise situation.

[17] STRABO, x. §. 8. p. 240. ed. Tzschuck. Ἐκαλεῖτο δ' ἡ Κνωσσὸς Καίρατος πρότερον, ὁμώνυμος τῷ παραῤῥέοντι ποταμῷ.

[18] EUSTATHIUS, on Dionys. Perieg. v. 498. Κνωσσός—ἥτις καὶ Καίρατος ἐκαλεῖτο ὁμωνυμοῦσα ποταμῷ τινι παραῤῥέοντι. HESYCHIUS, Καιράτιοι. οἱ Κνώσιοι. ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ.

[19] CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Artemis, 44.

Χαῖρε δὲ Καίρατος ποταμὸς μέγα.

VIRGIL, in the Ciris, 113.

Carpathium fugiens et flumina Caeratea.

[20] Τὸ Κακὸν Ὄρος.

[21] See above, pp. 259–260.

[22] PLINY, IV. 20.

[23] PTOLEMY, Geograph. p. 91.

From Strabo[24] we know that Heracleion was the port of Cnossos in the age of Minos; and the Anonymous Coast-Describer[25] mentions it as twenty stades distant from its chief city. Its name is simply given by Stephanus of Byzantium, as the seventeenth of his twenty-three Heracleas. Although the Ecclesiastical notices make no mention of this place as a Bishop's see, yet there is found among the subscriptions to the proceedings of the seventh General Council, which was held at Nicaea, along with other Cretan Prelates, Theodoros Bishop of Heracleopolis[26]. It is needless to notice the supposition of a Geographer[27], who lived upwards of three hundred years ago, and considered Cape Sídhero as the Zephyrian promontory, and described the ancient Heraclea as having existed at Sitía.

After leaving the probable site of Heraclea we crossed a streamlet and commenced our ascent of Kakón-óros: we were the greater part of an hour in winding round the northern face of the mountain[28]. The Venetian

[24] STRABO, x. §. 7. fin. p. 239. ed. Tzschucke. Ἔχει δ' ἐπίνειον τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἡ Κνωσσός.

[25] STADIASMUS, in Geograph. Graec. Min. Tom. II. p. 500. ed. Gail. Πόλις ἐστίν. ἔχει λιμένα καὶ ὕδωρ· ἀπὸ σταδίων κ' πόλις κεῖται Μονησός, where the last word is doubtless corrupt. Probably Αμνισός should be read, as MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. VIII. p. 700. conjectured.

[26] See CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, I. p. 254.

[27] DOMENICO NEGRI, Lib. XI. p. 347. ed. Basil. 1557.

[28] This winding road is represented in the 29th plate of MARCO BOSCHINI's work, Il Regno tutto di Candia, ec. ed. 1651. In the Italianized title, "Cacco Noros," one almost loses the Κακὸν Ὄρος of the Greeks. This tendency to separate the final ν from an adjective or article, and prefix it to the following word, is general. Thus Mr Sieber, who was entirely ignorant of the language of the country, has placed on his map a town *Nistrona* instead of Istrona: he had heard a Cretan mention τὸν Ἴστρωνα, and supposed the name to be τὸ Νίστρωνα. Thus CHANDLER wrote Nonoi instead of Oenoe; see above, p. 25. and thus we have in Lapie a Cretan village Nipo, which has always been called Ipo by its inhabitants. The Greek name of this mountain however is not so totally marred and changed in Boschini's Cacco Noros as that of Mount Hymettus became in its Italian appellation of, not Monte Imetto, but Monte *Matto*, Mad-Mountain. The most singular part of the Attic story is that this new appellation was received back from the Italians, and Τρελὸ βουνό, or Dehli Dagh, became the common name of the mountain. See DODWELL's Tour, Vol. I. p. 483.

paved or pitched road still exists, and is, in many places, supported by a wall on our left. To have passed one of these old Venetian roads is always a satisfaction to the traveller who values either his horse's knees or his own neck. Almost immediately after leaving the mountain we crossed the winter-stream Armelídhes, and, following the shore for about half a mile, arrived at a little hut dignified by the name of Kaenúrio-kháni. At the end of another half mile we passed the village of Gúrnes on our right, and crossed a river which flows by a place called Anópolis, at some distance up in the hills. Shortly after crossing this river we turned off to the right, and soon began to see marks of cultivation, and indications of our approach to a more considerable village than we had passed this morning, in the corn-fields, olive-trees, and vineyards, which we observed. In less than half an hour we arrived at Gúves, a village of between forty and fifty houses, chiefly inhabited by Christians. There are many carob-trees in the neighbourhood of the place.

I found here a person who, in answer to my inquiries, told me that there is a cave near the sea, and close by the river Aposelémi. I was delighted at the news, for I felt satisfied that I had not as yet seen any traces of Amnisos in my researches between this place and Megálo-Kástron, and when I left Gúves it was with every hope that I should find Ilithyia's cave, and the place where Ulysses landed, when

> A violent wind
> Had driven him from Malea, while he sought
> The shores of Troy, to Crete. The storm his bark
> Bore into the Amnisos, for the cave
> Of Ilithyia known: a dangerous port:
> With difficulty did he 'scape the gales[29].

[29] Odyssey, xix. 186.

> Καὶ γὰρ τὸν Κρήτηνδε κατήγαγεν ἷς ἀνέμοιο,
> ἱέμενον Τροίηνδε, παραπλάγξασα Μαλειῶν·
> στῆσε δ' ἐν Ἀμνισῷ, ὅθι τε σπέος Εἰλειθυίης,
> ἐν λιμέσιν χαλεποῖσι· μόγις δ' ὑπάλυξεν ἀέλλας.

Strabo tells us that Minos used as his port Amnisos, where there was a temple of Ilithyia[30]; and we learn from Pausanias[31], that the Cretans used to believe Ilithyia to have been born there. It is amusing to read Eustathius's notice of the etymological propriety of assigning to that Goddess a place called Amnisos[32]. Besides the city and port, with their celebrated cavern and temple, there was a river known by the same name[33], which was a favourite resort of Artemis[34], and her attendant nymphs[35].

Dionysius Periegetes[36] has thought proper to use the word Amnisos where we should rather have expected him to name the whole island: he says, "many islands are seen to the north of Amnisos." Its frequent men-

[30] STRABO, x. p. 476. *Μίνω δέ φασιν ἐπινείῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ Ἀμνισῷ, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἱερόν.*

[31] PAUSANIAS, I. p. 42. *Κρῆτες δὲ χώρας τῆς Κνωσίας ἐν Ἀμνισῷ γένεσθαι νομίζουσιν Εἰλείθυιαν.*

[32] EUSTATHIUS, on Odyss. T. p. 1861. *Πάνυ δὲ ἐπιδεξίως ὁ μῦθος ἐπελέξατο τὸν Ἀμνισσὸν τῇ Εἰλειθυίᾳ εἰς διατριβήν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ βρέφος τηνικαῦτα εἰς φῶς ἐλεύθει, ὅπερ Εἰλειθυίας ἔργον ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ ἡ Ἰλιὰς ἐδήλωσεν, ὁπηνίκα οὐ δύναται μένειν κατὰ γαστρός. τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ Ἀμνισσὸς ὡς οἷά τις ἀμενισσὸς τῷ ἤχῳ τῆς λέξεως παραινίττεται.*

[33] NONNUS, Dionys. VIII. 115.

*Γείτονος Ἀμνισοῖο λεχώϊον ἔδρακεν ὕδωρ.*

SUIDAS, *Ἀμνισός, ποταμὸς Κρήτης.* SCHOL. BREV. on Odyss. T. v. 188. *Ἀμνισός, πόλις καὶ ποταμὸς Κρήτης.* SCHOL. AMBR. B. *Ἀμνισὸς—ἔστι δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς Κρήτης.* SCHOLIA ON CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Artemis, 15. *Ἀμνισός, ποταμὸς Κρήτης.*

[34] APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, III. 877.

*Ἠὲ καὶ Ἀμνισοῖο λοεσσαμένη ποταμοῖο*
*χρυσείοις Λητωΐς ἐφ' ἅρμασιν ἑστηνῖα.*

[35] CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Artemis, 15.

*Δὸς δέ μοι ἀμφιπόλους Ἀμνισίδας εἴκοσι νύμφας.*

STEPHANUS BYZANT. *Ἀμνισὸς πόλις Κρήτης. αἱ τούτου νύμφαι Ἀμνισιάδες καὶ Ἀμνισίδες*, a passage in which it has been conjectured by several learned men that *καὶ ποταμὸς* has fallen out before *Κρήτης*, but where, perhaps, it is still more likely that *ποταμὸς* should be received instead of the present reading *πόλις*. Artemis and her attendant nymphs delighted to frequent rivers, and never dwelt in cities. See SPANHEIM, on the passage of Callimachus just quoted.

[36] DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, v. 498.

*Πολλαὶ δ' Ἀμνισοῖο βορειότεραι ὀρόωνται.*

tion by poets, as connected with the Ilithyian worship, may have given it a sufficient celebrity to have rendered his expression intelligible to the majority of his readers[37]. The Panopolitan Poet, when describing the residence of the Cnossian Asterios, on the banks of the Phasis, speaks of the Cretan stream Amnisos, which the hero had left behind him in his native land[38].

The river Aposelémi is only about a mile from Gúves. Before we reached this stream, we passed on our left the church of Hághios Gheórghios, near which there used to be several houses. They are now in ruins, as is the church, to which however the Papás of Gúves comes and officiates annually on April 23d (O.S.), the day of its patron Saint. Just below the church, we see on the shore the wreck of an Egyptian corvette. She got ashore here and was lost in December last: she brought Mehmét-Alí's final orders, in consequence of which more than thirty Cretans were executed immediately after, without even the semblance of justice or law. It is a pity that the despatches were not lost as well as the vessel. A guard of thirty Arab soldiers is stationed on the shore to prevent any one from stealing from the wreck. One would have supposed that the government might long ago have removed every thing capable of being saved, and thus have dispensed with continuing their guard.

We now cross a bridge over the Aposelémi, the rapid stream which flows from the mountains of Lassíthi, and carries off all the waters which pass through the great katavóthra of the Lassithian plain. I shall have to speak of it again on visiting Avdhú and Lassíthi. After descending from the mountains, it flows through a rich and pleasant valley, where, if it were

[37] See BERNHARDY, on Dionys. p. 655.

[38] NONNUS, XIII. 250.

Παιδοκόμου δέ
πάτριον Ἀμνισοῖο ῥόον Κρηταῖον ἐάσας,
αἰδομένοις στομάτεσσι νόθον πίε Φάσιδος ὕδωρ.

necessary to determine the favourite haunts of Artemis and her nymphs, we should believe them to have "disported on its margent green." At present my hopes were directed to the cavern of Ilithyia. I found the grotto[39], spoken of by the stupid Gúvian who accompanied me, to be nothing more than an artificial cistern, which in all likelihood had been constructed in the time of the Venetians.

Notwithstanding the ill success of my inquiries, I still feel satisfied that the site of Amnisos and its cavern must exist somewhere in this neighbourhood. In less than an hour after leaving the river, we reached Khersónesos[40]: in its immediate neighbourhood alone we saw marks of cultivation. A mile farther on is the village of Episkopianó, a name which reminds us that Khersonesos was a bishopric. The remains of the ancient city are down on the shore about a mile off.

The existence of these ruins, close to a little port on the shore, and the actual names of the villages of Khersónesos and Episkopianó, sufficiently prove that we are near what was once the port of Lyttos and subsequently became an episcopal city. A place called

[39] Ἕνα σπήλαιον was his expression: it is singular that the words μία στέρνη never escaped him. Στέρνη is constantly used to denote a cistern, and, like the French and English words, has an Italian origin. We sometimes find a place, where there are cisterns, called Sternes (Στέρναις), or, as a Cretan would most likely call it, τζὴ Στέρναις, (εἰς τὰς Στέρνας.) I mention this on account of an observation of Professor Hoeck, who, misled by the resemblance between this modern Greek word and the name of an ancient Cretan city Strenos, observes that there is a place called Sterne, on the Akrotéri near Khaniá, meaning, I suppose, that the name might be a corruption of that of the ancient city. I know not where to place this Strenos. Stephanus of Byzantium mentions it, on the authority of Herodotus, as a Cretan city, (STEPHANUS BYZANT. Στρῆνος, Ἡρόδοτος ἑβδόμῃ, πόλις Κρητική. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Στρήνιος, ὡς Φαῖστος Φαίστιος), and no further notice is found of it either in Herodotus or in any other author. On referring to my list of the villages of Apokórona I find the real name of the place in question is Xerostérni, which sufficiently declares its own meaning, and prevents the possibility of any connexion with Strenos. Pococke too mentions the village of "Sternes" and its cisterns.

[40] Χερσόνησος, called more commonly Χεροσόνησος by the Greeks.

Lýtto, where ancient remains are still found, is about eight or ten miles up in the mountains to the south of these villages.

The mistake of D'Anville[41], Mannert[42] and Cramer[43], as well as of the Venetian Senator Cornaro[44] and the German traveller Sieber[45], in supposing Khersonesos to have been at Spina Longa, is too palpable to require any investigation. Professor Hoeck has shewn the impossibility of that city having been so far to the east[46]; and even Pococke[47] was aware of its true situation, for he says that he had designed to have gone further to the east than Megálo-Kástron, "at least as far as Cerroneso," which is rightly laid down in his map, and of which he adds: "it is now called Cheronneso; it is a Bishop's see where there are some ruins."

On arriving at Episkopianó I went to the house of of the Priest, who accompanied me down to Palaeópolis, the site of the ancient city on the shore. I had not time, before sunset, to examine, with sufficient attention, its existing remains; and found that it would be necessary to visit them again the following morning[48]. I therefore returned to my quarters at Episkopianó.

Whatever may have been the comfort or splendour with which the former ecclesiastical dignitaries of the

[41] D'Anville, Oeuvres, (Géographie ancienne abrégée,) Tom. II. p. 191. ed. Par. 1834. "Cette ville *Lyctos* avoit un port appelé *Cherronesus*, qui convient à ce qu' on nomme *Spina Longa*, quoique le nom de Cherronesi soit aujourd'hui transporté au port Tigani."

[42] Mannert, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. VIII. p. 702.

[43] Cramer, Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. pp. 370 and 388.

[44] Cornelius, Creta Sacra, I. p. 258.

[45] Sieber, Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. I. p. 299, and Vol. II. p. 265. Mr Sieber slept at Gúves, (Vol. I. p. 274.) and we find him next, after he had crossed the Aposelémi, at Mália, (p. 276.) to reach which place he must have passed either through the modern village of Khersónesos, or over the ruins of the ancient city.

[46] Hoeck, Kreta, Vol. I. pp. 403, 409.

[47] Pococke, Vol. II. Part I. p. 258.

[48] On the morning of the next day, March 12, 1834, I examined the site of Khersonesos: on the 14th, that of the Homeric city of Miletos, at which considerable remains of walls of polygonal masonry, both of the acropolis and city,

place lived, nothing could be more meagre than our fare in the house of the Papás. With considerable difficulty three eggs and an oke of milk were found in the village.

After this sorry meal we tried to sleep. The Papás, his wife[49], two tall daughters, two full-grown sons, some younger children, two asses, two cows, and a young calf were the ordinary nightly inmates of the single apartment of the cottage; and to their number my party was now added. We seem to be transported back more than three thousand years, to the time

> Cum frigida parvas
> Praeberet spelunca domos, ignemque laremque
> Et pecus et dominos communi clauderet umbra.

The presence of four-legged animals was far from being the only source of discomfort which we found in the priest's cottage. I might speak of other innumerable companions of our couch "from dewy eve till morn," who probably thought us entitled, as strangers and guests, to their peculiar and unceasing attentions throughout the live-long night[50].

city, are still seen. In the following week I discovered vestiges of other ancient cities, in the district of Mirabéllo, the names and situations of which are laid down in my map. In the subsequent month of June I spent two days at Lýtto, where I copied a great number of inscriptions. I am compelled to leave my travels in these parts of the island undescribed, at all events at present; and shall resume my personal narrative, in the next chapter, at Hierápetra.

[49] Whose appellation is always ἡ Παπαδιά.

[50] Surely the Greeks must be hardened against such attacks by their habitual exposure to them. Woe betide the traveller, in these countries, if his skin is not made of "impenetrable stuff;" for his arrival in a Greek cottage acts like a talisman, and he at once sees many of his dark-coloured and active enemies spring upon him, even in the broad light of day.

COIN OF HIERAPYTNA.

## CHAPTER XVII.

DEPARTURE FROM HIERAPETRA. MYRTOS. THE GIANT'S TOMB. SYKOLOGO. IGNORANCE OF THE PEASANTS. A MENDICANT MONK. ST ANTONIOS AND ASCLEPIOS. HAGHIO VASILI. ARVI. DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT SARCOPHAGUS. MOUNT ARBIOS. VIANO, PERHAPS THE SITE OF BIENNOS. LEGEND OF OTOS AND EPHIALTES. CONTEST BETWEEN ZEUS AND THE GIANTS. CONNEXION OF CRETE WITH NAXOS. PRODUCE OF THE EPARKHIA OF RHIZO-KASTRON.

*March* 26.

At noon to-day I set out from Hierápetra[1], intending to return along the south side of the island towards Rhíthymnos and Khaniá. As we followed the shore in our westerly course, we were nearly an hour in the plain which surrounds the Kastéli, as the town of Hierápetra is commonly called. Less than two thirds of the plain is now cultivated; on leaving it we observed the village of Anatolé, and its white tower, distant about three miles to the north-west. The road to Mýrtos, after leaving the plain, passes through hills, presenting points of view which are sometimes picturesque, and is never very far from the sea, although it was only once actually in sight. In one or two places I noticed great

[1] Which place I again visited in the following month of August, and of the ruins of which I may hereafter speak.

masses of gypsum near the shore. On crossing the river at Mýrtos, we entered the eparkhía of Rhizó-kastron, bounded to the north by Lassíthi and Pedhiádha, and to the west by Mesará. It is chiefly mountainous, abounding in springs and rivulets: most of its villages are surrounded by fine groves of olive-trees.

At a distance of about six miles from Mýrtos, and after a ride of about two hours through a fine mountainous country, we reached a considerable elevation above the level of the sea, and arrived at a raised ridge of earth called "the Giant's tomb[2]." Its length is near forty paces: there are two olive-trees at its western end. The elevation seems to be natural. About a mile to the west of it is a fountain.

I find that the grandson of Apokhaps, the Saracenic conquerer of Crete, had the epithet Tesserakontapekhys applied to him. The identity between this appellation of Babdel and the name of the elevated ridge in question is curious[3].

In much more ancient times we find legends of mythical personages, the belief in whose existence and exploits in this part of the island, is perhaps still more likely to have given rise to the name of the place. It will, however, be soon enough to examine the story of Otos and Ephialtes on finding the site of the city Biennos.

It being now almost sunset I thought it prudent, instead of going on to Hághio Vasíli this evening, to turn off to the left soon after passing the fountain. After going about a mile to the southward, we arrived at the village of Sykológo. The chief produce of its fields is corn, although it possesses wine and oil enough for its own consumption.

Many coins were brought to me: they were almost all Venetian. Out of a party of half a dozen Greeks

[2] Τοῦ σαρανταπήχου τὸ μνῆμα, the tomb of the man forty cubits high.

[3] GENESIUS, p. 22. A. ed. Ven. or p. 47. ed. Bonn. Σαΐπου δὲ Βάβδελ,—ᾧ τεσσαρακοντάπηχυς τὸ ἐπώνυμον.

not one knows the year, or has any idea of an *era*. They reckon neither from Christ nor Mohammed; but tell me that they believe in Christ: on my asking who he was, they answer, "How should we know? we are ignorant peasants, and only know how to cultivate our fields and vineyards." Scarcely any Cretan Greeks, except some of the Patéres in the monasteries, have ever heard of the Christian era; but they all date events one by another. Thus, in Crete, the year of the great earthquake; the time when Khadjí Osmán-pashá was governor of Khaniá; the outbreaking of the Greek revolution; the peace of Khuseín-bey; the war of Khadjí Mikháli; and the final submission to the Egyptians, are the principal epochs to which all the events of the last five-and-twenty years are referred.

A priest of Sykológo, my host and his wife all contribute to increase my stock of Madhinádhas[4].

In me behold the lightning's son,
The thunder's dearest child:
Therefore my thunderbolts I hurl,
And cause the snow-storm wild[5].

While wandering through the world I've turned
On east and west my gaze;
But face like thine I ne'er beheld,
Bright as the diamond's blaze[6].

[4] Some of those which I obtained here are given above, in Chapter XVII.

[5] Ἐγὼ 'μαι σ' ἀστραπῆς παιδί,
κ' ἔτσι βροντῆς ἀγόνι,
καὶ θέλω στράφτω καὶ βροντῶ,
καὶ θέλω ῥίκτω χιόνι.

[6] Ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ἐγύρισα,
πονέντι καὶ λεβάντι·
δὲν εἶδα τέτοιον πρόσωπον,
νὰ λάμπει σὰν διαμάντι.

*March* 27.

A Patéras, sent on a circuit by the monastery of Hághios Antónios, which is situated in Mesará, and not far from Fair Havens, is now in this village endeavouring to obtain eleemosynary contributions to enable himself and his fellows, as he says, again to cultivate the possessions of the monastery. Its Hegúmenos fled, during the revolution, to a metókhi belonging to them near Smyrna, where he still resides. The donation which the monk generally succeeds in obtaining, is sometimes bestowed in money, but more commonly in oil, of which each family gives one, two, or three okes, according to its means. Any other contribution *in kind* is also willingly taken. To enable the mendicant monk to carry off all these gifts, he is accompanied by an attendant and a mule: so that the animal performs a similar religious service to that discharged by the ass of Apuleius[7].

It seems that the site of Leben, and therefore the ruins of its celebrated temple, must be in the neighbourhood of that monastery. Thus St Antónios exercises, on the Cretans of the present day, claims similar, in all probability, to those of his neighbour and predecessor Asclepios in ancient times[8].

A ride of little more than an hour from Sykológo brought us to the village of Lower Pévkos, about which are many fine platanes, with a few olive-trees interspersed

[7] APULEIUS, Metamorph. VIII. 174. "Stipes aereas, immo vero et argenteas, multis certatim offerentibus, sinu recepere patulo: nec non et vini cadum, et lactem, et caseos, et farris et siliginis aliquid, et nonnullis hordeum Deae gerulo donantibus, avidis animis corradentes omnia, et sacculos huic quaestui de industriâ praeparatos farcientes, dorso meo congerunt." The English Poet Laureat, SKELTON, Colyn Clout,

> And for to have his fees,
> Some to gather cheese,
> Lothe they are to lese
> Eyther corn or mault,
> Sometime meale and sault,
> Sometime a bacon flicke
> That is three fingers thycke
> Of larde and of greace,
> Their couent to encrease.

[8] Above, pp. 122—124. and APULEIUS, l. c.

among them. Maniás found several persons of his acquaintance here, as was the case in most places where I stopped throughout the island. In less than half an hour after leaving Pévkos we arrived at Hághio Vasíli, which we found almost deserted, nearly all its inhabitants being out gathering their olives.

We left Hághio Vasíli at twelve, and, after descending towards the sea for somewhat more than two miles, came in sight of the coast, from the summit of a steep range of rocks running nearly due east and west. They are distant only about a mile from the sea. From this place I was nearly half an hour in descending by a zigzag path along the face of the hills, down into the little plain of Arví. It produces corn, and is about six hundred paces long, and two hundred paces wide. On my left I notice a river which flows through the plain to the sea: it is the same that we have already crossed twice this morning, and passes through a narrow cleft in the rocks which bound the plain on its northern side. The appearance of the cleft is picturesque: wild carobs and cypresses have fixed themselves wherever a handful of earth has made it possible for them to take root: and so little earth is there in these crevices that the trees seem to grow out of the solid rock.

The Melióte employed by Sir Pulteney Malcolm to make excavations in Crete, heard, when at Hághio Vasíli, a few months since, of the discovery, many years ago, near the shore at Arví, of a monument of ancient art. It was broken in pieces by the peasants, when they found it, probably to see whether gold was contained within its solid marble: and several fragments of it were found by the Melióte, in the houses of peasants in this neighbourhood. A few hours excavation, at the spot pointed out to him near the shore, brought to light many additional pieces. When I saw the man a fortnight ago, at Megálo-Kástron, he assured me that he had obtained every single fragment of the monument. The account which he gave of the parts which he had

found, left no doubt that they must have formed a sarcophagus[9].

On going down close to the shore, I see the spot where the fragments were found: the excavators have left several fragments of marble, and the massive ornamented covering of the sarcophagus. On some of the fragments now lying here are parts of a horse—his quarter and tail, foreleg and shoulder; a young female head and many smaller pieces. No traces are any longer discernible of the walls of a city, or of any ancient buildings; but I am assured by inhabitants of the village of Hághio Vasíli, that they can remember the times when there still existed several remains of ancient walls: they were chiefly used in building the church.

We learn from Stephanus of Byzantium, that there was a Mount Arbios in Crete, where Zeus Arbios was honoured, and that the inhabitant of the Mountain was called an Arbian[10].

I suppose the site of the Arbios-Zeus-worship to have been on the rocks which we have just passed; and that, in ancient times, the "Arbian" may have dwelt in and cultivated this little plain.

On going westward from the plain of Arví, we follow the shore for about half an hour. Great masses of imbedded shells are seen in the rocks, to the height of near fifty feet above the sea-level. There are some very large masses of gypsum or selenite seen here. After leaving the sea, we are twenty-five minutes in traversing an uncultivated plain, and then begin to ascend, and leaving the Kastel-Keraton of the Venetians on our left, arrive at Viános about two hours after leaving Arví.

The name of the village Viános, written in modern Greek Biános[11], reminds us that there was formerly a place called Biennos in Crete. We learn from the Coast-

[9] See Vol. II. Chapter XXI.

[10] STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, Ἄρβις—ἔστι καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ Ἄρβιος ὄρος, ἔνθα τιμᾶται Ἄρβιος Ζεύς. Ἄρβιος οὖν ὁ κατοικῶν τὸ ὄρος.

[11] Ἡ Βιάνο.

describer[12], that it was a small city at some distance from the sea. He places it midway between Hierapytna, and Leben, the most eastern of the two parts of Gortyna. All these indications agree very well with the situation of this place, the name of which is so slightly altered from that of the ancient city.

There can be no doubt but that the Blenna of the Peutinger table is the Bienos of the Coast-describer. We find in Hierocles[13] this city's name under the form Bienna. He places it between Inatos and Hierapytna. According to the Peutinger Table[14], Bienna was twenty miles distant from Hierapytna: we should have found about twenty miles between Hierapytna and this place, if we had not gone out of our way to visit Arví. The same table fixes Bienna at thirty miles from Arcadia. Now, as the bird flies, this place is somewhat less than thirty miles from Krítsa, where, as we shall hereafter see, Arcadia in all probability existed; but the lofty mountains of Lassíthi are interposed between the two sites, and therefore, to avoid those almost impassable elevations, the road between them may have taken a southern or even a south-easterly direction at first after leaving Arcadia, and may thus have been rendered somewhat longer than it would otherwise have been.

Although neither the name nor situation of Viáno, with its river and plain, are distinguishable in Lapie, I find the "Valle di Vianes" rightly laid down by Boschini in his first map, which he calls "Il Regno di Candia."

[12] IRIARTE, p. 492. GAIL, Geographi Graeci Minores, T. II. p. 495. Ἀπὸ Ἱερᾶς Πύδνης εἰς Βίενον σταδ. ὁ. πολίδριόν ἐστιν ἄνεχον τῆς θαλάσσης. Ἀπὸ Βιένου εἰς Λέβηναν σταδ. ὁ. For ἀνέχον it has been proposed to read ἀπέχον. I feel no doubt that ρο′ must in each case have been the distance given by the author. Three hundred and forty stades is nearly the real distance between Hierapytna and Leben, and Viáno is about midway between their sites.

[13] HIEROCLES, Synecdemus, p. 649. ed. Wess. (quoted by CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Tom. I. p. 234.) Ἴνατος, Βιέννα, Ἱεραπύδνα.

[14] Segm. VIII. ed. Lips. 1824.

The site of Biennos has been supposed to have been near Cape Sídhero. Undoubtedly such a situation may be consistent with the distance of the Peutinger Table, but thus the author of the Periplus, the testimony of which is quite conclusive as to the situation of Biennos with respect to Leben and Hierapytna, is totally disregarded. If we could suppose Biennos to have been near Cape Sídhero, there too we find legends, of much less antiquity, it is true, than those, already alluded to, respecting Otos and Ephialtes, which tell of the discovery of the bones and skulls of giants, many of whom were eight or ten times the size of common men[15].

Other remains are spoken of as found, by whom I know not, near the south shore, at a considerable distance to the east of Hághii Saránta: and Dr Cramer supposes that they "may possibly correspond with the ancient Bienna or Biennos, since we know from the Table and Maritime Itinerary that it was situated in this direction[16]." We have seen that the Maritime Itinerary places Biennos to the *west* of Hierapytna, while the site spoken of by Dr Cramer is above twenty miles to the *east* of that place[17].

The giant's tomb, which we saw yesterday, is fitly found in the neighbourhood of Biennos. The contest of Otos and Ephialtes with Ares is said to have taken place near this city[18]. It ended in the victory of the

[15] ANDREA CORNARO, Historia di Candia, ap. CORNEL. Cret. Sacr. T. I. p. 117.

[16] Dr CRAMER, Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 373.

[17] Dr Cramer seems here, as in other cases, to have been led into a great error, by implicitly following that treacherous guide, Lapie's Map. I observe the "ruines de Blenna" laid down in it a little to the east of the Erythraean promontory. Professor Hoeck's observation, "Die Stellung mehrerer alter Staedte bey Lapie erscheint uebrigens in Widerspruch mit alten Angaben," Kreta, Vol. III. p. x. is so true, that examples of it may be found in every part of the island.

[18] STEPHANUS BYZANT. Βίεννος, πόλις Κρήτης. οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Βιέννου τοῦ τῶν Κουρήτων ἑνός· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἄρη γενομένης βίας, ἣν ἐνταῦθά φασιν ἀπὸ Ὤτου καὶ Ἐφιάλτου τῶν παίδων Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ μέχρι καὶ νῦν τὰ καλούμενα ἑκατομφόνια θύεται τῷ Ἄρει. ὁ πολίτης Βιέννιος.

giant sons of Aloeus over the god, whom they threw into bonds[19]. From this violent conflict Biennos is said to have derived its name. The Otian plains, so called from Otos, who is reported to have been buried there, were also in Crete[20], and I suppose that the tomb which I saw yesterday may be the locality of this old tradition.

Buondelmonti[21] speaks of a Cretan city Sarandopolis, formerly inhabited by giants, and from which the modern eparkhía of Setía derived its name! Traces of the same popular notions, of the fifteenth century, are also found in the work of Bartolomeo dalli Sonetti, as cited by Torres y Ribera[22], and again appear in the History of Andrea Cornaro[23]. These traditions, however, point

[19] HOMER, Il. v. 385. who does not fix the place where the events which he describes took place. See also PHOTIUS, Biblioth. 444. b. 3. and passages of CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS and ARNOBIUS, quoted by JORTIN, in his Tracts.

[20] SERVIUS, on Virgil, Aen. III. 578. "Est in Sicilia, Enceladus; Othus, in Creta, secundum Salustium: unde Othii campi." The same words are used in BODE's Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum, Tom. I. p. 92. (L. II. c. 53.)

[21] BONDELMONTIUS, Insulae Archipelagi, p. 68. ed. Sinner. "Deinde ad Holopixopolim, hodie Istrinam concurro, in qua fons octo molendinorum aperitur; et juxta sequendo mare, oppida in summitalibus montium alia, quorum in medio Sarandopolis, civitas olim gigantum erat, a qua Sectia derivata est."

[22] TORRES Y RIBERA, p. 55. The order of Bartolomeo seems to bring this Sarandopolis into Rhizó-kastro: "Candichum, *vel* Candia, Bicorna, Istrina, Cholopixoli, Atali, Cambruxa, Lulachi, Ierapoli, Mileto, Chersoneso, *seu* Altamura, Serandopoli, *gigantum sedes*, Retemo." This *Isolario* of Bartolomeo, which is only known to me from Torres y Ribera's account of it, consists wholly of woodcuts and sonnets, descriptive of the islands of Greece and Asia Minor. It was published about the year 1480, and is the earliest printed work which gave an account of the topography of any part of ancient Greece. It was strictly a periplus, as may be seen by the names mentioned of Cretan cities. He had been an eye-witness of all that he describes to his reader:

> Quindici volte in trireme son stato;
> *Ho più volte ogni insula calcata,*
> E porti, e valli, e scogli sporchi e netti.
> Con bossolo per venti ho i capi retti,
> Colle mie proprie man picta ho ciaschuna,
> Col stilo in charta ciaschuna ho segnata.

[23] As cited in CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Tom. I. p. 117.

rather to the lofty mountain chain, between the districts of Hierápetra and Sitía, than to this eparkhía of Rhizókastron, as the region where the giants formerly flourished.

We learn also from Diodorus of Sicily[24] that one of Zeus's engagements with the giants took place in this island: it was here that Mylinos was destroyed.

One wonders not to find a deity, the earth-shaking son of Kronos, described as the father of the giant-babes of Iphimedeia, for

> Of ill-joined sons and daughters born
> First from the ancient world those giants came,
> With many a vain exploit, though then renown'd.

Otus and Ephialtes were nine cubits in breadth, and twenty-seven cubits in height[25], so that if the giant's tomb which I saw yesterday belongs to Otos, tradition has increased his stature. According to the common accounts, they were slain by Apollo[26] or Artemis[27]: Pindar[28] and Apollodorus[29] both speak of Naxos as the island where they died[30].

[24] Diodorus Siculus, v. 71.

[25] Homer, Odyss. xi. 311.

> Ἐννέωροι γὰρ τοίγε καὶ ἐννεαπήχεες ἦσαν
> εὖρος, ἀτὰρ μῆκός γε γενέσθην ἐννεόργυιοι.

Virgil's expression, Aen. vi. 582. is less definite:

> Hic et Aloidas geminos, immania vidi
> Corpora.

[26] Homer, Odyss. xi. 318. Apollonius Rhodius, i. 484. Nonnus, xx. 64. 81. Pausanias, ix. 754. Hyginus, Fab. xxviii.

[27] Eustathius, on Odyss. xi. p. 1687. Hyginus, l. c. Pindar's Scholiast, Pyth. iv. 156.

[28] Pindar, Pyth. iv. 156.

> Ἐν δὲ Νάξῳ
> φαντὶ θανεῖν λιπαρᾷ Ἰφιμεδεί-
> ας παῖδας Ἄωτον καὶ σέ, τολ-
> μάεις Ἐπιάλτα ἄναξ.

[29] Apollodorus, i. 7. 4.

[30] According to Eustathius, on Il. v. p. 560. 6. it was to Naxos that Ares fled when released by Hermes from the prison into which Otos and Ephialtes

A different form of the legend, as relates to Ephialtes, is represented on some curious and interesting vases, which have lately been engraved and described[31]. On one of them the god of the sea, "distinguished by his trident and the inscription Poseidon[32], is represented uplifting a huge mass, apparently of rock, with which he overwhelms a warrior who is falling under the enormous weight, and attempts in vain to resist the superior power of the deity. The inscription placed near this figure gives the name Ephialtes[33]." It is pretty evident that the painter of this vase did not follow the common story which makes Poseidon the father of the Aloidae. On a second vase a similar victory of Poseidon over Ephialtes, has, opposite to it, Artemis in combat with a warrior, doubtless Otos, whom she vanquishes.

Perhaps Otos's burial in Crete may be connected with the legend, that he fell by the hand of the huntress goddess Artemis, in consequence of his presumption in having dared to raise his eyes to her. It was in Crete, also, that Orion perished, according to an account mentioned by Eratosthenes[34]. Tradition attributed the goddess's anger against them both to the same cause[35].

Ephialtes had thrown him. Ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς χαριζόμενος τῇ Ἥρᾳ ἐξέκλεψε τὸν Ἄρην, ὅθεν φυγὼν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Νάξον. See also the inscription in BOECKH's Corpus Inscriptionum.

[31] By Mr MILLINGEN, Ancient Unedited Monuments, pp. 17—22.

[32] ΠΟΣΕΙΔΟΝ.

[33] ΕΦΙΑΛΤΕΣ. Mr MILLINGEN observes that the artist has transferred to Ephialtes the story commonly told of Polybotes. See PAUSANIAS, I. p. 6. APOLLODORUS, I. 6. STEPHANUS BYZANT. v. Νίσυρος. STRABO, X. p. 489.

[34] ERATOSTHENES, Cataster. XXXII. Ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Κρήτην καὶ περὶ τὰς θήρας διῆγε, κυνηγετῶν, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος παρούσης κ.τ.λ.

[35] SCHOLIA on Odyss. v. 121. HORACE, Od. III. 4. 70. NICANDER, Ther. 16. To this Artemis herself alludes in CALLIMACHUS, Hymn to Artemis, v. 264.

—— Οὐδὲ γὰρ Ὦτος,
Οὐδὲ μὲν Ὠαρίων ἀγαθὸν γάμον ἐμνήστευσαν.

Although

Many ancient legends would make us consider the Aloidae as originally Thracians. They were said to have assisted in founding Ascra at the foot of Mount Helicon[36], which, as well as Olympus, is known to have been occupied by a Thracian colony[37]. We also find the Thracians at Anthedon in Boeotia[38]; where people used to shew, even in the time of Pausanias, the tombs of these giants near a temple of Dionysos[39]. The legend of the death of Otos and Ephialtes in Naxos, reminds us of its early occupation by a colony of Thracians[40], to whom it also was indebted for the Dionysian worship[41]. The island had been called Strongyle before their arrival: they gave it the name Dia, which it retained until, on the spread of Carian pirates through the Egean, it fell into the hands of a Carian chief, Naxos, by whom it was called after his own name[42]. The worship of Dionysos, which had thus been established in Naxos at so early a period, continued to flourish under the Carian rule, that is during the time when intimate relations became established between the islanders of the Egean and the Cretans: and, in all

Although NONNUS mentions Apollo as their destroyer, yet he describes their offence against the goddess: Dionys. XLIV. 304.

Σὸς παΐς ἔλλαχε λέκτρα, τὰ μὴ λάχεν Ὦτος ἀγήνωρ·
οὐ θρασὺς Ὠρίων πέλε νύμφιος Ἰοχεαίρης.

and again XLVIII. 403.

Εἰ δὲ πάλιν θρασὺς Ὦτος, ἢ αὐχήεις Ἐπιάλτης
συζυγίην μενέαινε τεῶν ἀκίχητον ἐρώτων.

[36] HEGESINOUS, in Pausanias, IX. p. 765.

[37] STRABO, IX. p. 410. X. p. 471. MUELLER'S Orchomenos, p. 381.

[38] LYCOPHRON, Alexand. 754.

Ἀστῷ σύνοικος Θρηκίας Ἀνθηδόνος.

STEPHANUS BYZANT. v. Ἀνθηδών, and EUSTATHIUS, on Homer IL. II. p. 271. The important consequences of the presence of these Thracians in Greece are mentioned by Mr THIRLWALL, History of Greece, Vol. I. Ch. II. pp. 46–7.

[39] PAUSANIAS, IX. p. 754. Τούτων δή ἐστιν ἐν Ἀνθηδόνι μνήματα.

[40] See DIODORUS SICULUS, V. 51. and MUELLER'S Orchomenos, p. 387.

[41] DIODORUS SICULUS, V. 52. [42] Ibid. V. 51.

likelihood, Dionysos and the sons of Aloeus were transferred at the same time from Naxos to Crete[43].

We learn from Eratosthenes[44], that when the youthful Zeus was closely pursued by Kronos, he fled from Crete, and took up his abode at Naxos, where he dwelt until he obtained the empire of Heaven. The well-known story of Theseus and Ariadne is also of importance as shewing the closeness of this connexion between the two islands[45].

Opheltes, who somewhat resembles Ephialtes in name, is one of the Cretan chieftains mentioned by the Panopolitan poet as having fallen, under the spear of the celebrated Deriades, in Dionysos's Indian expedition[46]. The bones of Arestor's son were, however, restored by Asterios to his native land, where a lofty monument was constructed over them by the Corybantes[47]. According to the poet, the name and country of Opheltes were recorded in the inscription,

> Cnossian Opheltes here a corpse is laid,
> In India's war who gave to Bromios aid.

But it is time to return from these ancient myths and legends to the examination of more material objects.

[43] See HOECK's Kreta, Vol. III. p. 179.

[44] ERATOSTHENES, Catasterism. 30. He relates the story on the authority of Aglaosthenes in his Naxica. See also Catasterism. n. 2, from which it appears that this supposed flight took place while he was still an infant.

[45] See HOECK's Kreta, Vol. II. p. 150.

[46] NONNUS, Dionys. XXXII. 185.

> Τίς θάνε, τίς δούπησεν ὑπ' ἔγχεϊ Δηριαδῆος;
> Αἰβίαλος, Θύαμις τε, καὶ Ὀρμένιος καὶ Ὀφέλτης.

[47] NONNUS, l. c. XXXVII. 91.

> Ἀστέριος δέ
> ὀστέα συλλέξας, κεκαλυμμένα δίπλακι δημῷ,
> ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην κατεθήκατο λείψανα νεκροῦ.
> καὶ τροχαλοὶ Κορύβαντες, ἐπεὶ λάχον ἔνδιον Ἴδης,
> τύμβον ἐτορνώσαντο——
> καὶ κόνιν ὀθνείην πυμάτην ἐπέχευαν Ὀφέλτῃ,
> καὶ τάφον αἰπυτέροισιν ἀνεστήσαντο δομαίοις,
> τοῖον ἐπιγράψαντες ἔπος νεοπενθέϊ τύμβῳ·
> Νεκρὸς Ἀρεστορίδης μινυώριος ἐνθάδε κεῖται,
> Κνώσσιος, Ἰνδοφόνος, Βρομίου συνάεθλος, Ὀφέλτης.

All the oil produced in the district of Rhizó-kastron is sent to the Kástron: the distance which it has to be carried varies from twelve to fifty-four miles. The eparkhía thus exports oil alone: its corn does not suffice for the home-consumption. The only place where there are almond-trees in the district is Sykológo. There has been a small company of regular Arab troops stationed at Viáno for two years. My host Anagnóstes, the Proestós of the village, has already learnt enough Arabic to be able to converse with them without an interpreter.

CLEFT AT ARVI.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MUEZIN'S SUMMONS TO PRAYER. THE USE OF BELLS IN GREEK CHURCHES. THE PROBABLE SITES OF INATOS, PRIANSOS, AND PRAESOS. AN INTERESTING INSCRIPTION. THE SITES OF PYRANTHOS, STELAE, ASTERUSIA, AND PYLOROS. ARRIVAL AT HAGHIUS DHEKA.

*March* 28.

I WAS awakened this morning about an hour before sunrise, by the crowing of cocks, and the voice of the Muezin, heard beautifully through the stillness of the night, as he summoned all true believers to the house of prayer. Captain Maniás uttered a bitter curse on every

foule paynim,
That 'leeveth on Mahound,

when I disturbed his slumbers by asking whether he

heard the call to the mosque[1], and the assurance that "prayer is better than sleep[2]."

For the purpose of summoning the congregation to church, bells were in use among the Greeks in the eleventh century[3], and among the Latins at a more remote period, perhaps even in the age of Justinian[4]: but the earlier practice of the Christians, of both churches, was to use long boards which were struck with an iron rod or hammer[5]. They were called by the same name as was afterwards applied to bells[6]. These long boards were in common use, among the Syrian and Arabian Christians, in the time of the Prophet, and were

[1] Djiamí, the Turkish name by which the mosque is known and hated by the Greeks.

[2] Since the above was written I have found that Von Hammer bears testimony to the effect of the summons to prayer when thus pronounced: "Die feyerlichste Wirkung desselben auf Ohr und Sinn bringt derselbe (Gebethausruf) hervor, wenn er durch das Schweigen der Nacht, und durch die Strahlen des Fruehroths hervorbricht, wenn den Erwachenden der harmonische Zuruf *Ahsen es-Salat minen-Naum*, das Gebeth ist besser als der Schlaf, in die Ohren toent, und die erste Morgenroethe freundlich durch die Fenster blinkt." VON HAMMER, Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reiches, p. 396.

[3] DU CANGE, Glossar. Graec. p. 774.

[4] DU CANGE, Glossar. med. et inf. Latin. v. *Nolarium*. REISKE, on Constantine Porphyrogenitus, p. 170, 12. ed. Bonn. 1830. (100. C. ed. L.)

[5] DU CANGE, v. Σημεῖον. MURATORI, Antiquitates Italicae, Diss. XXXIII. v. Tempella. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, p. 334, l. (p. 194, C. 12. ed. L.) Τοῦ δὲ ξύλου σημαίνοντος τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας ἐγείρονται καὶ ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. REISKE, l. c. On the use of three bells, in the churches of monasteries, THEODORE, patriarch of Antioch, has written a treatise: see LAMBECIUS, Comment. de Biblioth. Vindob. Lib. VIII. p. 993. ed. Kollar. Vindob. 1782, where its title is given: Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Ἀντιοχείας κυροῦ Θεοδώρου μελέτη, χάριν τῆς εἰς τοὺς θείους ναοὺς τῶν μοναστηρίων γινομένης μετακλήσεως διὰ σημαντήρων τριῶν.

[6] Σημάντρα· see REISKE, l. c. KORAY, ATAKTA, Vol. IV. p. 496. v. Σήμασμα. One of the many songs with which Captain Maniás used to while away the time as we travelled, began thus:

Μία κυριακὴν ἡμέρα
καί ἤτονι καὶ λαμπρή,
τὰ σημάντρα κτύπησαν
εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Κωσταντί.

adopted by him along with other Christian practices; but soon became so displeasing to many of his followers, that he appointed the mode of summoning which awakened us this morning, and which is still observed, in order to convene the true believers, in every Mohammedan house of prayer[7].

I rose at the summons of the Muezin, and started by sunrise to visit the old Venetian or Genoese castle which we had passed yesterday. About a mile on this side of it, a rocky ridge running east and west would convert the plain to the north of it towards Viáno into a lake, were there not a perpendicular cleft in the rocks, through which, as at Arví, the river flows. I had heard of a fine and extensive cavern to be seen in the eastern side of the mountain, on the summit of which the Venetian fort, Kastel-keraton, is built; and I should have been glad to have explored its recesses and to have admired its beauty. But it seemed impossible to visit it without sacrificing the whole day to that single object; and, therefore, after enjoying the fine prospect from Kastel-keraton, I returned straight to Viáno, obtained some breakfast, and, at one o'clock, started on my journey towards the great Gortynian plain.

Our path led us over the mountains to the west of Viáno, and we had to face a bitterly cold westerly wind

[7] "E Tebrizio ad Hamasam porro intelligimus, ipsum Muhammedem, qui instituta quam plurima a Christianis Syris et Arabicis assumsit, prius Nacuso (*Nakus* is the Arabic word used to denote the *σήμαντρον*, as in the verse of the Arabian poet Gerir, quoted by Reiske, *expergefacit me cantus gallorum, et pulsatio Nakusorum*) fuisse usum, donec videns suis morem Christianum ex odio religionis displicere, praecones illos instituerit, qui clara voce precum tempora e turribus significarent. Verba ejus in ultimo Hamasae fine haec sunt: الناقوس الذي تضرب به النصاري لاوقات الصلوات والنقس ضرب الناقوس وفي الحديث كانوا ينقسون حتي راي عبد الله بن زيد الاذان في المنام. Fuit igitur ille mos jam ante Muhammedem; quod etiam e superius citato auctore de miraculis S. Athanasii constaret, si spurius non esset." REISKE, on the Ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, l. c.

the whole afternoon. We also endured a heavy hail-storm between two and three o'clock: it lasted nearly twenty minutes. Soon after three we came on the western summit of the hills which overlook the plain of Mesará. A descent of half an hour brought us into the plain: we forded a tributary stream of the river Súdsuro a little above their junction, and, somewhat less than a mile further on, crossed a bridge of three arches, about forty paces long, over the Súdsuro itself. A mile further is the village of Lútra, which, with two or three other hamlets in the neighbourhood, is known by the name Kastelianá, derived from the Venetian fortress Castle Belvedere, situated on a hill a little to the north of the villages, and very conspicuous from every side.

Praesos having been supposed, by many scholars, to be situated somewhere in this neighbourhood, as it is also laid down by Lapie in his map of Crete, I thought it right to be more than usually diligent in my inquiries after ancient remains, and to examine carefully the site of the old Venetian fortress on the hill, although I felt quite satisfied that no vestiges, which I might find, could ever have belonged to that city.

I did not see the least trace of any thing more ancient than the middle-age walls, cisterns, churches and houses, which are now in ruins on its summit. This castle is described as having been destroyed, and but little inhabited, in short as a ruin, nearly a century before the Venetians lost the island[8].

Though I found no antiquities, I was however rewarded for my trouble by a glorious sunset. The rich beams of the setting orb, as they shone over the long and beautiful plain of Mesará, gave a beauty to the landskip which fully justified the Venetians in the name they bestowed on the spot.

This situation, on a lofty hill surrounded by a fertile plain, seems so likely to have been chosen in ancient

[8] FOSCARINI, Relatione etc. f. 34. "Castel hora destrutto, e poco habitato e si può dir rovinato."

times, that, in spite of the non-existence of vestiges of antiquity at the spot, we turn to the Greek writers with a confident expectation of finding indications of some city as having existed hereabouts.

Hierocles[9] mentions Inatos between Bienna and Gortyna. The Peutinger table places Lisia, by which Leben seems to be indicated, sixteen miles from Gortyna, and Inata twenty-four miles to the east of Lisia, and thirty-two miles to the west of Hierapytna. The table also puts Inata on a river. These distances agree well with the situation of Castle Belvedere. Inatos is also mentioned by Ptolemy[10], and is doubtless[11] the Einatos of Hesychius, the Etymologist, and Stephanus of Byzantium[12]. The goddess Eileithyia is said to have been worshipped at this place, and to have obtained one of her epithets from it[13].

It may, perhaps, if not the site of Inatos, be that of Priansos. At all events, both Inatos and Priansos must have been in this neighbourhood: if Inatos was here, Priansos was, in all likelihood, nearer the mouth of the Súdsuro. Priansos is well known by its coins, and by the treaty between its citizens and the Hierapytnians among the Oxford marbles[14]. The various maritime symbols exhibited on the Priansian coins, would lead us to place it near the shore: the palm-tree, which some of them exhibit, calls to our recollection the coins

[9] HIEROCLES, Synecdem. p. 649.

[10] PTOLEMY, III. 17. p. 91.

[11] WESSELING, on Hierocles, p. 645. and HOECK's Kreta, Vol. I. p. 412.

[12] See HESYCHIUS and the ETYMOLOGICON, in *Εἴνατος*. STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM says, *Εἴνατος, πόλις Κρήτης, ὡς Ξενίων φησί, τὸ ἐθνικὸν Εἰνάτιος. τινὲς δὲ ὄρος καὶ ποταμὸν ἐν ᾧ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν Εἰλείθυιαν Εἰνατίνην.*

[13] *Εἰνατία*, by which alone she is designated in CALLIMACHUS, Fr. 168. (Tom. I. p. 379. Graev. or p. 505. Ernest.)

[14] Given in BOECKH, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, n. 2556. (Vol. II. p. 411.) The two coins of Priansos, engraved at the head of the next chapter, are at Bologna; the smaller one in the Gabinetto Numismatico of the University, the larger in the possession of the Marquis Angelelli.

of Hierapytna; and the figure of Asclepios reminds us of his temple at Leben, a little to the west of this district.

These considerations, on which it would be easy to dwell at much greater length, seem therefore sufficient to justify us in placing Priansos on or near the south coast, between Hierapytna and Leben.

Strabo[15] must have confounded the two totally distinct cities, when he spoke of them under a common name, and assigned them a single situation, both close to Mount Dikte, and, at the same time, conterminous with *the Lebeneans*, whose city was three days' journey from the mountain[16].

As to the situation of Praesos, it is incontrovertibly fixed by existing vestiges: its site is now called Praesús[17], and is found about six miles inland from the ruins of Setía. If additional proof were wanted, it would be obtained from a very long, and, on many accounts, extremely interesting inscription, which I copied at Plu-Monastéri, and in which the Praesian district is described as lying between those of Hierapytna and Itanos[18], the situations of both which places are known.

[15] STRABO, x. §. 12. p. 478. Ὅμοροι δ' εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς (he is speaking of Leben) οἱ Πραίσιοι, τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ξ' σταδίους, Γόρτυνος δὲ διέχοντες ἑκατὸν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα· (this is true only of *Priansos:*) Εἴρηται δ' ὅτι τῶν Ἐτεοκρήτων ὑπῆρξεν ἡ Πραῖσος, καὶ ὅτι ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ Δίκτη πλησίον, οὐχ, ὡς Ἄρατος, σχεδὸν ὄρεος Ἰδαίου, and so on, all of which applies only to the site of *Praesos*, far away to the *eastward* of Hierapytna.

[16] It is well observed by MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. VIII. p. 712. "In zwei Stellen entfernt er, (Strabo,) dieses Prasos 180 Stadien von Gortynia, welches in Zusammenhaltung mit der nebrigen Angabe eine Unmoeglichkeit ist."

[17] Πραισοὺς or Πρασοὺς is the present name of the site of Praesos. I visited it in the following month of August. It had been truly described, a long time ago, by CORONELLI, who says, in his Isolario, "All' ostro di Sittia ma più dentro terra veggonsi le rovine de *Pressos* città d'angusto recinto. Ivi si osservano ancora le vestigie e gli avanzi di case ed altri edifici, tavole, marmi, e colonne; ed i lavoratori della terra ritrovano molte medaglie antiche."

[18] In line 45 of the opposite inscription we read, Τῆς Πραισίων πόλεος τῆς κειμένης ἀνάμεσον Ἰτανίων τε καὶ Ἱεραπυτνίων. The reader

# INSCRIPTION COPIED AT PLU-MONASTERI.

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ΡΑΚΟΤΕΣΤΟΤΕΙΕΡΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΝΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΝΑΥΤΟΥΙΔΙΟΙΣΣΗΜ . . ΟΙΣΚΑΙΠΕΡΙΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΜΑΣΙΝΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΝΕΩΡ
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ΕΠΙΤΙΜΟΙΣ. ΕΡΩΙΤΟΥΔΙΟΣΤΟΥΔΙΚΤΑΙΟΥΜΗΤΕ..ΝΕΜΗΙΜΗΤΕΕΝΑΥΛΟΣΤΑΤΗΙΜΗΤΕΣΠΕΙΡΗΙΜΗΤΕΞΥΛΕΥΗΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΓΕΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
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ΔΟΓΜΑΤΑΠΕΡΙΕΙΧΕΝΤΟΔΕΠΑΝΤΩΝΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝΚΑΙΙΣΧΥΡΟΤΑΤΟΝΤΕΚΜΗΡΙΟΝΤΟΥΕΥΝΩΣΜΕΝΟΝΤΩΝΚΑΘΟΛΟΥ
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ΥΠΟΙΕΡΑΠΥΤΝΙΩΝ . . . . . ΕΝΤΗΙΚΡΙΝΟΜΕΝΗΙΧΩΡΑ

It may be added that the coins of Praesos exhibit very different emblems from those of the maritime city Priansos. At the Dictaean city we have Zeus, and one of the bees, which, according to the legend, fed him with honey in his infancy: we have also the bull: Demeter and Apollo. At Priansos we find Poseidon and his trident: the dolphin: the palm-tree: Asclepios and his serpent.

The attempts of very distinguished living scholars to maintain the identity of these two cities[19], and even to explain the one name as a dialectic form[20] of the other, must therefore fall to the ground.

The villages in this neighbourhood, and generally throughout the plain of Mesará, suffered greatly during the war. There were here no lofty and almost inaccessible mountains to flee to as a place of refuge. In most of the villages full three-fourths of the houses are in ruins. One which formerly contained twenty houses has now only two. "A single day suffices for clearing a plain," says Captain Maniás.

The eparkhía of Rhizókastro extends a little to the west of Kastelianá. The grammatikós of Viáno and other persons have supplied me with a list of all the villages of the district. One of them is Pýrathi. Now there was an ancient city, if I may use the word city of what seems to have been a very insignificant place and little more than a village, called Pyranthos[21], which belonged to Gortyna, and the name Pýrathi is so manifest a corruption of Pyranthos, that we can hardly doubt of that city's district having been among these

reader may also compare l. 8. of the same inscription (*κεχειροτονημένων καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοῦ*) with what has been said above, at pp. 41–42. on the Demos in the Cretan states.

[19] HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 413.

[20] BOECKH, Corpus Inscr. Graec. Vol. II. p. 405. (in his dissertation, De dialecto Inscriptionum Creticarum, §. 9.)

[21] STEPHANUS BYZANT. *Πύρανθος, πόλις μικρά, ἡ κώμη τῆς Κρήτης περὶ Γόρτυνα, οἱ κατοικοῦντες* Πυράνθιοι.

low slopes at the end of the plain of Gortyna, near the Katarrhaktes, and a little to the north-east of Kastelianá. I observe also that the name of a village adjacent to Pýrathi is Kamáres, a name which frequently denotes the site or vicinity of an ancient city.

Before pursuing my journey along the plain of Gortyna, I will return for a moment to the consideration of the situation of Priansos. Biennos seems, from the notice of it contained in the Maritime Itinerary, to have been a small place. We therefore know nothing of any ancient city of much consideration between Leben and Hierapytna. But the tract is very extensive, and the mountains of Rhizó-kastron are filled with fertile valleys, which, when Crete was flourishing and full of cities[22], must have been cultivated. Thus a situation on the south coast, somewhere between Hierapytna and Leben, agrees with the physical appearances of this part of the island, as well as with the ancient authors. There is ample room in the district in question for a city like Priansos, which appears, both from its preserved coins and from its treaty with Hierapytna, to have been a considerable place.

In the vicinity of this Priansos too, we must place Stelae, described by the Byzantine geographer[23], as a Cretan city near two towns which are called, in the published editions of his work, Paraesos and Rhythimna. That Paraesos should have usurped the place of Priansos is not very surprising: and in the word Rhythimna, the attention is immediately attracted to the *y*, which does not appear at the beginning of the city's name, Rhithymna, on the north coast. Rhytion, in all probability, is the word for which the corruption should make

[22] ODYSSEY, XIX. 172.

Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἐστί, μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,
καλὴ καὶ πίειρα, περίῤῥυτος· ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι
πολλοί, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόληες.

[23] STEPHANUS BYZANT. Στῆλαι, πόλις Κρήτης, πλησίον Παραισοῦ καὶ Ῥυθίμνης.

way[24]. Homer mentions it along with Phaestos, which was near the other end of the plain[25]. We learn from Strabo[26] that this city belonged to the Gortynians, and its citizens are mentioned by Nonnus[27] immediately after those of Gortyna. Its name is also found in Pliny, and in Stephanus of Byzantium.

*March* 29.

I rose at four, but could not set off till a quarter past five. In half an hour we passed the Mohammedan village of Phílippo: both men and women come out, the women unveiled, with no more reserve than Christians of their sex, and with the same curiosity to know who we are and whither we are going. We pass several villages at the foot of the low range of hills on our left; a bare enumeration of their names will be a sufficient notice of most of them: they were Rhotes, Mesokhorió, Pýrgo and Theodhoráki.

I lost much time in stopping, as I invariably did in each place, to enter into conversation with some of its inhabitants, and to ascertain if any vestiges of antiquity were to be found in its neighbourhood. I was in every instance unsuccessful. Since Rhytion must have existed somewhere on or close to the route which leads from Kastelianá to Haghíus Dhéka, it might be possible for some vestige of its name to be found in one of these villages: but I can hardly suppose that the mo-

[24] Professor HOECK is entitled to the credit of this emendation of the corrupt Ῥυθίμνη: see his Kreta, Vol. I. p. 414. The two towns are confounded by DOMINICUS NIGER, just as they had been by the copyist of Stephanus. See also CORNELIUS, Cret. Sacr. Tom. I. p. 115. They are likewise taken to denote the same town by FERRARIUS, in his Lexicon Geographicum, v. Rhytium, p. 327. ed. Lond. 1657.

[25] HOMER, Il. II. 648.

Φαιστόν τε Ῥύτιόν τε πόλεις εὖ ναιεταώσας.

[26] STRABO, X. p. 479. Γορτυνίων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ῥύτιον σὺν τῇ Φαιστῷ, Φαιστόν τε Ῥύτιόν τε.—

[27] NONNUS, Dionys. XIII. 233.

Οἷς ἅμα πολλοί
ὑψιλόφου Γόρτυνος ἐθωρήσσοντο πολῖται,
καὶ νάσται Ῥυτίοιο.

dern Rhotes affords an indication of the situation of the ancient city.

At Kháraka I observed remains of a middle-age fortress on a little steep rock, from which it is supposed that the name of the village has been derived. Mount Kófinos was due south from Kháraka, and about six miles off.

Andrea Cornaro[28] and Coronelli[29] speak of Astritzi, which is at no great distance from Mount Kófinos, as the site of Asterusia. We know from Stephanus of Byzantium[30], that there was a Cretan mountain called Asterusia, on the south side of the island, and looking on the sea. He adds that the Indian city Asterusia, on Mount Caucasos, was called after this Cretan mountain by the colonists who founded it. The pretended establishment of another Indian city on Caucasos, by a colony from Tarrha[31], is perhaps no very strong reason for preferring one of the lofty mountains in its neighbourhood, to the vicinity of Kófinos, as the site of the Cretan Asterusia. At all events the etymology of its name[32] indicates sufficiently that its situation must have been very lofty.

We passed through Haghía Photía[33], and then between Dhionýsi and Kária, which is a little to the north: half an hour from Dhionýsi is Tárves, where we are still at the foot of the range of low hills of which I have spoken.

[28] ANDREA CORNARO, Historia di Candia, ap. Cornel. Cret. Sacr. I. 119.

[29] CORONELLI, Isolario &c. Asterusia is the twenty-eighth place in his list.

[30] STEPHANUS BYZANT. Ἀστερουσία, ὄρος Κρήτης πρὸς νότιον μέρος, ἀποβλέπον εἰς θάλασσαν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ πόλις ἐπὶ τὸν Καύκασον Ἰνδικὴ Ἀστερουσία κέκληται, Κρητῶν ἀποικίας ἐκεῖσε σταλεῖσης.

[31] STEPHANUS BYZANT. v. Τάρρα: see HOECK's Kreta, Vol. II. p. 371.

[32] EUSTATHIUS, on Homer, Il. B. 332. Ἀστέριον—ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ γάρ, φασι, κειμένη τοῖς πόρρωθεν ὡς ἀστὴρ φαίνεται—ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀστερουσία Κρήτης, φασὶν, ὄρος, καὶ πόλις δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰηδικὸν Καύκασον.

[33] Ἡ ἁγία Φωτία, Santa Lucia, Saint Bridget.

On leaving this village, Tárves, I met a man who answered, in reply to my inquiries, that there was an inscription at the church of Hághios Gheórghios up the hill to the south of the village, and distant about a mile. We are now so near the site of Gortyna that I expect to find some record of an alliance between that city and another independent state, or perhaps some tribute of gratitude to a Roman emperor; or a record of the munificence of an Egyptian king. I thought that at all events I should find something interesting: and eagerly secured the services of my informant as a guide.

After toiling up the ascent to the church in question, I certainly found a large slab of marble, but unfortunately it had never had a single letter on any part of its surface. The ignorance of the Greek peasantry is such that a traveller must never be surprised at any disappointment respecting the existence of antiquities: although I must own that on the present occasion I did fully calculate on meeting with something to copy, and hoped to be enabled to make some addition to what is known about ancient Crete.

The village Plóra further on, and also on the slope of these mountains, on the south side of the plain of Gortyna, manifestly preserves traces of the name of Pyloros, a Cretan city mentioned by Pliny, in whose list Rhytium immediately follows it[34].

Leaving Tárves at one, we began to cross towards Haghíus Dhéka[35], and, passing Vagoniá about the middle

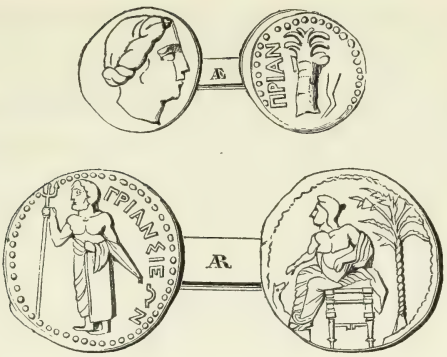
[34] PLINY, N. H. IV. 12. Mr Sieber finding this city Pyloros in Meursius's Map of Crete, near Gortyna, says, in a happier moment than is usual with him when he is concerned with ancient topography, "wahrscheinlich ist es das jetzige Plora unweit Gortyna." Reise nach der Insel, Kreta, Vol. II. p. 289.

[35] Τζῆ ἁγίους Δέκα, *The Ten Saints.* Forty Saints, Ἅγιοι Σαράντα, is a common name of Greek villages all over, but *Ten Saints* is peculiarly the name of this spot, where the ten saints of Gortyna are said to have suffered martyrdom in the reign of Decius. Few of the Cretan peasants knew any thing of Titus, but they are all familiar with the legend of these ten saints; of whom the reader will, in all probability, learn enough to satisfy his

of the plain, we arrived at three o'clock at the house of Captain Elías, who usually acts as *cicerone* to the strangers who visit the remains of Gortyna, and a cavern which the modern Greeks dignify by the name of "the labyrinth" in its neighbourhood. It is as clear as the sun at noon day, that the grotto in question is no more connected with the mythical labyrinth of Crete, which, as we have seen[36], was placed at Cnossos and not here, than any other cave in the island.

his curiosity on the subject, by consulting CORNELIUS, Cret. Sacr. Tom. I. pp. 156–166. and elsewhere. They have obtained a place not only in the Greek but also in the Roman Catholic Calendar, on the 23d of December.

[36] Above, Chapter XII.




COINS OF PRIANSOS.

## CHAPTER XIX.

HAGHIUS DHEKA. AMPELUSSA. THE ANCIENT AMPELOS. THE MODERN AMPELOS. A SFAKIAN DISTICH. DIBAKI. KLIMA. APODHULO. CRETAN SALUTATION. EVENTS AT APODHULO. THE DAUGHTER OF CAPTAIN ALEXANDHROS, CARRIED OFF AS A SLAVE IN 1821, AND RETURNS TO CRETE IN 1829, THE WIFE OF AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN. PROBABLE SITES OF PSYKHION AND SULIA. MONASTERY OF ASOMATOS.

*March* 30.

YESTERDAY afternoon I made a rapid survey of the existing ruins of Gortyna, which have been described[1], as well as the cavern called ὁ λαβύρινθος[2], by most travellers who have visited Crete. This morning was very rainy, and it appeared pretty clear that nothing

[1] BELON, Singularitez etc. Liv. I. ch. VI. fol. 8. TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Lettre II. pp. 58—64. POCOCKE, Description of the East and some other countries, Vol. II. Part I. pp. 252—255. SAVARY, Lettres sur la Grèce, Lettre XXIII. have all been more or less diffuse on the subject.

[2] See the last-cited authors, and COCKERELL, in WALPOLE'S Memoirs, Vol. II. pp. 402—406. SIEBER, Reise. Vol. I. pp. 510—520. and Professor HOECK'S "Fuenfte Beylage: Das Labyrinth bey Gortyna," Kreta, Vol. I. pp. 447—454.

could be done towards a careful examination of the site; I remained here all the day. An understanding, entered into with Captain Copeland, before I left Malta, that he would either come with his vessel, the Beacon, or send her little tender, the Isabella schooner, to Khaniá, about the first of April, made me anxious to press onward towards that city. It was on this account that I had crossed the narrow part of the island, between Kavúsi and Hierápetra, called the Khersonesos by Strabo[3], and had postponed, for the present, the examination of the province of Setía. It was on this account also, that I had omitted to visit Lýttos, and the mountains of Lasíthi. Even if I had remained here long enough to view, with sufficient attention, the site of Gortyna, and the neighbouring cavern, still there would have remained Phaestos, Metallon, Fair Havens, and Leben, to visit on a future occasion: I therefore determined to put off the examination of Gortyna and of its dependent and neighbouring states, towards the African sea, till I should have visited the Sfakian mountains and the other western parts of the island.

At nine o'clock, then, this morning I set off from Haghíus Dhéka, in spite of the rain, which continued to fall all the way as we rode along the plain to Dibáki.

The village Ampelússa, which is between two and three miles from Haghíus Dhéka, evidently derives its name from the vine[4]. The Cretan wine has always been more or less celebrated[5]. There was an ancient city Ampelos, towards the eastern extremity of the island[6]: and

[3] STRABO, x. p. 478. fin. Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Σαμωνίου καὶ τῆς Χερρονήσου ἡ Πραῖσος ἵδρυτο, ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἑξήκοντα σταδίοις. MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. VIII. p. 712. in speaking of the situation of Praesos, rightly observes, that Strabo's Khersonesos must denote the isthmus between Minoa Lyctiorum and Hierapytna.

[4] Ἄμπελος. The name of the village is pronounced Ambelússa.

[5] See on this subject, chapter XX. in this volume, and chapter XXIV. in the next, (pp. 51—56.)

[6] The promontory is found in PTOLEMY. PLINY, IV. 20. mentions the city.

Maniás informs me, that there is a place called 'Ampelo in Sfakiá, a little to the east of Askýfo, where a party of Mohammedans were surrounded, and, after a long and severe engagement, were nearly all destroyed, soon after the commencement of the Greek revolt. Many of them were left dead on the ground, and their bodies remained for weeks exposed to the burning summer sun. The dreadful stench which must have been thus produced may be conceived. Now the mountains about Askýfo ordinarily serve only as pasture for numerous flocks, and thus a mandrí, in which cheese is made, is found here and there among them. Hence the Sfakians sneered at the fate of this ill-starred party of Mohammedans in the ironical distich:

Στὴν Ἄμπελον ὁ Ἱερλὶ-Ἀγᾶς
ἐκάτσε τυροκόμας·
μὰ βρώμισε τοῦτο τυρί,
γροικᾶται ἀκόμη ὁ βρῶμος.

At 'Ampelo th' Yerlí-Agá
His station took, that there
He cheese might make: and with its stench
It still infects the air.

Another village, Bobia, near the edge of the plain of Mesará, calls to mind the ancient Boebe, of which we only know that it was in the Gortynian district[7].

We arrived at Dibáki at noon, having started from Haghíus Dhéka at nine o'clock. On leaving the plain we crossed a river which flows under Klíma. Advancing further along these south-eastern slopes of Mount Ida, we passed the small Mohammedan village of Sáhta, the first of a district called Abadhiá, and containing eight villages, chiefly inhabited by Mohammedans. The places are Haghía Paraské, Plátanos, Apodhúlo, Vathiakó, 'Ard-

[7] Stephanus Byzant. Βοίβη—ἔστι ἐν Κρήτῃ Βοίβη τῆς Γορτυνίδος.

hakto, Sáhta, Kurútes and Níthavri. They are spread along the southern and south-eastern slopes of Mount Ida, and the chief wealth of their inhabitants consists in the olive-trees which grow in their neighbourhood. There is likewise some arable land up in the valleys hereabouts, and several of the inhabitants of Abadhiá have also land down in the plain of Mesará. The term *Abadhiótes* is confined strictly to the Mohammedan inhabitants of the district.

I was at great pains, during my stay in Crete, to ascertain whether the account given respecting these Abadhiótes, by a French traveller, is at all correct. It was wholly in vain that I endeavoured to find any traces of the peculiarities of language and customs which Olivier[8] mentions as existing in this part of the island. Before the Greek revolution, the Mohammedans of Abadhiá were celebrated for the very frequent acts of violence which they committed, and which were ordinarily suffered to remain unpunished by the Turkish authorities of Megálo-Kástron; but in *no other point* did there exist the least difference between them and the other Mohammedans of the island.

The first village seen, after leaving Sáhta, is Plátanos, situated about a mile to the right: after passing through Vathiakó, we arrived at Apodhúlo at three o'clock. A few paces before entering this village I met a man, of whom I made some inquiries respecting the Proestós. The words of his salutation were remarkable[9], although I had heard them three or four times before, since I landed in Crete, and they called

[8] Olivier, Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, Tom. II. ch. XII. p. 309. "Parmi les peuples qui habitent aujourd'hui l'île de Crète, on remarque les Abadiotes, Musulmans de religion, Arabes d'origine, et restes de ces Sarrasins dont nous venons de parler. Leur physiognomie, differente de celle des autres Turcs," (!) "et la langue arabe qu'ils parlent entr'eux," (!!) "*ne laissent aucun doute à ce sujet.*" (!!!).

[9] They were, πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη στὸ ὄνομά σας, instead of the common Cretan phrase, πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη σᾶς.

to my mind some passages of Euripides[10], and a difference of opinion between Porson and Hermann on the subject of them.

At Apodhúlo I went to the house of the Proestós, Captain Aléxandhros, or, as he is more commonly called, Alexandhrákes, by whom I was hospitably received on a subsequent occasion, and the history of whose fortunes, from the beginning of the revolution to the present time, is not devoid of interest.

When the Sfakians and Rhizítes arose in insurrection against their Moslem lords, early in July 1821, the Mohammedans of Khaniá and the neighbouring districts were not long in finding out, that they were unable to put down the revolt. They were soon joined by very numerous succours from the central and eastern parts, where their correligionaries were more numerous than in the west. Christians were taken as servants by many of the Mohammedans who joined this expedition, and who were also accompanied by spare horses and mules, which they meant to load with the spoils of Sfakiá. They remembered the victory obtained over the Sfakians in 1770, and thought their success would be equally certain now. As these numerous forces passed through the district of Amári, on their way to Khaniá, they did not either murder or even plunder the quiet and peaceful Christian inhabitants. But, on their return, they wreaked vengeance on the defenceless and submissive rayas of Amári, Hághios Vasílios, and the other districts through which they passed, for the sufferings and losses they had endured in the Sfakian mountains. Every Greek whom they fell in with they massacred: the women and children they made prisoners and slaves. No *orders* to commit such enormities were issued by Sherif-pashá, the Governor-general of the island and

[10] EURIPIDES, Hec. 433. Herm. ed. 1831.

ὦ φῶς· προσειπεῖν γὰρ σὸν ὄνομ' ἔξεστί μοι.

Orest. 1080. Pors.

ἀλλ' ὦ ποθεινὸν ὄνομ' ὁμιλίας ἐμῆς.

Commander-in-chief of the expedition; but straggling parties of his returning troops spread themselves over the country, and, with the ordinary license of Janissaries and irregular forces, acted in this lawless way, although assurances had been given, both by the Pashá and by Agriolídhes, that the Amariótes, who were still peaceable subjects, should remain uninjured.

The news of this conduct of the Mohammedans spread rapidly throughout the district, and, before they arrived at Apodhúlo, my host and all the male Christian inhabitants of the village had already sought security on the lofty summits of Mount Ida. Two old men, each upwards of a hundred years of age, supposed that their years would protect them, and remained at home, but were both massacred.

My host's family had been suffering severely from that common scourge of every part of the Turkish empire, the plague: no less than four of his children had been its victims. He had placed his daughter Kalítza and his son Ioánnes in a hut, a little to the east of the village, with a woman, who had also with her three of her own children, to be out of the way of contagion, until the plague should have left the village. Aléxandhros went, on the morning in question, to tell his children, and the woman in the hut, of the expected passage of the Mohammedans, and to bid them not to be alarmed. The troops at length passed along in great numbers, and the hut was not examined by any of them. At last, however, a single straggler stopped, and turned aside from the road, to gather herbs in a field close by the place of refuge of the woman and children. The cottage attracted his attention: he cautiously approached it; and, at length, demanded whether there were any *men* within it. He was of course told that there were none. He then ordered the woman to open the door that he might see within the house; and, on satisfying himself of the defenceless condition of its occupants, he entered. The result was that he carried off with him to Dibáki,

as captives, this helpless woman and the five children. Soon afterwards the two children of Aléxandhros were separated from their companions in the hut, and at last from each other. Kalítza, while at Dibáki, saw her mother, and her infant brother Constantine, who had both suffered the same misfortune, and were then, like herself and her other brother, captives and slaves.

For a long time Aléxandhros and his wife could learn nothing of the fate of their children, except that their daughter had been sent to Egypt, and that their son had been disposed of to a Mohammedan within the walls of Megálo-Kástron. At length, however, tidings respecting their daughter, as definite as they were cheering and unlooked for, reached them.

Years rolled on, and, in the month of September 1829, an Englishman, accompanied by his wife and several domestics, arrived at Khaniá: in a few days a meeting took place between the strangers and Captain Aléxandhros's family. It would be as difficult to describe as it is easy to conceive the joy experienced by the parents on receiving this full proof, by the evidence of their senses, of the happy fortune which had attended their child. She who had been for years deplored by them as dwelling in Egyptian bondage, was the wife of an English gentleman[11].

Before I left Crete, I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with this long-lost daughter and her husband; of spending some time with them in Megálo-Kástron; of visiting them under the roof of Captain Aléxandhros at Apodhúlo, and of rambling with them on the slopes of Mount Ida. They were then on their return from Egypt, where they had long resided, to England.

When at Apodhúlo, I was told that at Kastrí, between two and three miles off towards the sea, considerable Hellenic remains are found. The chief port of

[11] This they learnt by letter, from their daughter, some time before.

Amári is Hághio Galéne, which is somewhat to the eastward of Apodhúlo, and is probably the site of the ancient Sulia or Sulena, recorded by the author of the Stadiasmus[12], as a promontory where there was a harbour and good water. It was sixty-five stades from Matala. Psychion, a city mentioned by Stephanus[13], and fixed by Ptolemy[14] between Phoenix and Matalia, is placed by the Stadiasmus[15] twelve stades to the west of Sulia, a distance which agrees very well with the situation of Kastrí.

In half an hour after leaving Apodhúlo, Níthavri is on our right, on the side of Pselorítes, and about half a mile off. We now descend for about twenty minutes, and then cross a torrent which flows from Pselorítes to the south coast. Before reaching the summit of the ascent on the opposite side I saw to some distance down this valley, and observed that, lower down, the river passes through a perpendicular cleft in the rocks. After an ascent of nearly half an hour, along parts of which, as well as in the previous descent, considerable remains of a Venetian paved road still exist, we see spread out before us the fine valley of Asómatos. On the left side of it are the villages of Anómeros, Vrýsis and Monasteráki: to the right, just before us, is Vasári, and, on a hill, Fúrfuras, which is about six hundred paces beyond Visári. These villages are surrounded with olive-trees, as at lower elevations. Fúrfuras was the scene of a considerable engagement between the Greeks and Turks, during the first year of the war. We reached the summit at ten minutes past six; and, after traversing the valley till a little before seven, we discerned to our left some cypress-trees and parts of a white

[12] Anonymi Stadiasmus, in Geograph. Graec. Min. I. II. p. 495. ed. Gail. Ἀπὸ Ματάλης εἰς Σουλίαν στάδ. ξέ. ἀκρωτήριόν ἐστιν ἀνέχον πρὸς μεσημβρίαν· λιμὴν ἐστι· καλὸν ὕδωρ ἔχει.

[13] Stephanus Byz. Ψύχιον, τόπος Κρήτης, ἐν ᾧ πόλις ἦν ὁμώνυμος.

[14] Ptolemy, p. 31. [15] Stadiasmus, l. c.

building, which proved to be the monastery of Asómatos. In a few minutes we were standing by a blazing fire, lighted up in the chamber reserved for visitors: we soon obtained some refreshments, and excellent wine, which, after a ride of nearly ten hours from Haghíus Dhéka, was most acceptable.

AN EVENING IN A PEASANT'S COTTAGE.

## CHAPTER XX.

MONASTERY OF ASOMATOS. EVENTS AT RHITHYMNOS IN JULY 1821. THE CRETAN'S ATTACHMENT TO HIS NATIVE LAND. THE WATER OF THE STONE. MONASTERY OF ARKADHI. THE SITES OF ELEUTHERNA AND SYBRITIA. FATE OF THE MOHAMMEDAN LEADER IATIMELES. EXACTIONS OF THE SFAKIANS. AMNATO. MOSQUE, AND VESTIGES OF THE VENETIANS. TRIPODOS, DEMETER, AND IASION. EFFECTS OF THE GREEK DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION EXEMPLIFIED IN THE LANGUAGE OF A DRUNKEN MOHAMMEDAN. IDENTITY BETWEEN CERTAIN DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES OF THE ROMAN AND GREEK CHURCHES. THE MOHAM-

MEDAN PREJUDICE AGAINST WINE COMMON AMONG ORIENTALS. THE VINE OF EGYPT. ARRIVAL AT PERIVOLIA, NEAR RHITHYMNOS. THE "FIRST-FLOOR" OF A GREEK COTTAGE. SPRINGS OF WATER WHICH IS WARM IN WINTER AND COLD IN SUMMER. ARRIVAL AT KHANIA AFTER SUNSET. THE GATES OPENED. RECORDS OF THE FRENCH CONSULATE. SARCOPHAGUS FOUND AT ARVI.

*March* 31.

THE venerable Hegúmenos tells me that the monastery possessed annals of its history, which were burnt during the revolution. At present its members are only the Hegúmenos, three Patéres and three servants. In former times it had an Hegúmenos, six Patéres and ten servants. Soon after the commencement of the Greek revolution, the Pashá of Rhíthymnos invited the Abbots of several monasteries, as well as many Patéres and Papádhes, (monks and parish priests,) from Mylopótamos, Amári, and the Rhithymnian district, to go into the city that they might each of them receive a written document (bujurdí) of amnesty and pardon to their correligionaries for what had happened. These documents were to be promulgated by the priests in their respective districts, and to be enforced by their own authority and influence, in order to induce the christian peasantry to remain quiet. It was pretended that the tranquillity of this part of the island would probably be then ensured. Many of the poor priests trusted the Turks; for, knowing well that the proposed means were likely to produce their object, the tranquillity of the island, they thought it natural that they should be adopted. One of those who thus went to Rhíthymnos, to receive instructions from the Turkish authorities, was the Hegúmenos of this monastery. Those who arrived first were detained within the city, and when their number, within its walls, was judged to be sufficiently great, they were all put to death. They thus learnt, when too late, how fatal a mistake they had committed in having supposed the Turks capable of using any means, but those of force and terror, to appease the revolt.

This account of the Hegúmenos is confirmed by the words of a letter, written on the 15th of August 1821, by Monsieur D'Herculez, the Austrian Vice-Consul at Khaniá, to the Imperial Internuncio at Constantinople[1].

From that time the monastery remained without either Hegúmenos or Patéres till about three years ago, when, on the restoration of tranquillity by the Egyptians, the present Hegúmenos returned. He had spent five years of the revolution in Síphnos, and the rest in other islands, occasionally visiting Crete. He embraced the first opportunity of returning to establish himself in the country of his birth, although it is still under Turkish sway, "for," as he says, "one's native land is always sweet[2]."

Distinguished as all the Greeks are by the love of their own country, this general characteristic is still more strongly developed in the Cretans than in the inhabitants of any other district, with which I am acquainted in this part of the world. In ancient times, the Cretans shewed this affection for their native island by calling it not by the common name of fatherland, (*πατρίς*,) but by the still dearer appellation of *mother-land* (*μητρίς*,) a word which is mentioned, as peculiar to the Cretans, by Plato, Plutarch, Aelian, and Synesius[3].

On leaving the monastery of Asómatos we ascended for nearly half an hour, and then a descent of about

[1] The words to which I allude are the following: "L'insurrection des Grecs n'est pas générale, le Pacha de Candie a établi dans le temps un cordon de Janissaires pour contenir plusieurs provinces, qui, n'ayant pas été molestées par les Turcs, sont restées dans le devoir. Le Pacha de Rettimo, moins prévoyant, a par contre autorisé le massacre de plusieurs Grecs, sans prendre, au préalable, des mesures pour éviter un soulèvement."

[2] Ἡ *πατρίδα εἶναι πάντοτε γλυκεῖα εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.*

[3] PLATO, Rep. IX. p. 575. d. *Καὶ ὑπὸ τούτοις δὴ δουλεύουσαν τὴν πάλαι φίλην μητρίδα τε, Κρῆτές φασι, καὶ πατρίδα ἔξει τε καὶ θρέψει.* PLUTARCH, II. p. 792. e. Ἡ δὲ *πατρὶς καὶ μητρίς, ὡς Κρῆτες καλοῦσι, πρεσβύτερα καὶ μείζονα δίκαια γονέων ἔχουσα.* AELIAN, V. H. XIII. 38. (and KUHNIUS) AELIAN, N. A. XVII. 35. and 40. (and F. JACOBS,) SYNESIUS, Ep. XCIV. (See also STEPHANUS BYZANT. in *Ios*, and PAUSANIAS, X. p. 857.) MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 256. and HOECK, Kreta, Vol. III. p. 519.

Schranz del. L. Raghe Lith.

[illegible] OF ARCADIA

equal length brought us to the Water of the Stone[4], a fountain the virtues of which are the same as those assigned to many fountains, by ancient authors[5], and have probably been the cause of its name. So celebrated is it, that persons sometimes send to the monastery which we have left, even from Constantinople, for a few bottles of it, and it is said to be always highly beneficial to the invalids who take it. The mountain hereabouts is covered with heath[6] and wild strawberry trees[7].

An ascent of forty minutes brings us in sight of the monastery of Arkádhi, on a little plain and surrounded by many pine-trees. Over the entrance gateway is an inscription, coeval, I suppose, with the erection of the building, in which mention is made of the monk Neóphytos, the Hegúmenos of the monastery[8].

I ascertained while here, that there are ancient remains near the metókhi Elévtherna, which is less than three miles to the north-east or east of Arkádhi. Now, supposing the site of Eleutherna to be near this metókhi of the monastery, I was naturally induced to make all

[4] Τῆς πέτρας τὸ νερόν.

[5] VITRUVIUS, VIII. 3. "Item sunt nonnullae acidae venae fontium—quae hanc habent virtutem, uti calculos, in vesicis, qui nascuntur in corporibus hominum, potionibus discutiant. PLINY, N. H. XXXI. 5. In Aenaria insula calculosis mederi. Et quae vocatur Acidula—haec frigida. Item &c." Again. c. 8. "Tungri civitas Galliae fontem habet insignem. Purgat hic corpora, tertianas febres discutit, calculorumque vitia." The surgical operation, so commonly performed for this disease, in modern times, was known to the ancients, and is very fully described by CELSUS, de Medic. VII. c. XXVI. § 2. and 3.

[6] Ἐρείκη.

[7] Κόμαροι.

[8] ΜΝΗCΘΗΤΙ͞ΚΕ ΤΗC ΨΥΧΗC ΤΥ ΔΥΛΥ CΥ
ΝΕΟΦΥΤΥΙΕΡΟΜΟΝΑΧΥ
ΤΥ ΚΑΘΗΓΥΜΕΝΥ Κ\ ΠΑCΗC ΤΗCΕΝΧ͞Ω
ΗΜΩΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΤΗΤΟC

|ΑΧ| |ϛΓ|

possible inquiries to learn the situation of Sybritia. We know from the Peutinger Table that the latter city was eight miles to the south-west of Eleutherna; and its numerous and beautiful silver coins would lead us to suppose it to have been a place of some consideration. Scylax mentions it, along with Eleutherna, saying that Eleutherna is on the north side of the island, and Sybritia on the south[9]; and its name occurs even in Hierocles[10].

My very diligent inquiries after the city which was situated so near Eleutherna, were at length successful. I discovered that there are vestiges of antiquity on the summit of a lofty hill, about five miles to the southward of Arkádhi. The distance agrees very well with that of the Table, and it is only necessary to examine the sites, in order to be able to decide with confidence on the question. Supposing however as I did, that the Beacon would reach Khaniá about the first of April, and being anxious to see Captain Copeland, as I have already mentioned, I postponed my examination of these sites, for the present[11].

In the winter after the revolution commenced, the Sfakians began to spread themselves over the district of Amári, and engaged the Rhithymnióte Mohammedans both in Amári and Rhíthymnos. On this Iatimelés, a Mohammedan leader, left Rhíthymnos with eighty picked men, and took possession of the monastery of Arkádhi. He supposed that his presence, with such a party, would tend to keep the neighbouring district tranquil, since the Christians of Amári had not yet revolted, and the Mohammedans were all remaining quiet in their villages. The straggling parties of armed Christians, chiefly natives of Sfakiá, who were dispersed through the

[9] Scylax, in Geog. Gr. Min. T. I. p. 265. Gail.

[10] Hierocles, ed. Wess. p. 651.

[11] It was not until I had explored all the western part of the island, and had taken some pains in examining the Sfakian mountains, that I was able to return to my monastic friends of Arkádhi and Asómatos, and to look upon what is left of Eleutherna and Sybritia.

neighbourhood, no sooner learnt that Iatimelés had established himself at Arkádhi, than orders to assemble were immediately given by their leaders, and on the evening of the festival of Hághios Antónios, a little while after sunset, the Christians assembled at Thrónos to the number of 400 men. The Mohammedans had then been only a few days in the monastery. Some time before midnight the Christians commenced their march, and in about two hours arrived at Arkádhi. A postern, of the existence of which the Mohammedans in the monastery were ignorant, was opened to them by the Patéres, who were in correspondence with them and expected their arrival. The Mohammedan inmates of the convent knew nothing of the silent entrance of these armed and rebel Christians within its walls. Most of them were lodged in the Hegumenikó[12], but others were dispersed in different cells around the court-yard of the monastery.

Some time before day-break the Christians made a sudden attack on the unsuspecting Moslems. Those who were sleeping in different cells were most of them dispatched without great difficulty; but a few fought their way to the Hegumenikó, and prepared for a desperate defence. The Christians, however, succeeded in setting fire to the building, and the Mohammedans, who saw that there was no longer a possibility of either resistance or escape, surrendered. In all likelihood the victors promised to spare their lives; "but when they had come out of the Hegumenikó, the Christians saw that several of themselves had fallen: one of them found his brother slain, and another his cousin, and another his companion; and they therefore put all their prisoners to death[13]." There

[12] Which, in our own monastic language of the nineteenth century, would be called the Master's, President's or Provost's Lodge.

[13] Captain Maniás made this apology for his correligionaires: his words were: Ἀπῆς τοὺς ἔβγαλαν ὄξω ἀπὸ τὸ Ἡγουμενικό, εἶδασι καὶ Ῥωμαίους πολλοὺς χαρασμένους, καὶ εὑρήκασιν ὁ γῆς τὸν ἀδερφόν του, καὶ ὁ ἀῤῥος τὸν ἐξαδερφόν του, καὶ ὁ ἀῤῥος τὸν σύντροφόν του σκοτωμένους· καὶ τότες τοὺς

were only seven Christians slain, while of the Mohammedans no more than eight or ten escaped. The bodies of all these slaughtered Mohammedans were thrown into a well near the monastery. The ordinary rites of Christian burial were performed by the Hegúmenos and Patéres over the remains of the Greeks.

The events of this expedition of Iatimelés, like others which have been already mentioned, are duly celebrated in a popular song, which begins in a bitterly ironical strain:

Ἐσηκώθηκεν ὁ Ἰατιμελῆς
νὰ πάγῃ στὸ Ἀρκάδι,
νὰ πάγῃ νὰ βρῇ τὸν Ἡγούμενον,
νὰ λειτουργοῦν ὁμάδι·

'Twas Iatimelés set forth
And to Arkádhi went,
The Hegúmenos that he might find,
With whom to pray he meant!

The Mohammedans of Rhíthymnos, on learning the fate of Iatimelés, came here with all their force. The Hegúmenos and his kalógheri felt their character as peaceable rayas so completely compromised, by the events which had happened, that when the armed Greeks left the monastery they too retired to the loftier ranges of mount Ida in the district of Amári. Two very old kalógheri, who were hardly able to walk, thought their age would protect them, and remained behind. When the Mohammedans came to the monastery, they shot them both, and reduced the greater part of the buildings to a heap of ruins.

τοὺς ἐπίανε ἡ πίκρα, καὶ τοὺς ἐχάρασαν ὅρους. He added, what was probably the only true cause of the massacre, Ἐγνώρισαν ὅπως ἦτονι οἱ πρῶτοι ἀνδρειωμένοι τοῦ Ῥιθύμνου, καὶ δὲν ἦτονι διαφορητικὸν νὰ γυρίσωσιν ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ Ῥίθυμνος· they were fine fellows, and it was not desirable that the Greeks should ever have to fight with them again.

The Hegúmenos and Patéres remained in the district of Amári till the following Easter. They then returned, and, fitting up a few of the apartments of the burnt monastery, resided here till they heard, the year after, that Khuseín-bey was coming: they then again fled to the lofty mountain summits, and afterwards stationed themselves at their metókhi at Véni, situated near the summit of a lofty hill on which are found the ruins of Sybritia. They dwelt at Véni from October till April. Amári having submitted to Khuseín-bey they returned to the convent, and never fled from it afterwards. They used to have daily visits paid them by Sfakians and other armed Christians, and the Hegúmenos asserts, that they experienced rougher treatment at the hands of the Sfakians, than they had ever met with from the Mohammedans.[14] They were plundered of many sheep and goats, as well as of the plate of the monastery[15]. The Sfakians however used to allege, that they wanted these contributions to help to defray the expenses of the war[16]; and, since it is a notorious fact that no Sfakian has enriched himself by these acts of rapine, but, like the Hydhraeans, most of them are much poorer than they were before the beginning of the insurrection, it must be admitted that something may be said in their defence, for having applied the useless monastic silver to military purposes.

We left the monastery of Arkádhi at a quarter before four, and immediately descended into a ravine, which we crossed. Following the path, on its western side, we emerged at its entrance at half-past four, when Amnátos was before us about two miles off. The minaret seen towering above the houses of this village, indicated that its inhabitants are chiefly Mohammedans.

[14] Μᾶς ἐκάμασι πράγματα οἱ Σφακιανοὶ ἄπου δὲν τὰ εἴδαμεν ἀπὸ τῆς Τουρκίας.

[15] Consisting chiefly of silver candlesticks and lamps used in the church. The Hegúmenos tells me that these ornaments amounted to 25 okes of silver and 170 drachms of gold.

[16] Διὰ τὰ ἔξοδα τοῦ πολέμου.

I observed, in riding through it, several houses which had been built in the time of the Venetians. Above the entrance to one of them is placed a coat of arms, cut in stone, and under it the inscription,

INITIUM SAPIENTIE TIMOR DOMINI.

A Doric column is still standing on each side of this entrance.

It appears from Sieber[17], that there is a village, Tripodus, in this neighbourhood. He passed through it, and endeavours to persuade his reader that it is the site of an ancient city[18]. Meursius[19] had numbered Tripodus among the ancient Cretan cities, misled by a false reading in Diodorus Siculus[20], who speaks of the amour of Iasion with Demeter, which, as we know from Hesiod[21], took place "in a newly broken up field which had been thrice ploughed." Theocritus speaks of the good fortune of Iasion as too great to be listened to by profane ears[22]; and his Scholiast[23] tells us, that Demeter visited Iasion in Crete, when he was sleeping in a meadow. It is evident, therefore, that we have no reason for believing in the existence of any Cretan

[17] SIEBER's Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. II. p. 292.

[18] With SIEBER l. c. compare HOECK's Kreta, Vol. I. p. 436.

[19] MEURSIUS Creta, p. 61.

[20] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 77. Compare NEUMANN, Rerum Creticarum Specimen, p. 32.

[21] HESIOD, Theogon. 969.

Δημήτηρ μὲν Πλοῦτον ἐγείνατο δῖα θεάων,
Ἰασίῳ ἥρωϊ μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότητι,
νειῷ ἐνὶ τριπόλῳ Κρήτης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ.

[22] THEOCRITUS, Idyll. III. 50.

Ζαλῶ δέ, φίλα γύναι, Ἰασίωνα,
ὃς τόσσων ἐκύρησεν ὅσ' οὐ πευσεῖσθε βέβαλοι.

The story was, however, well known to every one, as Mr Lobeck has observed. On the allegorical interpretation of DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 49: see LOBECK, Aglaoph. p. 136.

[23] SCHOLIAST ON THEOCRITUS, l. c. T. IV. p. 73. ed. Gaisf. Ἰασίων ὁ Κρής, Κρήτης βασιλεύς, υἱὸς ἦν Μίνωος, καὶ Φρονίας νύμφης. Τούτῳ ἐν λειμῶνι κοιμωμένῳ ἡ Δημήτηρ συνῆλθε.

city Tripodus or Tripolus; and cannot follow Diodorus Siculus and Dr Cramer[24] in speaking of Tripolus, which is Hesiod's mere adjective "thrice-ploughed," as the proper name of the spot "where Plutus was said by the mythologists to have been born."

For the first half hour of our journey after passing the village of Amnátos, the road lay through groves of olive trees, almost entirely uncultivated. At a quarter before six we crossed a stream, and at six reached the Turkish village of Lutrá; at twenty minutes after six we passed Peghé[25]; and, a little further on, met two Mohammedans who were returning from Rhíthymnos, where they had been spending the day. One of them was in such a state of inebriation, from the quantity of wine he had been drinking in the city, that he could hardly sit on his horse. He professed to wish to communicate something of importance to me; but would not speak while my Christian guide, Captain Maniás, was within hearing. I therefore sent Maniás on, and waited to receive the important communication which he was so very anxious to make to me. His confession was as follows: "I am a Mohammedan, and yet, while in the city to day, I have been drinking the blood of Christ[26]."

Although the Mohammedans of Crete generally indulge, with the temperance usual among orientals, in the juice of the grape, yet they of course know, that to do so is a peculiar habit of the *Cretan* Musulman, and does not at all improve his character for orthodoxy in the opinion of other true believers[27]. Thus

[24] CRAMER, Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 395., in his list of such towns "as are named by ancient authors, but the localities of which we have not the means of ascertaining," mentions "Tripolus, a spot where Plutus was said by the mythologists to have been born."

[25] See above, pp. 115—121.

[26] Εἶμαι Τοῦρκος—hiccup—Τοῦρκος—hiccup—ὅμως—σήμερον—ἔπια τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[27] See above, p. 10. Positive drunkenness is a civil offence according to Mohammedan law, and is punishable by a fine. Although the Cretan Mohammedans

this drunken fellow knew that, by his excess, he had committed an offence against the precepts of his own religion; and the monstrous dogma of transubstantiation, held by the Greek church as well as by the Roman Catholic[28], doubtless suggested to him the

Mohammedans drink wine, and consider it as an old and peculiar custom, yet their women never suffer it to pass their lips, and their drinking it would be regarded, both by themselves and the men, as a great crime. Thus, wine was expressly forbidden to the women in ancient Rome and Italy: see ATHENAEUS, x. pp. 440—441., as well as at Massilia and Miletos: ATHENAEUS, x. p. 429.

[28] The Oriental church keeps pace with her sister of Rome in almost all her extravagances, and (if I may revert to a subject which has been already frequently alluded to) most of all in the facility with which she adopts old Heathen legends, and clothes them in a Christian garb. Probably there are few Heathen superstitions patronized by the Pope of Rome which are not equally petted by the Patriarch of Constantinople. As the Pagan legend, that a statue of Apollo, on the approach of a great public calamity, wept three days and three nights successively, has been adopted at Rome (see LIVY, XLIII. 13, and MIDDLETON's Letter from Rome, p. 204), so when Constantinople was entered by the victorious troops of Mohammed II. a voice came from Heaven to the priests, who were officiating in the temple of Haghía Sophía, (*Φωνὴ τοὺς ἤρθ' ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀγγέλων 'πὸ τὸ στόμα·* FAURIEL, Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne, Tom. II. p. 338.) telling them to cease from their psalmody, and,

*Σὰν τ' ἄκουσεν ἡ Δέσποινα, δακρύζουν αἱ εἰκόνες,*

When this the Virgin heard, *her pictures wept!*

The same voice, however, consoled her, by saying,

*Σῶπα, Κυρία Δέσποινα, μὴν κλαίῃς μὴ δακρύσῃς·*
*Πάλι μὲ χρόνους, μὲ καιροὺς πάλι' δικά σου εἶναι.*

Be still, O Lady Virgin, shed no tears!
Again, in time, these things shall be thy own!

In respect of reliques also, a melancholy rivalry has long existed between members of the churches of Rome and Constantinople, and it seems almost difficult to decide which of the two parties are the more deserving of reprobation and contempt. When they were pitted together, to argue the great question between the Eastern and Western churches, respecting the use of leavened or unleavened bread for the consecrated wafer, the Greek seems to have used some of his reliques as an unanswerable argument against the Romanist: he exhibited a piece of the very loaf of which Christ spoke the celebrated words during the last supper! It was found to be leavened, and the Romanists could make no reply!! They could not doubt respecting the uncorrupted preservation of a piece of bread for any number of centuries; for the Greek believes, that the consecrated elements, on becoming the very body

strange and shocking expression which he used. And indeed, his exclamation seems even natural, when we remember his credulous neighbour's adoration of the wine, even *before* its miraculous conversion; and his monstrous belief, that by the magic words of a priest, the wholesome juice of the grape is changed into the very blood of "Him who made the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all that in them is[29]."

The strong prejudice now entertained by Mohammedans against the use of wine, has been common among Orientals from very ancient times, and was a prominent feature in the systems of several sects of Christian heretics[30].

We know that wine was likewise forbidden to the ancient Egyptians, on religious principles which continued to prevail till the age of Psammetichus[31], only about six centuries before the Christian era[32]. Wine

body of the Deity, are rendered incapable of corruption, (see LEO ALLATIUS, l. c. p. 172.;) and the Romanist regards even the every day holy water of his churches as endued with the same miraculous property: LEO ALLATIUS, l. c.

[29] "When the Priest consecrates the elements, the very substance of the bread and of the wine is transformed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ." See WADDINGTON, p. 44. The doctrine is very distinctly laid down by the Oriental Church; and Tournefort found that even the ignorant papáses were aware of the doctrine of their church being, that Christ is present σωματικῶς (bodily).

[30] AUGUSTIN, de Morib. Manichae. II. § 44. EPIPHANIUS, Haeres. XLV. § 1. JABLONSKI, Pantheon Aegypt. I. p. 132.

[31] PLUTARCH, on Isis and Osiris, p. 353. b. Ἤρξαντο δὲ πίνειν ἀπὸ Ψαμμητίχου, πρότερον δὲ οὐκ ἔπινον οἶνον.

[32] The pictorial monuments exhibited by ROSELLINI, I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, Tom. II. (Monumenti Civili,) Tav. No. XXXVII. XXXVIII. XXXIX. (compare also LXIX.) seem to represent processes of the art of making wine, identical with those described by Greek and Roman writers. The question whether they are due exclusively either to Greek art, or to intercourse with the Greeks, is important and interesting. I leave it to Oriental scholars to decide whether there is any soundness in Rosellini's views respecting his Coptic Saufi, whom he endeavours to identify with the Cheops of Herodotus, and confine myself, designedly, to the evidence of the Greek authors. This question of the growth of the vine in Egypt, with reference to the date of Genesis, has been more or less fully discussed by Michaelis, Jablonski, Heeren, Voss, Drumann, and Bohlen.

was then regarded as the blood of the impious giants who had fought against the gods[33].

The culture of the vine might be supposed to have been introduced into Egypt by the Greek colonists, who, in the time of Psammetichus, settled in the country, but that Herodotus expressly denies that there were vines in Egypt in his time[34]. At all events, at a later period, Egyptian wines became celebrated, and are frequently spoken of by ancient authors. The absurd identification of the Egyptian Osiris, with the Theban Dionysos, led to most erroneous notions on this subject, as Jablonski has observed[35].

The spread of Mohammedanism over Egypt proved as fatal to the cultivation of the vine, as the restoration of the old Egyptian religion would have been: and, throughout the long period during which Venice was in possession of Crete, a large portion of the wine produced here was exported to Egypt for the use of the Christians and Jews who dwelt in the principal cities of that country[36].

The oppressive and unjust government of the Venetians used to cause the emigration of many Christian families, who could better live under the Mohammedans of Egypt than under the Venetian-Christians of Crete. The great annual exportation of wine to Alexandria and Cairo[37], caused so many of them to settle in those

[33] PLUTARCH, l. c. p. 353. b. Αἷμα τῶν πολεμησάντων ποτὲ τοῖς θεοῖς.

[34] HERODOTUS, II. 77. Οἴνῳ δ' ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένῳ διαχρέωνται, οὐ γάρ σφί εἰσι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἄμπελοι. Similarly ATHENAEUS, X. p. 418. e. and p. 447. c. The poor people of Alexandria continued to use this cheap home-brewed beer in later times: STRABO, XVII. p. 799. It is called ζύθος by Herodotus and other authors, and was also known by the name βρῦτον, as appears from SOPHOCLES, in Athen. X. p. 447. b. Τὸν δὲ κρίθινον οἶνον καὶ βρῦτον τινὲς καλοῦσιν, ὡς Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Τριπτολέμῳ.

[35] JABLONSKI Pantheon Aegypt. I. p. 130. "Qui Osiridem vitis inventorem faciunt, non sane animadvertunt, quantum adversus religionem Aegyptiorum piaculum committant."

[36] Below, Vol. II. p. 56. note 50. Compare VON BOHLEN, Das alte Indien, Vol. I. p. 144. and Genesis, p. 374.

[37] I quote from an official Report to the Senate:—"Rendono con le varie oppressioni e tirannie considerata si dura la conditione de' sudditi più deboli in

cities, that the Venetian consul of the latter place made a formal complaint on the subject to a Proveditor in Crete[38].

A little before seven we passed another long tract of uncultivated olives, and, in about half an hour more, arrived at the village of Perivólia, where, since it was then long after sunset, and we should in all probability have found great difficulty in obtaining admission into the city, if we had proceeded to it, we determined to repose for the night.

Maniás conducted us to the house of a relation of his, the greater part of whose family had retired to rest before we arrived. Within the single apartment, on the ground-floor, of which, as is generally the case in all the villages of Crete, the house consists, we find a sort of upper story, or rather a wooden floor, extending along about one-third of the apartment, at a height of nine or ten feet from the ground. This apology for a "first floor," is reached by a ladder, and is ordinarily used as the sleeping-place of the family. We threw the cottagers into great confusion by arriving after they had retired to rest. They insisted on giving up to us the "first floor" in question; so we ascended by the ladder, and were fortunate enough to rest extremely well.

*April* 1.

We started from Perivólia before seven, and passing outside the gates of Rhíthymnos, journeyed on as far as Dhrámia, before we halted. We reached the house of Captain Maniás at a quarter before eleven. His

in quel regno, che molti eligono di svellarsi e sradicarsi con le loro famiglie dal caro nido, et amata patria, e passar nei paesi e sotto al dominio degli Infedeli."

[38] The Consul's name was Antonio Capello, and he writes under the date of 14 September, 1622, saying, that, "Venetian subjects come to all parts of Egypt, from Crete and other places, and that from their keeping taverns, &c. nascono homicidii questioni et altri scandali." This being attributed wholly to the Franks 'ci facciamo odiosi a tutti'—He adds: "Se ne fanno molte volte Turchi, in modo che dalla venuta di costoro quì nascono tanti disordini."

mother was absent gathering olives; but soon came, and treated us very hospitably, regretting greatly that I proceeded again on my journey at twelve o'clock.

At a little distance from the road, after passing the Hellenic bridge[39], is a copious source, which Maniás described in such enthusiastic terms, as to induce me to deviate from the direct route in order that I might drink of its water. He asserted that it is of a most refreshing and delightful coldness in the summer, and is equally distinguished by its warmth in the winter season[40]. Thus the characteristic credulity of the Greek is as strongly developed at the present day as it was three thousand years ago, when Homer described the warmth of one of two springs[41], both of which are nearly of the same temperature[42], in the neighbourhood of Troy, and said that another was cold as ice or snow *in the summer*.

At half-past three we were descending over the brow of the hill near the foot of which the village of Neokhorió is situated, and had before us the plain of Apokórona, and to the left the snow-covered Sfakian mountains. The day was clear and the sun shone brightly on the

[39] See above, p. 68.

[40] HOMER, Il. XXII. 149.

> Ἡ μὲν γάρ θ' ὕδατι λιαρῷ ῥέει, ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνός
> γίνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὡσεὶ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο·
> ἡ δ' ἑτέρη θέρεϊ προρέει, εἰκυῖα χαλάζῃ,
> ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ, ἢ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῳ.

[41] Colonel LEAKE, Researches in Greece, p. 420. "The water of the springs of Burná-bashi seems to be nearly of the same temperature, of 60°, (of Fahrenheit,) all the year, and will consequently feel cool when the air is at 70° or 80°, and warm when it is at 40° or 50°. It has often occurred to me in Greece to find the same source which I had admired in the summer for its refreshing coolness, disagreeably tepid, and flat to the taste in the winter." Maniás maintained, that this very tepidity, in the winter, rendered the water of all such springs ὑγιέστατον, especially for cattle. I need not add that no thermometers would ever shake Maniás's deeply rooted faith in the change of absolute temperature in these his favourite fountains, at the different seasons of the year.

[42] Maniás repeated this assertion of some other choice springs which we found elsewhere in the island.

mountains, which I had never before seen look so beautiful.

A little before seven we arrived at the gates of Khaniá, which, since the sun had set a full half hour before, were of course shut. I succeeded, with no little difficulty, in making the Arab guards understand, that I wished them to send and inform Ismaél-bey, the Governor, of my arrival. The messenger soon returned with the keys of the gates, and we were admitted.

*April* 2 *to April* 20.

During this period I remained stationary in the city of Khaniá, only visiting a few places in its immediate neighbourhood. I was sufficiently occupied every day in examining and making extracts from the archives of the French Consulate. I found that the fragments of the sarcophagus lately found at Arví had arrived at Khaniá, and were deposited in a sort of hay-loft belonging to Signor Capo Grosso the English Consul.

END OF VOLUME I.

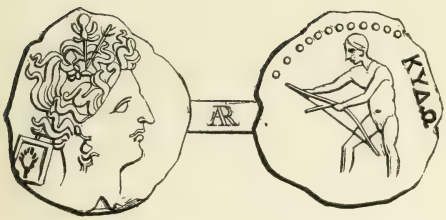
# TRAVELS IN CRETE

BY

ROBERT PASHLEY ESQ.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME II

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[1] The height of the portion engraved is twelve feet two inches.

## CHAPTER XXI.

STATUE FOUND AT THE SITE OF APTERA. SARCOPHAGUS FOUND AT ARVI. A LAMP EXHIBITING ZEUS AND HIS EAGLE.

THE engraving here presented to my reader represents the work of ancient art found at Aptera, and spoken of in the previous volume[1].

[1] Vol. I. p. 42. The statue has arrived in England, and is now in my possession.

While I staid at Khaniá, in April, I examined and had put together the fragments of the sarcophagus found at Arví, and thus discovered that several considerable gaps still existed in the monument. I thought it worth while to endeavour to render it as perfect as possible, and, before I left the island, I therefore caused fresh excavations to be made, on the distant spot where it was found, and had, ultimately, the great satisfaction of obtaining five additional fragments. When they were combined with those previously obtained, the sarcophagus was rendered almost as perfect as when it came from the chisel of the artist[2].

It is certainly interesting to see an ancient monument of Cretan sculpture. Scyllis and Dipoenos, who are spoken of as sons or disciples of Daedalos[3], were natives of Crete[4], and were among the most celebrated of ancient artists. They flourished about the fiftieth Olympiad, and, in their hands, the art of sculpture made great advances towards that wonderful perfection which it attained in ancient Greece[5].

The subject represented on this sarcophagus is interesting, though not of uncommon occurrence on similar monuments. The naked Bacchante on the left[6], whose hair flows unconfined down her back[7], is playing on a tympanum, an instrument common to the rites of both

[2] The pieces, on their arrival in England, were joined, under the inspection of Sir Francis Chantrey, and the sarcophagus was given, by Sir Pulteney Malcolm, to the University of Cambridge. It will be placed in the Fitz-William Museum.

[3] PAUSANIAS, II. p. 143.

[4] PAUSANIAS, l. c. CLEMENS ALEX. Protrept. p. 31. Σκύλης καὶ Δίποινος, Κρητικὼ οἶμαι ἀνδριαντοποιώ.

[5] PLINY, XXXVI. 4. "Marmore scalpendo primi omnium inclaruerunt Dipoenus et Scylis, geniti in Creta insula, etiamnum Medis imperantibus, priusque quam Cyrus in Persis regnare inciperet." WINCKELMANN, Werke, Vol. VIII. p. 309. QUATREMERE DE QUINCY, Le Jupiter Olympien, p. 180. foll. MUELLER, Handbuch der Archaeologie der Kunst, §. 82. HIRT, Geschichte der bildenden Kuenste bei den Alten, pp. 77–78.

[6] See the engraving below, opposite to p. 7.

[7] OVID, Ars. Am. I. 541.

Ecce Mimallonides sparsis in terga capillis.

Dionysos and Rhea[8], and said by Euripides to have been an invention of the Corybantes[9]. It was made of an animal's skin stretched on a hoop, and is frequently seen in the hands of these attendants on Dionysos[10]. Like the cymbal it was unknown to Homer's age[11], when the usage, even of that earlier invention the flute, was confined to the Phrygians[12], to whom its discovery is usually assigned[13], and who are said to have first employed it in the celebration of mystic rites[14].

On the body of the chariot is seen a panther, and the same animal is again observed to the right beyond the elephant, and also on the cornices at both ends of the sarcophagus. The presence of lions, tigers and panthers, in these processions of Dionysos, is usually accounted for by their supposed fondness for wine, which is both described by ancient authors[15], and implied in innumerable representations on works of ancient

[8] EURIPIDES, Bacch. 58.

Τύμπανα Ῥέας τε μητρὸς ἐμά θ' εὑρήματα.

HORACE, Od. I. 18. 13.

[9] EURIPIDES, Bacch. 124.

Βυρσότονον κύκλωμα τόδε
μοι Κορύβαντες εὗρον.

See LOBECK, Aglaophamus, p. 1144. The Indians attributed the invention to Dionysos: DIODORUS SICULUS, III. 58. The Phrygians assigned it to Rhea: DIODORUS SICULUS, II. 38.

[10] MONTFAUCON, Antiquité expliquée, Tom. I. Par. II. Pl. CLXIII. 3. LE PITTURE D'ERCOLANO, Tom. I. Tav. XXI. p. 112. Tom. II. Tav. XXIX. p. 175. Tom. V. Tav. XXXV. p. 153. MUSEO CAPITOLINO, Tom. IV. Tav. XLVII.

[11] MILLIN, Monumens inédits, Tom. I. p. 164.

[12] OLYMPIODORUS, ap. Wyttenb. in Phaed. p. 146. et ap. Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 298.

[13] Marsyas is said to have been its inventor: see LE PITTURE D'ERCOLANO, l. c. TELESTES in Athenaeus, XIV. p. 617.

[14] OXFORD MARBLES, p. 21. HIMERIUS, Ecl. XIII. p. 210. LUCRETIUS, II. 620. the notes on LE PITTURE D'ERCOLANO, Tom. II. Tav. XX. and XXI. HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 223. foll. LOBECK, Aglaophamus, Vol. I. p. 298.

[15] OPPIAN, Cyneg. III. 79. IV. 231 foll. STATIUS, Theb. IV. 658. MARTIAL, XIV. 107.

Nos Satyri, nos Bacchus amat, nos ebria tigris,
Perfusos domini lambere docta pedes.

art[16]. Thus the tiger was appropriately yoked to the car of Dionysos on his Indian expedition[17].

The youthful Deity is as usual standing in his car[18]: the weapon in his left hand is that with which he is generally armed[19]. In a well-known representation of him made by an ancient artist, Polycletus, he held this thyrsus in one hand and a drinking-cup in the other[20], and is thus doubly armed in several existing ancient monuments[21]. The thyrsus was a spear, the point of which was covered, sometimes with ivy[22], but more commonly, as in the present instance, by the cone of a pine: the shining steel was rarely allowed to meet the eye[23]. *Mitrae* are attached to the thyrsus, as they are to those of most other ancient monuments[24]: they were seen on that carried by the colossal figure of Nysa in Ptolemy's celebrated procession[25].

Unshorn locks, like those which we see fall over the shoulders of Dionysos, are generally found both in

[16] GEMMAE MUSEI FLORENTINI, Tom. I. Tab. LXXXXII. PIERRES GRAVEES DU CABINET D'ORLEANS, Tom. I. Pl. 67. STUART'S ATHENS, Vol. I. Pl. XXX. (on the Choragic monument of Lysicrates.) MUSEO CHIARAMONTI, Tav. XXVIII. MUSEO BORBONICO, Tom. VII. Tav. LXII. and Quaranta, p. 6.

[17] NONNUS, VIII. 36. MARTIAL, XV. 20.

[18] An exception to the rule is found in the MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO, Tom. V. Tav. VII. where see VISCONTI, p. 13.

[19] I need hardly quote the "Parce, Liber, Parce, gravi metuende thyrso" of HORACE.

[20] PAUSANIAS, VIII. p. 665. SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, XXII. 31.
Cantharus et thyrsus dextra laevaque feruntur.

[21] See BUONARROTI, Osservazioni sopra alcuni medaglioni, p. 433. GEMMAE MUSEI FLORENTINI, LE PITTURE D'ERCOLANO, Tom. II. Tav. XIII. XVIII. Tom. III. Tav. II.

[22] MACROBIUS, Saturnal. I. 19. "Cum thyrsum tenet, quid aliud quam latens telum gerit, cujus mucro hedera lambenti protegitur."

[23] As in LE PITTURE D'ERCOLANO just quoted.

[24] See BEGER'S Thesaurus Brandenburgicus, p. 14. LE PITTURE D'ERCOLANO, Tom. III. p. 9. and VISCONTI, Museo Pio-Clementino, Tom. V. Tav. X. p. 19.

[25] ATHENAEUS, V. p. 198. e. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτας ἤγετο τετράκυκλος—ἐφ' ἧς ἄγαλμα Νύσης—εἶχε δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ θύρσον ἐστεμμένον μίτραις.

descriptions[26] and representations[27] of him: as are also the feminine features with which he is here represented[28]. On some monuments[29] he is even clad in woman's apparel:

[26] PINDAR, Isthm. VII. 3.

Ἦ ῥα χαλκοκρότου πάρεδρον
Δαμάτερος ἀνίκ' εὐρυχαίταν
ἄντειλας Διόνυσον.

TIBULLUS, I. Eleg. IV. 27.

Solis aeterna est Baccho Phoeboque juventus;
Nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum.

OVID, Met. III. 421.

Et dignos Baccho, dignos et Apolline crines.

Met. IV. princip.

Indetonsusque Thyoneus.

SENECA, l. c.

Spargere effusos sine lege crines.

MARTIAL, IV. Epigr. 45. In Lucian's Dialogues of the Gods, (Tom. I. p. 207. ed. Hemst.) Eros says to Zeus, ὡς ἥδιστον ποίει σεαυτόν, ἑκατέρωθε καθειμένος βοστρύχους—καὶ ὄψει ὅτι πλείους ἀκολουθήσουσί σοι τῶν Διονύσου Μαινάδων.

[27] See the MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO, Tom. II. Tav. XXVIII. and Visconti's observations, p. 56. ZOEGA, Abhandlungen, p. 24.

[28] MONTFAUCON, Antiquité expliquée, Tom. I. Par. II. Pl. CLIII. LE PITTURE D'ERCOLANO, Tom. II. Tav. XVIII. p. 117. WINCKELMANN, Monumenti antichi inediti, Tratt. prelim. p. XLI. (Werke, Vol. VII. p. 85.) WOBURN ABBEY MARBLES, Pl. XVII. MUSEO BORBONICO, Tom. VIII. Tav. LI. and Sir WILLIAM GELL'S Pompeiana. He is called θηλύμορφος by EURIPIDES, Bacch. 353. OVID, Met. III. 607.

Virginea puerum ducit per litora forma.

MET. IV. 117.

Tibi enim inconsumpta juventus,
Tu puer aeternus, tu formosissimus alto
Conspiceris coelo: tibi quum sine cornibus adstas
Virgineum caput est.

The observations of VISCONTI (Museo Pio-Clementino, Tom. VI. Tav. VI.) serve as a commentary on the expression *quum sine cornibus adstas*. The CARMINA PRIAPEA, XXXVI.

Phoebus comosus, Hercules lacertosus,
Trahitque Bacchus virginis tener formam.

ALBRICUS PHILOSOPHUS, c. XIX. (in the Mythographi Latini of Van Staveren, p. 926.) "Erat enim imago sua facie muliebri."

[29] Dionysos is thus represented, clothed in a female dress, on the reverse of a Greek medal of Commodus, struck at Nicaea: see the NUMMOPHYLACIUM REGINAE CHRISTINAE, Tab. XLII. Num. 25. where Havercamp justly observes (p. 449.) that the God is represented "novo ritu, sedens videlicet, muliebri indutus veste longa, sceptrum laeva tenens, atque cantharum effundens in pantheram quae ante pedes est. Sine dubio ejusmodi signum Nicaeae exstitit." See also MAFFEI, Gemme antiche, Par. III. Tav. XXVII. pp. 44–5. GEMMAE MUSEI FLORENTINI, Tom. I. p. 162. MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO, Tom. VII. Tav. II. SENECA, Oed. T. 419.

and Apollodorus says of him that he wore a girl's dress from the time when he was a child[30]; and also mentions his having received from Cybele a woman's tunic, in which he set out on his expedition to conquer India[31].

Hence, when ancient polytheism received its modern form, in Rome, the statue of the youthful Bacchus was easily converted into that of a female saint[32]: and hence also we obtain, I think, a sufficient explanation of the reason why the effeminate deity was represented clothed in Venus's palla, in an ancient group which is praised by Pliny[33].

This effeminacy of Dionysos's dress and character was undoubtedly exhibited on the Attic stage by Aeschylus, in his Edoni, a passage of which play is preserved in the parody of Aristophanes[34].

> Creveras falsos imitatus artus,
> Crine flaventi simulata virgo,
> Luteam pallam retinente zona.

[30] APOLLODORUS, III. 11. 3.

[31] APOLLODORUS, III. 5. 1. NONNUS also, XIV. 159. foll. represents Dionysos in a woman's dress.

> Πῆ δὲ γυναικείην φορέων ψευδήμονα μορφὴν
> μιμηλὴ κροκόπεπλος ἐν εἵμασι φαίνετο κούρη
> ἀρτιθαλής· φθονερῆς δὲ παραπλάζων νόον Ἥρης,
> χείλεσιν ἀντιτύποισιν ἀνήρυγε θῆλυν ἰωήν,
> καὶ πλοκάμοις εὔοδμον ἐπεσφήκωσε καλύπτρην,
> θήλεα πέπλα φέρων πολυδαίδαλα· μεσσατίῳ δέ
> στήθεϊ δεσμὸν ἔβαλλε, καὶ ὄρθιον ἄντυγα μαζοῦ
> παρθενίῳ ζωστῆρι, καί, οἷά περ ἄμμα κορείης,
> πορφυρέην λαγόνεσσι συνήρμοσε κυκλάδα μίτρην.

[32] MIDDLETON, Letter from Rome, p. 160. Similar conversions are alluded to by DYER, in his poem, "The Ruins of Rome."

[33] PLINY, N. H. XXVI. 4. "Satyri quatuor: ex quibus unus Liberum patrem palla velatum Veneris praefert." I wonder that VISCONTI (Museo Pio-Clementino, Tom. III. Tav. XL. p. 51.) should compare this statue, clothed in the palla of Venus, with that of the bearded Bacchus in his syrma, and should not, seemingly, have supposed the little wearer of Venus's palla to have had a feminine countenance.

[34] ARISTOPHANES, Thesm. 136. Ποδαπὸς ὁ γύννις; from the Scholiast on which passage it is plain, that the words were addressed to Dionysos, in the Edoni, and ought undoubtedly to have a place among the fragments of that play, (where it is accordingly given to them by Mr DINDORF, Poet. Scen. Graec. Fr. Aesch. 55. p. 6) although we vainly look for them in the volume of the Reverend Professor Scholefield, the last English editor of Aeschylus, (see Aeschyl. Scholef. ed. 2da Cantab. 1830. pp. 386–7.) Γύννις is explained

SARCOPHAGUS FOUND AT ARVI.

It seems, even from what little has been stated, that both poets and artists did much towards rendering the sex of Dionysos ambiguous. Later authorities[35] go still further, and assert that he was actually both male and female.

Hence the epithet *androgynous* is bestowed on a statue of Dionysos, by the Christian author Theodoret[36], in a passage of his Ecclesiastical History, where he is speaking of the persecution suffered by the Church when the Emperor Julian was re-establishing the old religion of the Roman world.

The youth on whose shoulder the right arm of Dionysos reposes must next be considered. We find in the Dionysiacs of Nonnus a youthful companion of the God whose society he preferred even to the feasts of the Gods and the friendship of Zeus[37], and of whose beauty the poet gives an elaborate and glowing description[38]. His name was Ampelos, and I have no doubt that he is meant to be represented by the youth in the car. The little tail seen on his back, and his pointed

explained by HESYCHIUS and SUIDAS, and is used by PHILOSTRATUS, Vit. Sophist. II. 31. 2. where Perizonius supposes it to indicate Heliogabalus.

[35] This is the account given in the ORPHIC POEMS: Hymn XXX. Κικλήσκω Διόνυσον—πρωτόγονον διφυῆ. Hymn XLII. 4.

Ἄρσενα καὶ θῆλυν διφυῆ λύσειον Ἴακχον.

ARISTIDES, p. 52. 8. Ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ ἄῤῥην τε καὶ θῆλυς ὁ θεός. Again, p. 52. 10. Ἐστὶ δὲ τῇ φύσει καὶ τὴν μορφὴν προσεοικώς· ὥσπερ γὰρ δίδυμος πάντη αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτόν ἐστι. See VOSS, Mythologische Briefe, and, on the other hand, HEINRICH's academical dissertation, "Hermaphroditorum, artis antiquae operibus illustrium, origines et causae."

[36] His words are, (Eccles. Hist. III. 7.) Ἐν Ἐμέσῃ δὲ τῇ ὁμόρῳ πόλει, Διονύσῳ τῷ γύννιδι τὴν νεόδμητον ἀφιέρωσαν ἐκκλησίαν, τὸ καταγέλαστον καὶ ἀνδρόγυνον ἐν αὐτῇ ἱδρύσαντες ἄγαλμα.

[37] NONNUS, X. 284.

Οὐ πόθον ἔλκω
νέκταρος, ἀμβροσίης δ' οὐ δεύομαι· οὐκ ἀλεγίζω,
Ἄμπελος εἰ φιλέει με, καὶ ἐχθαίρει με Κρονίων.

OVID, Fasti, III. 409.

Ampelon intonsum, Satyro Nymphaque creatum,
Fertur in Ismariis Bacchus amasse jugis.

[38] NONNUS, l. c. v. 175—192.

goat-like ears, sufficiently identify the figure with that of the young Satyr[39] whom Dionysos so fondly loved.

The attitude of Dionysos and Ampelos in the car is one in which they are found on several other ancient monuments. In a well-known group, Eros has conducted Dionysos to the place where Ariadne is sleeping, and the God's left arm rests on the shoulder of his youthful companion[40]. Among the statues of what was once the Ducal palace at Venice, is a group consisting of Dionysos and Ampelos[41]: they are also seen on a sarcophagus in the Vatican[42]. In other monuments Dionysos's right hand rests on the same youth[43]: and we find them together in a bronze group discovered lately at Pompeii, and now in the Studij at Naples[44]. A young Satyr supports the left arm of the bearded Dionysos in an ancient monument of Greek sculpture contained in the noble collection of the Vatican[45], and

[39] NONNUS, x. 208.

Εἰ Κρονίδης μὲ φύτευσε, σὺ δὲ χθονίης ἀπὸ φύτλης
βουκεράων Σατύρων μινυώριον αἷμα κομίζεις,
ἶσον ἐμοὶ βασίλευε θεῷ βροτός.

Compare WINCKELMANN, Monumenti antich. ined. Par. prim. p. 6. On the tails of the Satyrs see LI BRONZI D'ERCOLANO, Tom. II. Tav. XXXVIII. XXXIX. and p. 146. If the presence of the tail is indispensable in the figure of Ampelos, as I think it must be considered, Mr Becker's conjecture respecting the Dresden statue (AUGUSTEUM DRESDENS, Vol. III. p. 90.) cannot be received. Visconti's assertion, too, (MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO, Tom. IV. Tav. XXII. p. 48.) that on a lion's back "siede senza freno il fanciullo Ampelo," seems difficult to admit; for, fitly as Ampelos is placed on a lion's back, (see NONNUS, XI. 66. foll.) yet we can hardly venture to call by his name a figure in which all the marks of a caprine origin are wanting.

[40] Published elsewhere, and in Mr HIRT's Bilderbuch, Tab. X. Fig. 5.

[41] STATUE DI SAN MARCO, Tom. II. Tav. XIV. XXVI. where the God's arm rests on the young Satyr's shoulder. See also the STATUAE MUSEI FLORENTINI, Tab. XLVIII.

[42] MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO, Tom. V. Tav. VIII.

[43] In the MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO, Tom. I. Tav. XLII. "Bacco con Fauno:" and Sir WILLIAM GELL's Pompeiana, Vol. II. Pl. LXXVIII.

[44] MUSEO BORBONICO, Tom. III. Tav. IX. Bacco ed Ampelo. Gruppo di bronzo alto palme tre oncie due. Ampelos alone appears in the MUSEUM FLORENTINUM, Gemmae, Tom. I. Tav. LXXXVIII. 8.

[45] MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO, Tom. IV. Tav. XXV. VISCONTI, p. 52. observes, "Un fauno per molle commodità il sostiene sotto il sinistro cubito."

the attitudes of the two figures remind us of those in which we have seen the youthful God and Ampelos. Elsewhere also the thyrsus-bearing and bearded God is accompanied by Ampelos[46]. In different museums other groups are found in which figures have been taken for Ampelos, sometimes, perhaps, without sufficient authority[47].

He is sometimes called the genius of Dionysos, and seems to be entitled to rank as one of those ministering powers who attended on and performed the behests of superior deities. Acratos was another genius of the same God: he is mentioned by Pausanias[48], is called Acratopotes in Athenaeus[49], and is represented, on ancient monuments, as a winged boy, with a smiling, and, not unfrequently, a drunken countenance[50].

We know the names of very few of the thirty thousand demons, spirits of departed heroes, who, according to Hesiod[51], exist on the earth, and superintend the

[46] D'HANCARVILLE, Antiquités Etrusques Grecques et Romaines, Tom. II. Pl. V. pp. 110–111. STATUAE MUSEI FLORENTINI, Tom. V. Tab. XLVIII.

[47] For instance, in the "Bacchus cum Ampelo" of the MUSEUM FLORENTINUM, Tom. III. Tab. XLVII. p. 52. the supposed Ampelos bears no mark of his descent Σατύρων ἀπὸ φύτλης. The same thing may be said of the figure taken for Ampelos in the MUSEO CAPITOLINO, Tom. IV. p. 249. WINCKELMANN, however, takes the former figure for a Satyr: Werke, Vol. III. p. X. See Obss. p. 4. Again, in a group of the MUSEO BORBONICO, Tom. VIII. Tav. LI. "Bacco da l'uva alla vite," I should hardly take the little boy seen receiving a bunch of grapes, for Ampelos, who is, however, in all probability meant to be represented by the figure of a youth drawn in a car, on a bas-relief of the Vatican, MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO, Tom. IV. Tav. XXV. Visconti's supposition, that it is Acratos, is clearly indefensible, if the view which I have taken of these two genii is correct. In another group, MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO, Tom. IV. Tav. XX. Visconti describes Bacchus as "retto dal giovinetto Acrato o Ampelo;" where the sculptor must have designed to represent Ampelos alone.

[48] PAUSANIAS, I. p. 2. Δαίμων τῶν ἀμφὶ Διόνυσον Ἄκρατος.

[49] ATHENAEUS, II. p. 39.

[50] GORII Gemmae Musei Florentini, p. 95. MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO. MUSEO BORBONICO, Tom. V. Tav. VIII. Tom. VII. Tav. LXII.

[51] HESIOD, Works and Days, I. 250.

Τρὶς γὰρ μύριοι εἰσὶν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
ἀθάνατοι Ζηνὸς φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

affairs of men. Those of Jupiter and Bacchus are said by Winckelmann to be the most common[52]. Ancient authors mention the names of four such attendants on Aphrodite alone. They were Tychon, Orthages, Gigon, and Genetyllis[53]. Demeter had two[54], Adreus and Calligeneia. Artemis likewise had a demon or genius, Genetyllis[55].

This seems also to have been the relation of the Corybantes, Curetes, Dactyli and Cabiri to the Gods[56]. The Curetes are called by an unknown poet in the Eclogues of Stobaeus, "assessors of Rhea the mother of Zeus[57]," and these demons seem all to have been regarded as powerful superintendents of mankind[58], as secondary controllers of fate[59], and as mediators between God and man[60], resembling, in no slight degree, the saints of the Roman Catholic mythology. They were called genii by the Romans, and were supposed to watch over individuals. Each Emperor had his guardian

[52] WINCKELMANN, Monumenti Antichi inediti, p. 6.

[53] See PAUSANIAS, I. p. 2. with passages of CYRIL, and HESYCHIUS, quoted by LOBECK, Aglaoph. p. 1235. and the SCHOLIAST ON ARISTOPHANES, Thesm. 130.

[54] See the GREAT ETYMOLOGICON, and the SCHOLIAST ON ARISTOPHANES, Thesm. 299.

[55] BENTLEY, on Horace, Carm. Saec. v. 16. where he reads, "Sive tu Lucina probas vocari, Seu Genetyllis."

[56] STRABO, X. p. 472.

[57] STOBAEUS, Ecl. I. p. 68.

Κουρήτων οἳ ματρὶ Διὸς Ῥέῃ ἐντὶ πάρεδροι.

[58] The stoics used to call them ἐπόπτας ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, DIOGENES LAERTIUS, VII. 15.

[59] ALCIPHRO, I. Ep. 20. Ἀλλ' ὦ μοιραῖοι θεοὶ καὶ μοιραγέται δαίμονες.

[60] PLATO, Sympos. p. 202. e. Πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ, διαπορθμεῦον θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν, where VON AST's note may be consulted. PLUTARCH, de Isid. et Os. p. 351. VAN DALE, De Orig. et Prog. Idolol. Diss. c. III. Further information respecting these Greek demons may be obtained from that storehouse of profound learning and acute criticism, Professor LOBECK's Aglaophamus, p. 1233. foll. as well as from the writings of several of our own countrymen, who have considered the question respecting these profane spirits in relation to sacred demonology.

genius[61], and, even among the Greeks, traces of the same belief may be found[62]. The Roman genii were also supposed to preside over particular places[63]: but we find no traces of any such notion attached to their demons by the Greeks[64].

The car is drawn by a Centaur and Centauress. These monsters were supposed by the naturalist Pliny really to have existed[65], but the poet Lucretius was less credulous[66]. They are described, even in the Odyssey[67], as fond of wine: and it is said that the smell of it, when it was produced by Pholus in honour of his guest Hercules, immediately drew them to his house, and thus led to the contest between them and the son of Alcmena[68]. Nonnus describes the Centaur

[61] GRUTER and MURATORI both afford sufficient proof of this. The Genius of Julian seems to be exhibited in the MUSEUM FLORENTINUM, Tom. I. p. 49. and Tab. XVIII. WINCKELMANN, Monumenti Ant. ined. p. 6. quotes the verse of Martial, VI. Ep. LX. 10. "Victurus Genium debet habere liber."

[62] PLATO assigned one to every individual: see the Phaedon, p. 107. d. Ὁ ἑκάστου δαίμων ὅσπερ ζῶντα εἰλήχει. p. 113. d. Οἳ ὁ δαίμων ἕκαστον κομίζει. MUSEO CAPITOLINO, Tom. IV. Tav. XXV. p. 135.

[63] Many inscriptions are found in Gruter, and in other collections, addressed "*Genio loci.*" See the PITTURE D'ERCOLANO, Tom. I. Tav. XXXVIII. SYMMACHUS, X. Ep. LXI. p. 442. "Ut animae nascuntur ita populis natales Genii dividuntur." PRUDENTIUS, II. in Symmach. 71. foll. LOBECK, Aglaoph. pp. 595–6. Thus in modern times each town of Italy has its patron Saint, who, I think, is to be compared with the local genius of the old Italian superstition, and not with the tutelary *deities* of *Greek* cities.

[64] See BURMANN, on Rutil. Tom. II. p. 233. and LOBECK, l. c. The Τυχεῖα of Greek cities, temples of these local Genii, were built after the spread of the Roman Empire. VALESIUS, on Socrat. Hist. Eccles. III. 11. p. 187. on Euseb. VIII. 11. p. 433. and the BRONZI D'ERCOLANO, Tom. II. p. 107.

[65] PLINY, N. H. VII. 3. [66] LUCRETIUS, V. 19.

[67] ODYSSEY, XXI. 295.

Οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον ἀγακλυτὸν Εὐρυτίωνα
ἄασ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ μεγαθύμου Πειριθόοιο.

OVID, Met. XII. 220. VIRGIL, Georg. II. 455. STATIUS, Theb. V. 261. DIO CHRYSOSTOM, Orat. XVII.

[68] APOLLODORUS, II. 5. 4. on which passage Heyne quotes TZETZES, Chil. V. 120. and STESICHORUS, in Athenaeus, XI. p. 449. b. See also POLYAENUS, Strateg. I. c. III. 1.

as voluntarily yoking himself to the car of Dionysos[69], and we see, from the emptied drinking-vessel of the Centauress before us, that the God did not neglect to requite them for their zeal in his service. This two-handled vessel is the cantharus which was peculiarly appropriated to Dionysos[70].

Centaurs are exhibited to us in many works of ancient art, and the car of Dionysos is frequently drawn by them[71]. Their place is, however, sometimes taken by lions, tigers or panthers, and, on one single monument, by horses[72]. Centauresses are not so common as Centaurs, and are never represented on the sculpture of the temples of Greece. When met with they are mostly in attendance on Dionysos, as in the work before us[73]. The branch of pine borne by the Centauress reminds me of a dendrophorous Centaur on a fictile vase engraved in Sir William Hamilton's collection[74]. I may also refer to the dendrophori in Ptolemy's Bacchic procession[75], to the Bacchanti in Palaephatus[76], and to

[69] Nonnus, xiv. 265. He first describes the exertions of the Corybantes in harnessing the lions and panthers, χείλος ἐπισφίγξαντες ἀπειλητῆρι χαλινῷ, and then speaks of the Centaurs:

Καὶ λασίην Κένταυρος ἔχων φρίσσουσαν ὑπήνην
εἰς ζυγὸν αὐτοκέλευστος ἑκούσιον αὐχένα τεῖνεν,
καὶ Σατύρων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔχων πόθον ἥδεος οἴνου,
ἡμιτελὴς χρεμέτιζεν ἀνήρ, κεκερασμένος ἵππῳ·
ἱέμενος Διόνυσον ἑοῖς ὤμοισιν ἀείρειν.

[70] Macrobius, Saturn. v. 21. "Scyphus Herculis poculum est, ita ut Liberi patris cantharus."

[71] See Buonarroti, Osservazioni sopra alcuni Medaglioni, p. 428. fol. Spanheim, de praestantia et usu numism. antiq. Tom. II. p. 16. Banier, Histoire de l'Academie, Tom. III. p. 19. Montfaucon, Antiquité Expliquée, Tom. I. Part. I. Pl. clv. clvi. Museo Capitolino, Tom. IV. Tav. xxxii. et xxxiii. Le Pitture d'Ercolano, Tom. I. Tav. xxvi. and xxviii. Visconti, Museo Pio-Clementino, Tom. I. Tav. xlii. Tom. IV. Tav. xxii. xxvi. Tom. V. Tav. vii.

[72] See Visconti, Museo Pio-Clementino, Tom. IV. Tav. xxiv. p. 49.

[73] On these centauresses see Winckelmann, Monumenti inediti, p. 107. and Visconti, M. P. C. Tom. IV. Tav. xxi.

[74] Collection of Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities, Vol. I. Pl. xlii.

[75] Athenaeus, v. l. c. [76] Palaephatus, c. 34. 3.

Visconti's observations respecting a similar figure on a bas-relief of the Museo Pio-Clementino[77].

We now come to the figure with cloven hoofs, a goat's legs and a long beard, whose boisterous drunken mirth seems to draw a reproof from the venerable person by whom he is addressed. Those who still follow the common opinion of the archaeologists of the last century[78], and of some even of the present day, and confound the Satyrs of the Greeks with the Fauns of the Romans, may suppose a Satyr to be represented by this figure. But it seems clear that the Greek Satyrs are always exhibited with the feet of men[79], differing only from the Sileni in being young, while the latter are of a more advanced age[80]. The Fauns of the Romans had the extremities of a goat, and derived their origin from Faunus, a rural God corresponding with the Greek Pan[81].

I suppose the figure on this Greek sarcophagus to represent Pan himself, and it answers very well to Lucian's description in the dialogue between him and his father Hermes[82]. The God addresses him, "You that have horns, and such a nose, and a matted beard, and cloven feet, and a tail dangling behind you." The common story of Pan's parentage sufficiently accounts for the peculiarities of his form. He was said to have

[77] VISCONTI, M. P. C. Tom. v. Tav. VII.

[78] All from Montfaucon to Winckelmann and Visconti might be named.

[79] See VOSS, Mythologische Briefe, Vol. II. LANZI, De' Vasi antichi dipinti, disse. 2da. §. VII. Also the AUGUSTEUM DRESDENS.

[80] CHOEROBOSCUS, in Etymolog. Magn. Σειληνοὶ λέγονται οἱ γέροντες τῶν Σατύρων. PAUSANIAS, I. p. 54. Τοὺς ἡλικίᾳ προέχοντας τῶν Σατύρων ὀνομάζουσι Σιληνούς. NONNUS, XIV. 101. XXXIV. 140. PERIZONIUS, on Aelian, V. H. III. p. 245. LANZI, l. c. §. VI.

[81] HORACE, Od. I. 17. 2. OVID, Fasti, II. 280. LANZI, Saggio di lingua Etrusca, Vol. II. and l. c. §. VII. and also BOCHART, Hierozoicon, Vol. III. p. 822. Thus the *panics* which the Greeks attributed to Pan (PAUSANIAS, X. p. 855. POLYAENUS, Strateg. I. 2. SUIDAS, v. Πανικῷ δείματι) were assigned by the Romans to Faunus. DIONYSIUS HALICAR. V. XVI. Τούτῳ (Φαύνῳ) ἀνατιθέασι τῷ δαίμονι Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ Πανικά.

[82] LUCIAN, Dialogues of the Gods, XXII. (Tom. I. p. 269. ed. Hemst.) Κέρατα ἔχων, καὶ ῥῖνα τοιαύτην, καὶ πώγωνα λάσιον, καὶ σκέλη δίχηλα καὶ τραγικά, καὶ οὐρὰν ὑπὲρ τὰς πυγάς.

been the fruit of an amour between Penelope and Hermes, in which the God had assumed the form of a goat[83]; a legend which will remind the reader of the customs spoken of by the Jewish Lawgiver[84], and which are known from Pindar[85], Herodotus[86] and Plutarch[87], to have been observed in Egypt, as well as of some works of ancient art which have come down to us[88]. Pan is spoken of as the son of Hermes and Penelope by several authors[89]; but another tradition deprives him of his divine father, and, at the same time, affords an etymology of his name[90]. Pan and Silenos were Bacchus's generals on the Indian expedition, and the well-known aid which Pan rendered the Athenians at Marathon shews how valuable his military services were supposed to be. Now, however, he has laid aside his martial character, and appears, conformably with the mention of him by Pindar[91], Aeschylus[92] and other authors[93], as a dancing attendant on the God of wine.

[83] LUCIAN, l. c. p. 270. and Hemsterhusius's learned note.

[84] LEVITICUS, XVIII. 23. 27. and especially 30. Again, XX. 16.

[85] PINDAR, in Strabo, XVII. p. 802. *Ὅθι τράγοι γυναιξὶ μίσγονται.*

[86] HERODOTUS, II. 46. *Ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ—γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσγετο ἀναφανδόν.* JABLONSKI, Pantheon Aegyptiorum, II. VII.

[87] PLUTARCH, Gryllus, p. 989. a.

[88] Every one who has visited the lock-up class in the Studij at Naples will remember a masterpiece in its way. A singular tête-à-tête is represented in the Pierres Gravées du Cabinet d'Orleans, Tom. I. Pl. 75.

[89] HERODOTUS, III. 145. PLUTARCH, de orac. defect. Tom. II. p. 419. HYGINUS, Tab. CCXXIV. "Pan Mercurii et Penelopes filius." TZETZES, on Lycophron, 772. In the second Altar of DOSIADAS, Ulysses is spoken of as *Πανὸς ματρὸς εὐνέτας.*

[90] GREGORY NAZIANZEN, in Orat. III. Tom. I. p. 81. ed. Paris, 1609. *Καὶ τὸν τραγόπουν καὶ τὸν σεμνὸν Πᾶνα, τὸν ἐκ πάντων μνηστῆρων ἕνα θεόν, καὶ λαβόντα τὴν ὕβριν ὥσπερ ἦν ἄξιον.* Compare the Commentary of ELIAS CRETENSIS, Tom. II. p. 337. NATALIS COMES, V. 6. p. 652. and MUNCKER, on Hyginus, l. c.

[91] PINDAR, Fr. 69. ed. Boeckh. *Χορευτὴς τελεώτατος θεῶν.*

[92] AESCHYLUS, Pers. 448. *Ὁ φιλόχορος Πάν.*

[93] ARISTIDES, Tom. I. p. 53. *Διδόασι δ' αὐτῷ (Διονύσῳ) καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα χορευτήν, τελεώτατον θεῶν ὄντα, ὡς Πίνδαρός τε ὑμνεῖ καὶ οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῖς κατέμαθον.* Pan is called *ὀρχηστὴς* in an old scolion: ATHENAEUS, XV. p. 694. d. *Ὦ Πάν, Ἀρκαδίας μέδων κλεεννᾶς, Ὀρχηστὰ Βρομίαις ὀπαδὲ Νύμφαις*: see ILGEN, Carm. Conviv. Graec. pp. 13–14.

Pan, the shortness of whose stature is generally to be remarked, occupies a similar situation just before the car of Dionysos, and following Silenos's group, on a Bacchanalian procession in the Duke of Bedford's gallery[94], and on several other ancient monuments.

The vessel which Pan has overturned is of unusual dimensions. The Cretan artist probably meant to represent the amphora most commonly seen in his own island, and which appears to have been of a very large size[95].

The clothed and bearded figure, whose left arm is thrown over the shoulder of a woman, while his right is stretched out towards Pan, with whom he seems to be expostulating, is evidently old Silenos, the preceptor of Dionysos, and his companion in the Indian expedition. Silenos had long before distinguished himself for his martial prowess in the combat of the Gods and Giants, in which he fought on the right hand of Dionysos, and slew Encelados[96].

Although the name Silenos is applied to all aged Satyrs[97], yet human ears serve to distinguish the companion of Dionysos from the rest of them[98], and he is frequently represented clothed[99], as is the case here, although undoubtedly he is more commonly naked on ancient monuments. He appears before us, on this sarcophagus, in his more dignified character, as the

[94] WOBURN ABBEY MARBLES, Plate XII.

[95] PHILOSTRATUS, Heroic. p. 34. ed. Boissonade. *Τὸ γοῦν κράνιον, ἐμφορησάντων ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸ οἶνον, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ δυοῖν ἀμφορέοιν ἐνεπλήσθη, τῶν ἐκ Κρήτης.*

[96] EURIPIDES, Cyclops, 6.

*Ἔπειτα δ' ἀμφὶ γηγενῆ μάχην δορός*
*ἐνδέξιος σῷ ποδὶ παρασπιστὴς γεγώς,*
*Ἐγκέλαδον, ἰτέαν ἐς μέσην θενών, δορί*
*ἔκτεινα.*

[97] Above, p. 13.

[98] VISCONTI, Museo Chiaramonti, Tav. XLVI. and Museo Pio-Clementino, Tom. IV. Tav. XXVII. p. 56.

[99] WINCKELMANN, Pierres gravées de Stosch, 1470. MUSEO CHIARAMONTI, Tav. XXXIV. and VISCONTI's observations, p. 82.

preceptor of Dionysos[100], as a general, or as a philosopher[101]. This philosophical gravity seems, however, to be combined with drunkenness, as in Virgil's Eclogue. We must not forget the philosophical character of the old drunkard, when we find Socrates, whose personal appearance in some degree represented that of Silenos[102], compared to him by Alcibiades in the Symposion of Plato.

Silenos seems to be employed in defending the lady under his arm against the designs of Pan, whose character is too well-known to need any illustration[103].

As Visconti has sometimes confounded Acratos with Ampelos, so a living antiquary, Dr Giovanni Labus of Milan, has supposed[104] that Acratos and Silenos are different names of one and the same individual.

Of the elephant, emblematic of Dionysos's victorious return from the east, it is unnecessary to say any thing. The instrument, with which the driver, mounted on the animal's neck, directs its motions, is like that used in India, for the same purpose, at the present day.

The last figure, on the front of the sarcophagus, is that of a Satyr carrying a skin full of wine. Satyrs

[100] See BECKER's observations in the AUGUSTEUM DRESDENS, Vol. II. Pl. LXXI. He mentions the Borghese statue of Silenos holding the infant God in his arms, as an example of the first of the three classes in which he arranges ancient representations of him.

[101] See PERIZONIUS, on Aelian, V. H. III. 18. and the passages of DIODORUS SICULUS, CICERO, VIRGIL and PLUTARCH, in HEYNE's Argument to Virgil's sixth Eclogue, and in the PIERRES GRAVEES DU MUSEE D'ORLEANS, Tom. I. p. 252.

[102] See AST, on Plat. Sympos. §. XL. p. 216.

[103] THEODORET, when speaking of similar processions (Therap. VII. p. 885. Schulz. quoted by LOBECK, Aglaoph. p. 200.) says: Ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ὁμηγύρεσι πᾶν εἶδος ἀκολασίας ἐτολμᾶτο—τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὀργιαστῶν δρώμενα εἰς πᾶν ἀσελγείας τοὺς ὁρῶντας ἠρέθιζε—ὁποῖα τῶν Σατύρων ὁ χορὸς ἠσέλγησε δημοσίᾳ πομπεύων, ἔχων ἐν μέσῳ τὸν Σεληνὸν καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα, τὸν μὲν ἐπιλυττῶντα ταῖς Νύμφαις, τὸν δὲ λελυμένον ὑπὸ μέθης.

[104] LABUS, Museo della reale Accademia di Mantova, Vol. II. p. 180. So also ZOEGA, Abhandlungen, p. 26.

are often thus represented: sometimes they are mounted on their well filled wine-skins. Similar figures used to adorn fountains, and the water which issued, instead of wine, from their skins, is the subject of some epigrams in the Greek Anthology. Visconti explains a statue of Silenos, carrying a wine-skin, by referring to the military use of skin-bearers (utricularii) and to the service rendered, according to Nonnus, by such skins, to Dionysos on his expedition into India. A very early use of skins was for this excellent purpose of holding wine: when no longer so employed they still served for oil and water, as they do in Greece and Turkey even to the present day. The water-carriers of Khaniá and Megálo-Kástron, of Smyrna and Constantinople, have no other vessel wherein to hawk water about their cities; and the Cretan peasants are daily seen driving towards the principal ports mules, each of which has a great skin filled with oil suspended on either side of its pack-saddle.

The riotous companions of Dionysos, whom we see before us on the sarcophagus, have continued to exist under changed names, and with attributes somewhat altered, even since the general spread of Christianity. We find such points of resemblance between the names and attributes of these *kobali*[105], and those of the German *kobolds*[106], and the English *hob-goblins*[107], of the present day, that we cannot refrain from believing the demons of the old mythology still to exist in the popular superstitions of both England and Germany.

It has been conjectured, that the representation of these processions on tombs, may indicate that the dead person had been initiated in the Bacchic rites. The

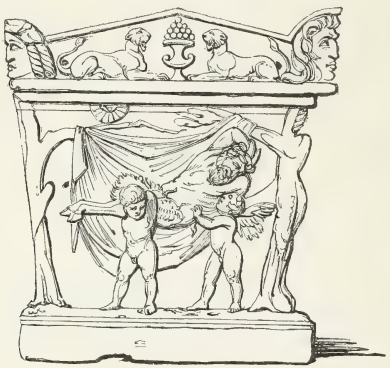
[105] HARPOCRATIO, Κόβαλοι, δαίμονες εἰσί τινες σκληροὶ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον.

[106] KEIGHTLEY, Fairy Mythology, Vol. II. pp. 41—68. ADELUNG, Woerterbuch, under Cobold. LOBECK, Aglaoph. p. 1320. J. GRIMM, Deutsche Mythologie, p. 286.

[107] KEIGHTLEY, F. M. Vol. II. pp. 104 and 121.

festive scene exhibited on the cornice surmounting the part of the monument already described, may allude to the enjoyments supposed to be reserved, in the other world, for those who had been initiated in this. We see the lyre and the bowl, the usual accompaniments of celestial banquets, according to the poetry and religion of Greece; and which were naturally assigned to the blessed in the Pagan Elysium[108]. The sculptor has also added the rewards which Mohammed afterwards promised to the faithful, in the female figures seen among the revellers.

At one end of the sarcophagus we have Pan[109] exhibited, with two mischievous Loves, who are amusing themselves at his expense.

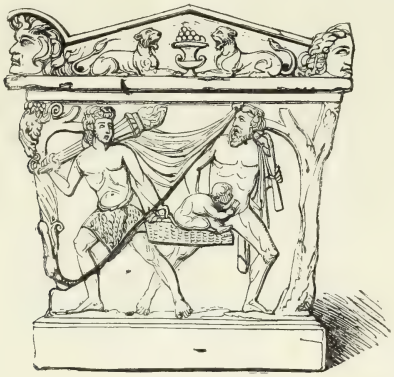


The other extremity of the monument represents a less common and much more interesting subject. The

[108] Those Κύκλιοι χοροί, καὶ μουσικὰ ἀκούσματα, ξυμπόσιά τε εὐμελῆ, καὶ εἰλαπίναι αὐτοχορήγητοι, καὶ ἀκήρατος ἀλυπία, καὶ ἡδεῖα δίαιτα, which are found εἰς τὸν τῶν εὐσεβῶν χῶρον, according to the author of the Axiochus, p. 164. ed. Fisch. Compare Boeckh, on Pindar, Tom. II.

[109] If any one should be disposed to regard this figure as representing Priapus, who was δυσειδὴς καὶ βαθυαίδοιος, he might quote, in defence of the goat's legs and the horns which we see before us, the words of Phurnutus, p. 204. Gale. Τάχα μὲν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κεράστην καὶ δίχηλον πλάττοντες— ἴσως δ' ἂν οὕτος καὶ ὁ Πρίαπος εἴη.

youthful Dionysos is here carried in his cradle by two Satyrs.



The infancy of the Theban God was watched over by the Nymphs, or by the Muses, according to the testimony of many ancient authors; and, in one very spirited and beautiful monument of ancient art[110], the infant is swung in his basket or cradle, by a Nymph and a Satyr. Our artist has given the charge to two Satyrs alone. The torches borne by them remind us that the mystic rites of Dionysos used to be celebrated in the night-time.

Another monument of ancient art, made of more fragile materials than those which have been represented and described in this chapter, was obtained by me in the island. It is an earthenware lamp, on which are seen[111] Zeus and his eagle.

Many authors speak of the eagle, which carried off Ganymedes from his native fields, and conveyed him into

[110] WINCKELMANN, Monumenti antichi inediti, Parte Prima, Cap. XX. Also engraved in the Description of Ancient Terracottas in the British Museum, Pl. XXIV. n. 44.

[111] See the engraving at p. 21.

the presence of Zeus[112]; and some describe that deity as having himself assumed the eagle's form on the occasion[113]. There are also other traditions, which would equally account for the appearance of the king of birds in company with Zeus, both on Cretan coins, and on the lamp in question[114]. According to Homer, "the Gods" carried off Ganymedes on account of his beauty, and that he might pour out nectar for Zeus[115]. Echemenes, who wrote on Crete, mentions a tradition of this island, that it was Minos, and not Zeus, by whom the youth was carried off[116]; and the Chalcidians of Euboea also gave the credit of the exploit to the same mythical personage[117].

[112] See HEMSTERHUSIUS, on Lucian, Tom. I. p. 210. HEYNE, on Apollodor. p. 741.

[113] LUCIAN, l. c.

[114] See SERVIUS, on Virgil, Aen. I. 398. SPANHEIM, on Callimachus Hymn to Zeus, 68.

[115] HOMER, Il. XX. 234. SCHOLIAST, on Apollonius Rhodius, III. 115.

[116] ATHENAEUS, XIII. p. 601. e. Ἐχεμένης γοῦν, ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς, οὐ τὸν Δία φησὶν ἁρπάσαι τὸν Γανυμήδην, ἀλλὰ Μίνωα. EUSTATHIUS, on Il. XX. p. 1205. HEYNE, on Apollodor. p. 532.

[117] HEMSTERHUSIUS, l. c. MEINEKE, on Euphorio, p. 10. SCHNEIDEWIN, on Ibycus, pp. 112—115.

## CHAPTER XXII.

DEPARTURE FROM KHANIA. PLATANIA PROBABLY THE SITE OF PERGAMOS. RIVER IARDANOS. SUPPOSED SITE OF CYDONIA AT IERAMI. ARRIVAL AT THE MONASTERY OF GONIA. MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS. RELIGIOUS PAINTINGS OF THE GREEKS. SITE OF DICTYNNAEON.

*April* 21.

I LEFT Khaniá a little before twelve o'clock, and had scarcely passed the gate of the city before I heard the noon salute fired by the guns of the fortress, in honour of the lesser Bairám[1], which commenced yester-

[1] I have called this the lesser Bairám in conformity with the common practice both of the people in the country and of European writers who have spoken of the Mohammedan feasts, although no doubt, as has been observed by RELAND, de religione Mohammedica, p. 109. ed. alt. Traj. ad Rhen. 1717. (where he corrects D'HERBELOT, Bibliothèque Orientale, Art. Beirám,) and SALE, (Preliminary Discourse, §. 7. p. 200.) the feast succeeding the Ramazán is properly the lesser Bairám, and this is the greater. No one who has witnessed the celebration of the Ramazán and its Bairám, the Lent and Easter of the Mohammedans, can wonder that the common people should have learnt to consider that Bairám as the more important of the two.

day. This festival is called by the Turks Kurbán-bairám, the feast of sacrifice, or Khadgilér-bairám, the feast of the khadgís, or pilgrims. The origin of both appellations is explained by the fact that, on the day of its commencement, those holy men slay victims, as the last religious act of their pilgrimage to Mecca. We had a beautiful cloudless sky: our course lay near the shore: we passed, soon after leaving Khaniá, the little flat and barren island where the Venetians had their lazaretto, and, about six miles further on, the village of Haghía Marína, on our left. We met several droves of mules and asses, laden with oil for Khaniá: and, on passing Haghía Marína, saw the village of Plataniá, on a rocky elevation, about half a mile from the shore and a mile before us. Soon after passing it, we crossed its rapid stream, which rises in the White Mountains, and, after flowing between the Rhizite villages of Thériso and Láki or Lákus, runs through a valley formed by low hills, and filled, especially near the stream, with lofty platanes; from which both the village and river obtain their names. Vines twine around most of these platanes, and are of a size unknown in France or Italy, the thickness of many of their stems being that of an ordinary man's waist. These vines are never pruned, and, in consequence of the shadiness of their situation, their fruit does not ripen till after the common vintage: they thus supply the bazár of Khaniá with grapes for the whole month of November, and, I believe, even till near Christmas. The varied scenery produced by these noble plane-trees, in the valley of Plataniá, is very beautiful, and is one of the objects best worth viewing by those who visit Khaniá, and can stay only a short time in the island. The river of Plataniá falls into the sea, nearly opposite the islet of Hághios Theódhoros, where there is good anchorage; and to which merchant vessels, drawing too much water to enter the port of Khaniá, sometimes repair, although the port of Súdha is ordinarily preferred by them. The

islet is entirely uninhabited: there was on it, in the time of the Venetians, a small castle, which was heroically defended by its commander Giuliani against the Turks. When summoned to surrender, he replied, that "he had promised to defend the fortress till his last breath;" and, as soon as the Turks carried the place by assault, Giuliani, unable to make any further resistance, fired a mine, the explosion of which destroyed, along with himself and his own small band, all the Turks who had made good their entrance into the fort[2].

As to the river Plataniá, there can be no reasonable doubt about its being the Iardanos of the Odyssey, near the banks of which the Cydonians dwelt[3]: and the elevation on which the village of Plataniá itself is built, may, not improbably, have been the site of the ancient Pergamos or Pergamum, which has been already mentioned incidentally, and the position of which it is not difficult to determine, with tolerable accuracy, from books alone. In the first place it appears, from Servius[4], that Pergamum was near Cydonia; and Pliny[5] places it between Cydonia and the city of Kisamos. If Pergamum was situated here, it is clear that the whole plain running along the shore from this place to the Dictynnaean chain, would form part of the district belonging to it, and thus the Dictynnaean temple of Artemis, which was undoubtedly situated on the modern cape Spádha, might well be spoken of, as it is by Scylax[6], as being to the north of the Pergamian territory.

Various accounts are given of the foundation of the city Pergamum, or Pergamia as it seems to be called by Plutarch. In Virgil's story Æneas is represented

[2] See EMMANUEL MORMORIO, in the MS. Classe VI. Cod. CI. of Saint Mark's Library, Libro I. fol. 12.

[3] ODYSSEY, III. 292.

Ἦχι Κύδωνες ἔναιον Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.

[4] SERVIUS, on Virg. Aen. III. 133. [5] PLINY, IV. 20.

[6] SCYLAX, in Geograph. Graec. Min. Tom. I. p. 18. ed. Huds. p. 265. ed. Gail. Δικτυνναῖον Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν πρὸς βορέαν ἄνεμον τῆς χώρας Περγαμίας.

as its founder[7]; while Servius, in his commentary on the passage, mentions another account[8], according to which it was built by Agamemnon's Trojan prisoners. Diodorus Siculus, in one of the fragments published from the Vatican Palimpsest, mentions a curse of Agamemnon on the warriors who remained in Crete, and likewise an old proverb of the island, in which the Pergamians are spoken of as the authors of the calamity[9]. I suppose the warriors in question to be those who deserted their Chieftain here, and that the word Pergamians denotes the founders of this Cretan city, rather than the inhabitants of Troy. Velleius Paterculus[10] says that Agamemnon himself, when driven into Crete by a storm, founded Pergamum as well as Tegea and Mycenae. Of the exact situation of these other towns no ancient authors afford any indications. Tegea alone is known by its coins, and the commonest type which they bear is the same as one of those of Cydonia[11]. If the legend of the foundation of these cities by Agamemnon sprang out of the Dorian colonies of Althaemenes, there will be no doubt that those colonies were planted in the western parts of the island[12].

[7] VIRGIL, Aen. III. 133.

> Et tandem antiquis Curetum allabimur oris.
> Ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis,
> Pergameamque voco.

See also v. 190. of the same book.

[8] SERVIUS, l. c. "Alii dicunt, Pergamum in Creta conditam a Trojanis captivis: qui ex classe Agamemnonis illo erant delati." See HEYNE'S "Excursus de Aeneae erroribus."

[9] DIODORUS SICULUS, XXXIII. in Scriptorum Veterum Collect. Nov. Vol. II. ed. Mai. or in Dindorf. Vol. III. p. 109. Ἔθετο ἀρὰν κατὰ τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων εἰς Κρήτην στρατιωτῶν—(cf. Virg. Aen. III. 190. "Hanc quoque deserimus sedem, paucisque relictis Vela damus.) παλαιὰ διαμένει παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶ παροιμία δι' ἑνὸς στίχου μηνύουσα τὴν νῦν γενηθεῖσαν περιπέτειαν, Αἰαῖ, Περγάμιοι παρά τοι κακὸν ἠγήσαντο.

[10] VELLEIUS PATERCULUS: Lib. I. princip. "Agamemnon, tempestate in Cretam insulam rejectus, tres ibi urbes statuit: duas a patriae nomine, unam a victoriae memoria: Mycenas, Tegeam, Pergamum."

[11] See PELLERIN, Recueil etc. Tom. III. p. 73. Supplem. Tom. I. p. 52. ECKHEL, Num. Vet. p. 141. SESTINI, and MIONNET, Suppl. IV. p.343.

[12] CONON, 47. EUSTATHIUS, on IL. II. p. 313. HOECK'S Kreta, Vol. II. p. 429. and THIRLWALL'S History of Greece, Vol. I. p. 279.

As the Cnossians long boasted of the tombs of two celebrated ancient heroes, Idomeneus and Meriones[13], so the Pergamians used to shew that of the great Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus, who, according to accounts in Plutarch's life of him, died in Crete, and was buried here[14].

Leaving the district of Plataniá, I soon arrived at the village of Ierámi, in and about which I lost a good deal of time in making fruitless inquiries for existing remains of antiquity. I think my search was sufficiently diligent to warrant me in asserting, that there are positively no ancient remains whatever in the immediate neighbourhood of the place. I next rode to a hamlet called Pýrgos, a little further on, where my researches were equally unsuccessful. Unfortunately I had extracted a passage from the work of a fellow-countryman[15], wherein it is said, after speaking of Cydonia, "The ruins of this ancient city are to be seen on the site of Ierámi." The very difficulty, which the existence of any considerable vestiges of an ancient city at Ierámi would have caused in the way of what I have endeavoured to establish, respecting the probable sites of Aptera, Cydonia and Polyrrhenia, made me so anxious to verify this assertion, that I passed Plataniá without making any search for remains of an ancient city there.

Neither ancient authors, nor modern travellers, as far as I am aware, afford any ground or colour for Dr Cramer's assertion, and I know not how to account for it, unless he has taken for granted the existence of these imaginary ruins on the authority of Lapie's map[16].

[13] Vol. I. p. 206.

[14] PLUTARCH, Lycurg. c. 31. (Vol. I. p. 234. ed. Reisk.) *Τίμαιος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν Κρήτῃ (λέγουσι) καταβιώσαντα, καὶ τάφον Ἀριστόξενος αὐτοῦ δείκνυσθαί φησιν ὑπὸ Κρητῶν τῆς Περγαμίας περὶ τὴν ξενικὴν ὁδόν.*

[15] Dr CRAMER's Geographical and Historical Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 366.

[16] As seems to have been done by Mr GAIL, Geograph. Graec. Min. Vol. II. p. 581. "Reperiuntur hod. rudera Cydoniae in litore ipso. Olim perperam veterem Cydoniam in hodierna Canea reponebant; sed jacent rudera illa ulterius ad occidentem fluvii hod. *Platania*."

With whomsoever the mistake may rest, this is not simply one of those numerous instances in which Lapie has merely given wrong names to ancient sites, for here the error will be equally great to whatever ancient city the remains are supposed to have belonged; and we may therefore refer this to that class of sites where, as in the case of Arcadia, ruins are supposed to exist in given spots, and then the name of some unlucky ancient city is attached to them, and thus the city acquires, in the present day, a new local habitation, and the imaginary ruins obtain a name.

Half an hour's riding from Pýrgos brings us to a river which we cross: the monastery of Goniá is about three miles before us at some little elevation above the shore; and we have for some time seen "The convent's white walls glisten fair on high." The olive-trees on our left, for a considerable distance, are entirely uncultivated. We cross another small river, just before winding round the south-west corner of the gulf, and, in a few minutes more, arrive at the monastery, situated on the side of rocky hills, and only about a hundred paces from the sea. The Hegúmenos is absent: the senior Patéras however does the honours, shewing us into a very comfortable room, and causing dinner to be prepared. The wine which is produced fully supports the credit of monastic institutions.

Not only in Crete, but elsewhere, the wine of the Greek monasteries is mostly excellent, and this too in countries where its quality is generally bad. At the same time, the sobriety and abstemiousness of eastern manners have preserved the Greek church from the scandal of having the sounds of revelry and debauchery heard within the precincts of its monasteries, as used to be the case in Catholic countries.

> "There Venus sat disguised like a Nun,
> While Bacchus, clothed in semblance of a Friar,
> Poured out his choicest beverage, high and higher,
> Sparkling."

H. Schranz del.

L. Haghe Lith.

GONIA and the WHITE MOUNTAINS.

Such scandal as the Roman Catholic church has endured, from the time of Boccaccio downwards, on account of the profligacy of her monks, the Oriental church has certainly escaped: and yet, even here, the vices inherent in the very principles of an institution which opposes the first great command of God and nature, by imposing celibacy on all its members, have been sufficiently developed to have called for the ineffectual prohibitions of a General Council in the early ages of Christianity[17], to have become the theme of popular songs at the present day[18], and, at last, to have induced the Bavarian government of Greece, actually to put down the monastic order in all parts of the new kingdom, and to apply the revenues, which these useless monks consumed, to the purposes of education.

Notwithstanding the Hegúmenos's absence we fared well: and, without our having transgressed the limits of reason and moderation, he found, on his return in the evening, that our time after dinner had not been unemployed. The most serious subject of our conversation was the affair of Murniés, and I soon learnt, that every absurd belief which was entertained by the body of the peasants there assembled, is also shared by my reverend friends: for instance, it is quite impossible to disabuse them of the idea that Mehmét-Alí's sole object in establishing schools at Neokhório, was to seize on all the children some fine day, to put them on board a ship of war lying in the bay of Súdha, which was conveniently near, and to carry them off to Egypt. Their ideas respecting the manner in which the Pashá made his terms with the English Admiral and the Consuls, are still more absurd. In these unhappy countries, the Superior of the most liberally endowed mo-

[17] As is observed by GIBBON, c. XXXVII. "The seventh general council prohibits the erection of double or promiscuous monasteries of both sexes; but it appears from Balsamon, that the prohibition was ineffectual." Several of these promiscuous convents still exist in Crete: e. g. Haghía Hodegetría, and Pezanés.

[18] See above, Vol. I. p. 146.

nastery is barely removed, in point of education and of knowledge, one degree from the condition of the poorest peasant.

*April* 22.

The church of this monastery contains a greater number of those paintings with which the Greeks love to adorn the interior of their places of religious worship, than is usually met with in Crete. They were all sent to Trieste at the outbreaking of the revolution, and thus escaped destruction. One of them has the date 1642. Two of the most remarkable are, the history of Joseph, which contains a great number of groups, exhibiting all the chief events of his life, and another wherein the Virgin and child are represented in a kind of tub, out of which are flowing two streams[19]. The Mohammedans did not burn this church, and even left uninjured all the carved wood with which it is adorned; an instance of moderation rare on their part, and which most assuredly was never shewn by the Christians in any mosque in the island. After visiting the church I enter the refectory: on either side of its entrance is a Corinthian column: there is in fact here, as in most of the Venetian edifices which remain in Crete, some pretension to architectural design and ornament. The interior of the refectory is about twelve paces long and five or six wide; and has a table with benches on one side of it: it is large enough to remind me, by its size as well as by its furniture, of a small college-hall at Cambridge.

In its possessions this monastery has of course suffered, like all the others, by the war. It contained

[19] This painting is called Η ΖΩΟΤΟΚΟΣ ΠΗΓΗ. Whether these were streams of milk or water, I will not now take upon myself to decide, since I do not recollect how they were supplied. If they were milk, my reader will perhaps remember that the copiousness of this source in a Christian church nearer to us than that of the Greeks, is alluded to by SWIFT, when he makes lord Peter swear "that he had a cow at home, which gave as much milk as would fill three thousand churches, and, what was yet more extraordinary, would never turn sour." (Tale of a Tub, §. IV.)

formerly twenty patéras, fifteen kalógheri, four or five deacons[20], and between fifty and sixty men-servants[21]. Its eight metókhis were then cultivated by its men-servants, under the superintendance of a patéras residing on each farm. At present the monastery is unable to till its own lands, and therefore lets them to a cultivator, receiving only one half of the produce, and supplying the farmer with oxen: thus the half of the produce received by the monks is generally a very small one.

Before quitting our kind and hospitable hosts we partake of a very palatable breakfast, chiefly consisting of a kind of piláv, made of artichokes and rice, at the same time doing justice, notwithstanding the early hour, to the excellent wine which they again produce. I find one of the priests a perfect oracle on the subject of the population of every village of the eparkhía of Kísamos. On making inquiries for the remains of Dictynnaeon, I was told that "about three miles from the extremity of Cape Spádha, on its eastern side, are remains of an ancient Greek city at a place called Kantsilliéres, which is not surrounded by walls, but had many houses in former times." I did not think it worth while to spend a whole day in going to see the slight remains which exist of this city, since its position is clearly ascertained. There is no doubt that this Dictynnaeon is the Dictynna of Pomponius Mela[22] and the Dictamnon of Ptolemy[23].

The following is Pococke's account[24] of the remains found there. "The ancient remains of this place are chiefly on a small height over the west end of the bay, and on each side of two rivulets, which meet just before they fall into the sea; most of them are roughly built

[20] *Διάκονοι*, commonly corrupted into *διάκοι*.

[21] Men-servants, *δουλευτάδες*, the plural from *δουλευτής*.

[22] POMPONIUS MELA, II. 7. 12. and TZSCHUCKE's Notae Criticae, in Tom. II. Part. II. p. 551.

[23] PTOLEMY, Geograph. p. 91.

[24] POCOCKE's Description of the East and some other countries, Vol. II. Part I. pp. 244–245.

of the grey marble of the mountains which are on each side: one building resembles a church, and has some ancient brick-work about it. On a height to the south of the bay, there are some pieces of grey marble columns, and four oblong square cisterns sunk into the ground and contiguous, as if they had been under some great building. I observed that in the middle they were sunk lower like square wells, and lined with brick, with a design, I suppose, to receive a greater quantity of water; and below these, on the side of the hill towards the town, there are remains in some of the walls of earthen pipes, by which one may suppose the water was conveyed down from the cistern, the torrents below being dry in summer. Among these ruins, which were probably an ancient temple, I saw a fine pedestal of grey marble three feet square; it had a festoon on each side, and against the middle of each festoon a relief of Pan standing; the whole was finely executed; it is probable that this was either an altar or the pedestal of a statue erected to that deity in this temple, which probably was dedicated to the nymph Dictynna; Strabo mentions the Dictynnaean temple in this place. Some years ago they found a statue here of white alabaster, but having a notion that such pieces of antiquity contain gold in them, the fishermen broke it in pieces; I brought away a foot of it, which shews very distinctly all the parts of the ancient sandal."

KISAMO-KASTELI.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

PLANE-TREES. VIEW OF MOUNT IDA. PLAIN OF KISAMOS. SUPPOSED CHANGE IN THE SUN'S USUAL PLACE OF RISING. ASPECT OF ANCIENT TEMPLES AND OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES. INFLUENCE OF THE ORIENTAL SUN-WORSHIP ON THE MODE OF PRAYING, AND ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS. KEBLAHS OF THE JEWS AND MOHAMMEDANS. VESTIGES OF METHYMNA. PROBABLE SITE OF RHOKKA. REMAINS OF KISAMOS. VISIT TO THE ALBANIAN COMMANDANT OF KISAMO-KASTELI. ARRIVAL AT UPPER-PALAEOKASTRON. CRETAN WILD-ASPARAGUS.

*April* 22.

We start at a quarter before nine o'clock, and, after passing Agribilianá, and traversing groves of olive-trees, which are almost entirely uncultivated, we leave the village of Spílaea on our left, and arrive at a fountain shaded by two plane-trees, one of them of most majestic dimensions. For some little distance further we continue to ascend, and, until we cease to do so, see behind us, not only the Akrotéri but the whole of the snow-capt

eminence of Mount Ida, although at a distance of about sixty miles. After crossing this ridge, we pass the village of Nokiá, which is a little on our right, and soon come in sight of the gulf of Kísamos. In about an hour from Nokiá we pass a fountain, and, a few minutes afterwards, see the plain of Kísamo-Kastéli, which is about four miles long and a mile and a half broad. It is chiefly covered with standing corn: there are, however, also considerable patches of olive-trees. The Panopolitan poet has thought this plain worthy of being expressly mentioned[1]. The Kastéli is situated near its further extremity. After advancing a mile more, we are just above Nopía, which is on the extreme eastern edge of the plain. A river running to the west of this village separates it from the church of Hághios Gheórghios. We were now accompanied by a Greek called Antónios Kharadhákes of Nopía, who had been overtaken by us half an hour before, and had immediately volunteered his services to conduct me to certain remains of antiquity close to this church, which seems to have been built on the site of an ancient temple. Part of the foundations of the older edifice may still be traced. In the large masses of brick and mortar, which are lying about near the modern building, there are seen three earthen pipes, such as one ordinarily finds only in cisterns.

This Greek chapel stands nearly due north and south, instead of east and west as is usual in all orthodox Greek as well as Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. This architectural peculiarity of the building puzzled my Nopían guide quite as much as myself. He asked me whether in those times, for he transferred the antiquity of the ancient edifice to the comparatively modern erection, the sun used to rise in the south: it must have been so, he thought, because the Christian, as he stands before the altar in a church, always looks towards the rising sun.

[1] Nonnus, xiii. 237.

Καὶ δάπεδον Κισάμοιο.

The Greek's idea calls to mind Herodotus's mention of what he heard in Egypt, about the change which had happened, in ancient times, in the sun's usual places of rising and setting[2].

Ne is that same great glorious lamp of light,
That doth enlumine all the lesser fyres,
In better case, ne keeps his course more right,
But is miscaried with the other spheres.

And if to those Egyptian wizards old,
Which in star-read were wont have best insight,
Faith may be given, it is by them told
That since the time they first tooke the Sunnes hight,
Foure times his place he shifted hath in sight,
And twice hath risen where he now doth west,
And wested twice where he ought rise aright[3].

I have never before noticed an instance, in any part of Greece or Turkey, of a church not standing due east and west[4]. In England there is sometimes a deviation, determined by the place where the sun rises on the day of the saint to whom the church is dedicated. This peculiarity in our old ecclesiastical architecture has been celebrated by a living poet[5].

A passage of Ezekiel shews how greatly the Jews abominated the oriental custom of turning the face to the east in prayer[6]. The Jews themselves seem to have turned towards the sanctuary, even in the time of David[7];

[2] HERODOTUS, II. 142. Ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἠθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι. See also BUTLER, Hudibras, Canto III. v. 865. foll.

[3] SPENSER, Faerie Queene, Book v. Introd. Stan. 8.

[4] No doubt such may be found. Colonel LEAKE, Travels in the Moréa, I. p. 297. speaks of the church of Asómatos, near Cape Matapán, which "instead of facing to the East, as Greek churches usually do, faces south-eastward, towards the head of the port, which is likely to have been the aspect of the temple," (of the Taenarian Poseidon.)

[5] WORDSWORTH.

[6] EZEKIEL, VIII. 16—18. The ruins of a temple called Ghebri Bena, the temple of the Ghebers, were visited by Mr KEPPEL, Journey from India to England, Vol. I. Ch. X. He observes, "The gradual slope of the plain to the west would indicate that on that side was the ascent to the temple."

[7] PSALMS, v. 7. XXVIII. 2.

and, when Solomon's temple was built, it became their keblah[8]. Hence, during the captivity, they used to turn towards Jerusalem, then to the west of them, in their prayers. Thus Daniel, when at the court of Darius, "went into his house, and his windows being open in his chamber, *toward Jerusalem*, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed and gave thanks before his God as he did aforetime[9]."

This Jewish observance does not appear to have been adopted by the early Christians, among whom the Persian custom of turning towards the rising sun every where prevailed[10]. Directions are given to build all churches so as to stand towards the east in the Apostolical Constitutions[11]. Origen[12], Clemens[13], Basil[14], and other ecclesiastical writers, attempt to assign *reasons* for the practice: some of them, as Tertullian, consider the sun the figure of Christ: others say that, since Paradise was situated in the east, we mean our looks in that direction as a prayer that we may be restored to the place from which Adam was expelled: others, as if they meant to confine Christianity to the *west* of Jerusalem, tell us that we look to the scene of Christ's abode and

[8] 1 KINGS, c. VIII. See especially v. 48. 2 CHRONICLES, VI. 24. 38. and JONAH, II. 4. 7. The entrance of the temple was on its eastern side, in order that those who went into it to pray might have their *backs* towards the rising sun. ANASTASIUS, Quaest. XVIII. in Script. (quoted by Potter, on Clem. Alex. p. 857.) Ἐτέτραπτο δὲ πρὸς ἕω, ἵνα οἱ προσευχόμενοι μὴ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα προσκυνῶσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἡλίου δεσπότην.

[9] DANIEL, VI. 10.

[10] ORIGEN, Opera, Vol. II. p. 284. ed. Par. 1733. (Hom. v. on Numbers.) "Quod ex omnibus coeli plagis ad solam orientis partem conversi orationem fundimus, non facile cuiquam puto ratione compertum." TERTULLIAN says: "Ad Persas si deputabimur, licet solem in linteo depictum non adoremus —inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad Orientis regionem precari." Bishop KAYE says, on Tertullian, p. 124. (compare p. 408.) in speaking of the enemies of the Gospel, "We cannot be surprized at their believing that the Sun and the Cross were objects of worship in the New Religion."

[11] CONSTITUTIONES APOSTOLICAE, II. c. 57. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ οἶκος ἔστω ἐπιμήκης κατ' ἀνατολὰς τετραμμένος.

[12] ORIGEN, de Orat. Tom. I. p. 270.

[13] CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, Strom. VII. p. 856.

[14] BASIL, de Spiritu Sancto, c. XXVII. p. 56. a. ed. Paris, 1730.

sufferings on earth: and this last notion, that we thus turn because

> Mindful of him, who in the orient born,
> There lived, and on the Cross his life resigned,

destitute of all truth as it undoubtedly is, if the origin of the observance is considered, has become very generally prevalent. Christian authors are likewise found who venture to assert that the custom was an institution of the apostles[15]. It appears from Philo-Judaeus, that the Therapeutae prayed in the same manner: and the observance being so strictly Christian, it forms one of the arguments by which it has been attempted to prove that the Therapeutae were Christians[16]. The early practice still prevails, more or less, in all countries inhabited by Christians to the east of the Holy Land, as well as in those to the west of it.

The Greeks and Romans seem also to have turned to the east in offering prayer and sacrifice, and thus the oriental observance was easily continued among the Christian converts from Paganism throughout the Roman empire[17].

[15] AUCTOR Quaestion. et Respons. ad Orthodoxos, Resp. 118. Τὸ δὲ ἔθος, παρ' ὧν εἴληφεν ἡ ἐκκλησία τὸ εὔχεσθαι, παρὰ τούτων εἰληφέναι καὶ τὸ ποῦ εὔχεσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων. ATHANASIUS, Quaest. ad Antiochum, 16. (quoted by Potter, l. c.) Οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τὰς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίας προσέχειν πεποιήκασιν.

[16] Le Livre de Philon de la vie contemplative traduit de l'original Grec, avec des observations, où l'on fait voir que les Therapeutes dont il parle étoient Chrétiens. Paris, 1709. pp. 200—202. The chief establishment of these Therapeutae was in lower Egypt: an account of them is given in NEANDER, Geschichte der C. R. u. K. Vol. I. Part I. p. 78. foll. They were undoubtedly a sect of Jews, and not Christians.

[17] VITRUVIUS, IV. 5. "*Signum* quod erit in cella collocatum spectet ad *vespertinam* coeli regionem." See also IV. 9. and VIRGIL, Aen. VIII. 68.

> Surgit, et aetherii spectans orientia Solis
> Lumina, rite cavis undam de flumine palmis
> Sustulit, ac tales effundit ad aethera voces.

And Aen. XII. 172.

> Ad surgentem conversi lumina solem,
> Dant fruges manibus salsas, et tempora ferro
> Summa notant pecudum, paterisque altaria libant.

LUCIAN, Necyomant, §. 7. Tom. I. p. 465. ed. Hemst. Other passages are indicated by LOMEIER, de Vet. Lustrat. p. 316. fol. ed. 1681.

Nevertheless it is undoubted that this ancient custom was greatly changed, although the alteration introduced was equally consistent with the principles of the sun-worship in question. Hyginus mentions the revolution introduced into sacred architecture by building temples, the *entrance* into which was at their *eastern* extremity[18]; and it appears, from Lucian[19] and other authors, that those eastern doors were thrown open, so as to admit within the sacred edifice the first beams of the rising sun.

The custom of thus constructing temples with an eastern aspect became very general; and, in later times, the form was sometimes transferred from the heathen to the Christian edifice. The temple of Apollo at Delphi[20] and the cathedral of St Peter at Rome were thus equally turned towards the rising sun.

It is quite certain that the observance of the great celestial luminary, adopted by the Christians, has at times degenerated into something little better than the Persian worship, of which Herodotus and other ancient authors speak. I myself once met with an ignorant Greek, who told me that the great difference between Christianity and Mohammedanism consisted in this, that the Christian worships the sun, and the Mohammedan the moon[21]: and we learn from the mouth of one of

[18] HYGINUS, de agror. limit. constit. p. 153. in the Rei Agrariae Auctores, ed. Amst. 1674. "Antiqui architecti in occidentem templa spectare recte scripserunt: postea placuit omnem religionem eo convertere, ex qua parte coeli terra illuminatur."

[19] LUCIAN, de domo, Tom. III. p. 193. *Τὸν ἥλιον ὑπερκύψαντα εὐθὺς ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ἐμπίπλασθαι ἐς κόρον, ἀναπεπταμένων τῶν θυρῶν, καθ' ὃ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ βλέποντα ἐποίουν οἱ παλαιοί.* See also PORPHYRY and DIONYSIUS THRAX, quoted by LAKEMACHER, Antiq. Graec. Sacr. Part. I. c. VI. §. 4.

[20] LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. II. p. 562.

[21] *Ἐγὼ προσκυνῶ τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ ὁ Τοῦρκος τὸ φεγγάρι.* His explanation of this strange view of the matter was that all churches have the altar at the east end, and that every Christian turns to the rising sun, &c., while "the Turk reckons by the moon," and on some of his festivals celebrates her rising by the discharge of fire-arms, and exhibits the crescent on his standard: *καὶ ἔτσι ὁ Τοῦρκος προσκυνεῖ τὸ φεγγάρι.* RELAND, de Rel. Mahom. p. 163. says: "Confirmat hanc opinionem, Lunae imaginem esse insigne Mohammedanorum, quasi hoc ex antiquo Planetarum cultu apud ipsos remanserit."

the successors of St Peter, that this adoration of the bright orb of day was practised by many Christians of his time[22]. They even turned their backs on the altar[23], in the most splendid temple which Christian piety has ever erected, that they might bow down in their Pagan adoration of the rising sun.

Plutarch and Aelian both mention an ancient opinion, from which alone it might be inferred how essential a part of the ancient religious worship it was thus to turn to the east. The act of the elephant, in stretching out his proboscis towards the rising sun, was regarded as one of religious adoration of the Deity[24].

The first direction given to the Mohammedans by the founder of their religion was worthy even of a true prophet: "To God belongeth the east and the west; therefore whithersoever ye turn yourselves to pray, there is the face of God[25]." After this Mohammed bade his followers turn towards Jerusalem; but, at last, adopting the principle, while he abandoned the practice, of the Jews, he enjoined on them to turn in the direction of the Caaba at Mecca[26]: "Follow ye therefore the religion

[22] Vossius, de origin. et prog. Idolol. II. 3. Quo pertinent haec Leonis Papae, Serm. VII. de Nativ. "De talibus institutis etiam illa generatur impietas, ut sol, inchoatione diurnae lucis exsurgens, a quibusdam insipientioribus de locis eminentioribus adoretur: quod nonnulli etiam *Christiani* adeo se religiose facere putant, ut—*converso corpore ad nascentem se solem reflectant, et, curvatis cervicibus, in honorem se splendidi orbis inclinent.*"

[23] St Leo, l. c. "Priusquam ad beati Petri apostoli basilicam, qui uni Deo vivo et vero est dedicata, perveniant; superatis gradibus, (it must be remembered that, as is mentioned in the text, the entrance of St Peter's is at its eastern extremity, towards the eternal city,) quibus ad suggestum arae superioris adscenditur, converso corpore, ad nascentem se solem," &c.

[24] Plutarch, Tom. II. p. 972. b. Ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ εὐχῇ χρῆσθαι θεῶν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἀδιδάκτως, ἀγνιζομένους τε τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκφανέντα προσκυνοῦντας, ὥσπερ χειρὸς ἀνατάσει τῆς προβοσκίδος· ὅθεν καὶ θεοφιλέστατόν ἐστι τὸ θηρίον. Aelian, N. A. VII. 44. Τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα προσκυνοῦσιν ἐλέφαντες, τὰς προβοσκίδας εὐθὺ τῆς ἀκτῖνος ὡς χεῖρας ἀνατείνοντες, ἔνθεν τοι καὶ τῷ θεῷ φιλοῦνται.

[25] An Arabic poet elegantly speaks of the Deity as his Keblah: see Reland, de relig. Mahom. Lib. II. §. X. p. 175.

[26] As the Arabs did before his time: Reland, de rel. Mahom. p. 271.

of Abraham, for he was no idolater. Verily the first house appointed unto men to worship in, was that which is at Mecca, a direction to all creatures." Again, "We have seen thee turn about thy face towards heaven with uncertainty, but we will cause thee to turn thyself towards a Keblah that will please thee. Turn therefore thy face towards the holy temple of Mecca; and wherever ye be, turn your faces towards that place." Mosques are not built so as to point out the direction to Mecca, as a church ordinarily points out the east, but it is determined within the mosque by a niche which they call Al Mehrâb; and without, by the situation of doors opening into the galleries of the steeples[27].

The Mahommedans also use, especially in India, small compasses in which the magnetic needle is concealed under the wings of a bird, so placed, that the bird's flight may always appear to be towards Mecca. One of these compasses has been shewn to me by the Master of Pembroke College, whose brother, Mr Ainslie, brought it from Benares. On it the bird's flight is to the west-south-west, a direction which is sufficiently explained by the fact that the instrument was meant for India. Mr Ainslie tells me that, in India, magnetic needles, serving in a similar way to point to the Holy City, and set in rings, are very common among the Mohammedans. Thus, even where he has no mosque in sight, the devout Musulman is enabled to turn toward Mecca, in those daily performances of his religious exercises, the punctual observance of which, at all times and under all circumstances, no traveller in the east can fail to notice.

I may add, that at the south-east corner of the chapel of Hághios Gheórghios is a fragment of circular walling. I learn from Antónios that the Greeks dug here, during the revolution, "and found a woman and

[27] See SALE.

a child of marble, which they sent to Anápli:" there were twenty-five of them who excavated, and they afterwards received nine dollars a-piece, the amount of each man's share of the sum obtained for the statues. A Melian of the name of Ioánnes, called, from his profession of dealer in antiquities, Antíka-Yánnis, also came and dug here afterwards. I am told marvellous stories about the supernatural appearance of a negro, who, when the excavators had discovered a certain entrance, was seen to stand with a drawn sword, forbidding them to proceed with their work, and who, in fact, deterred them from doing so.

Before I crossed the streamlet to visit the remains at this church, I found the Albanian commandant of Kísamo-Kastéli seated smoking his pipe under a tree just by the village, and waiting till some of the villagers prepared his dinner: it was now nearly noon. He wondered what could be my object in asking questions about the country, as he found out, both from Maniás and my Nopían guide, that I did. I succeeded with a little difficulty in making him understand the reasonableness of my endeavour to note down something of places far distant from my home, in which I had spent several months, and which, in all probability, I should never see again.

Having finished my survey of the remains, at the church of Hághios Gheórghios, I went to a small hill about a quarter of a mile to the south-south-east of the church, and south of the village of Nopía. On the north-west side of this hill are two projecting square towers, each about eight paces in width and with a curtain of thirty-three paces in length between them. Round the rest of the hill, which is only a few hundred paces in circumference, are remains of a wall six feet thick. It may be observed, that this hill is entirely commanded by the loftier one about two hundred paces off, on the side of which is situated the village of Nopía. The stones of the wall and towers are of various sizes.

The fort, for such it must have been, may, as far as the style of building is concerned, have been a work either of the Greeks or Saracens in the ninth century, of a later period of the Byzantine empire, or of the Genoese at the beginning of the thirteenth[28].

The remains existing at the chapel of Hághios Gheórghios, though slight, are yet sufficient to indicate the existence of an ancient city on the spot. Now we shall see by and by that there was a city Rhokka, where Artemis Rhokkaea was worshipped, a little inland, to the south of this place; and a curious story told by Aelian[29], respecting a remedy for hydrophobia[30] discovered by a Cretan fisherman, shews plainly that there was a village called Methymna on the shore, and

[28] POCOCKE's account of these places is singularly indistinct: he says, "Over this river, on an advanced rock, there are ruins of a house and chapel called Nopeia; about them are the remains of a strong-built wall, five feet thick, as if it had been part of a fortified castle," (p. 245.) I suppose him not to have seen the ruins at the chapel of Hághios Gheórghios, although he contrives to speak of all three, of the village of Nopía, of a chapel, and of these walls.

[29] AELIAN, N. A. XIV. 20. His account is that the old fisherman had caught many hippocampuses, and his sons were bitten by a mad dog. Οἱ μὲν οὖν, he proceeds, ἔκειντο Μηθύμνης τῆς Κρητικῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἠόσιν—ἔστι δὲ αὕτη κώμη, ὥς φασιν—οἱ δὲ θεώμενοι συνήλγουν τῷ πάθει—οἱ δὲ ἐς τῆς Ῥοκκαίας οὕτω καλουμένης Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγειν, (προσέταττον,) καὶ αἰτεῖν ἴασιν παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ.

[30] Mad dogs used to be common in Crete in ancient time: CAELIUS AURELIANUS, de morb. acut. III. 15. "Haec insula (Creta) aliorum venenosorum animalium difficilis, atque pene libera, sola canum rabie vexatur frequentissime." Several instances of canine madness occurred during my recent residence at Khaniá; and the Council, (Τὸ Συμβούλιον,) or, in other words, its President Raffét-efféndi, has at length given an order, in compliance with the requests of the European Consuls, that all dogs found running about the streets be destroyed. The prejudices of some of the Mohammedans of the old school were very difficult to overcome. The peculiar tenderness of Mohammedanism, towards all the inferior tribes of animals, is too well known to require any observation. Nothing can be more unfounded than SONNINI's assertion, Tom. I. p. 429. "La race (des chiens de Candie) est abâtardie, sur-tout depuis que les Turcs, *grands ennemis des chiens*, se sont emparés de cette belle contrée." On the Cretan breed of dogs, see Vol. I. p. 33. What I have said there, on the dogs of Molossis and Chaonia, throws light on a passage of ARISTOPHANES, Thesm. 416.

Καὶ προσέτι Μολοττικούς
τρέφουσι, μορμολύκεια τοῖς μοιχοῖς, κύνας.

near the temple of Artemis Rhokkaea. I think there is no doubt of this being the site of Methymna.

As to Rhokka, I did not visit the spot where I now suppose it to have been situated; for not having had an opportunity of consulting Pococke's Travels, after I had determined to spend as many months as might be requisite in the examination of this island; and, what was a much greater misfortune, not having succeeded in obtaining a copy of Professor Hoeck's valuable work, this site eluded my researches.

Those alone, who have travelled in Greece or Turkey, can duly appreciate the difficulty of discovering unvisited vestiges of ancient cities. I used to spend, I may safely say, hours daily, during all my travels in Crete, in making diligent inquiries for any traces which might indicate the existence of such remains; and thus I have but seldom failed to discover them, where I had any ground for supposing that they ought to exist in the neighbourhood of places which I visited.

The site of the city Rhokka, which thus escaped me, was seen by Pococke, on his return from the remains of Polyrrhenia to Khaniá. He says[31], "Another inland town was Artacina, which might have been at a place called Rocca, though Ptolemy places it more to the south; it is a small high rocky hill, on the top of which are the remains of some buildings: there are about three or four rooms, which the people say belonged to the ancient Greeks.—To the west of this place there is a river called Tiphlosè.—About a league to the north-east of Rocca is a village called Episcope, where there is a church still entire, and the bishop of Chisamo thinks that it is his cathedral." That Hyrtakina was further to the south than the remains visited by Pococke will be seen hereafter. This site is, I have no doubt, that of Rhokka, where, according to Aelian[32], there was a temple of Rhokkaean Artemis, which of course would

[31] POCOCKE, Tom. II. p. 247. [32] AELIAN, N. A. XII. 22.

be but a short journey distant from the city of which we see vestiges at Nopía. The river here spoken of by Pococke is the Typhlós, which runs about a mile to the westward of Nopía, so that Rhokka is a little to the south of this place. It is plain from Pococke's journal that it cannot be very far inland, for he says, after describing the remains of Polyrrhenia, which he supposed to be those of Aptera, that on finding he could get no other information than he already possessed respecting Phalasarna, Khersonesos and Inakhorion, he went no further that way. He then adds, "Strabo observes, that the island is twenty-five miles broad at the west end, and Ptolemy makes it thirty." It is therefore evident that he did not go to the southward of Polyrrhenia, but returned towards Khaniá, taking an inland road to avoid retracing his steps along the shore. Thus it appears clear and undoubted that the ruins he saw are very nearly where I have placed them on my map.

I am disposed to believe that the remains of Rhokka were also visited by Buondelmonti. He mentions the river Typhlós as being near Kísamos, and then adds, that in going southward, after crossing the Typhlós, I suppose, he saw a new church in which were ancient marble and porphyry columns: most likely remains of Artemis's temple[33].

I should not have thought it worth while to enter into so careful an investigation of Pococke's words, had not Professor Hoeck, whose opinions always deserve the greatest attention, placed Rhokka and Methymna near the western shore, considerably to the southward of Sfinári.

[33] BUONDELMONTI, in the Creta Sacra of CORNELIUS, Vol. I. p. 6. After mentioning the river Typhlós, "Cumque versus Austrum per medium Insulae proceditur, nova ecclesia invenitur, in qua *columnae porphireticae et marmoreae antiquae* existunt." In his more verbose account at p. 88. he speaks of their arrival at the modern church: "dum intravimus versus Pavimentum, respice, dixit, cognosce Musaicum, quod jam per tot saecula a pluviis et terrae humectationibus illaesum est, atque totam hanc vineam cum multis hedificiis porfireisque marmoreis comprehendit in unum." This modern

We leave Nopía, the site of Methymna, at forty-five minutes past one: pass the village of Dhrapaniá, cross the river Typhlós, and then, passing the village of Kurvalónes, arrive at fifty minutes past two at the river of Kamára, where I observe, on one side of the streamlet, the massive supports of a bridge which no longer exists. The village of Kamára had formerly forty or fifty houses, it is now a complete heap of ruins: all its inhabitants were Mohammedans, and, like most of their correligionaries of the district, had taken refuge in the Kastéli, where they were blockaded by the revolted Greeks, and where nearly all of them fell victims to the plague. Half a mile further we arrived at Kísamo-Kastéli, having observed, just before entering the town, some ancient arched caves in the Turkish cemetery: they are almost entirely under ground.

In and about the town are fourteen or fifteen fragments of shafts of marble and granite columns, an Ionic capital, another column's base, and some remains of walls. Other vestiges, which sufficiently prove that there once existed here a flourishing and important city, are seen scattered over nearly half a mile round about the Kastéli. Four centuries ago Buondelmonti saw many columns and other remains of a considerable ancient edifice within the modern town[34]. The principal ruins now are at some little distance to the southward of Kísamo-Kastéli, and consist of a large mass of walls fallen in confusion: its outer facing is of brick-work, and its interior consists of small stones and mortar: and what would appear to have been an aqueduct, of which, however, only the

modern coast-describer, proceeding in his periplus, passes along the sandy shore, and arrives "ad flumen Napoliam non magnum," or as we read at p. 89. "ad non magnum Nopiliam flumen," by which I understand the river of Nopia. He describes the mountains of Cape Spádha as abounding in caves, pp. 6. and 89.

[34] BUONDELMONTI, in the Creta Sacra of CORNELIUS, Vol. I. p. 6. "Antiqua Chissamospolis oppidum album videtur, in cujus medio fons uberrimus dulcis aquae, et palatium cum multitudine columnarum jam fere prostratum cernitur."

summit of the arch is visible: the ground about is evidently a good deal higher than the ancient level[35].

I paid a visit to the Albanian commander of the fortress, who had passed as we were examining the ancient remains. He received me with the ordinary civilities. On my presenting him the Pashá's letter, I found out, what did not at all surprise me, that the Arnaut could not read. He, however, sent immediately for the Kadí, who performed the office of secretary, and with whom and another Cretan Turk of this place, I had a long conversation about the blockade of the Kastéli, and the sufferings of the Mohammedans within the fort, where the plague was then raging most fiercely. They were at first near eight hundred men, and were barely seventy when they capitulated. This place consists of the castle, and a small town also walled in: they are not, both together, much more than half a mile in circumference.

On leaving Kísamo-Kastéli we proceed to the south-east: the olive-trees, which we pass on either hand, are more than half of them uncultivated, and the ground below them is covered with furze and brushwood: we arrive at Lower Palaeókastro in about half an hour, and a continued ascent of half an hour more brings us to Upper Palaeókastro. I observed remains of ancient walls before arriving at the village, and, on entering it, noticed a curious tower.

Being still distant many days from the hour of our deliverance from the Greek Lent, I was astonished to see the peasant who was our host for the night produce some meat, and make preparations for cooking it. On

[35] I did not hear of any remains westward of the present village. Pococke says, (p. 245.) "Near the west corner of the bay was the port and town of Cysamus—the port was a small basin within the land, which is now almost filled up; it was defended from the north winds by a pier made of large loose stones, not laid in any order. Along the shore to the west of the port of Chysamo, there are foundations of some considerable buildings, which might be warehouses; a small rivulet runs into the sea at this port; and east of it the ancient Cysamus seems to have stood." After mentioning the castle

inquiring about it, I learnt that a sheep had fallen sick, and had thus been killed "for the children at Easter[36]." Not wishing, therefore, to rob the children of any portion of such an Easter Sunday's dinner, we supped on eggs and a salad of wild asparagus, which, if not quite so delicious as, like that met with in some parts of Italy, to compensate any epicure for the pains of a pilgrimage to eat it, was still most palatable after a ride of several hours. Belon observed, that asparagus, such as we cultivate in our gardens, could scarcely be seen in Crete, and that the wild plant grew all over the island[37].

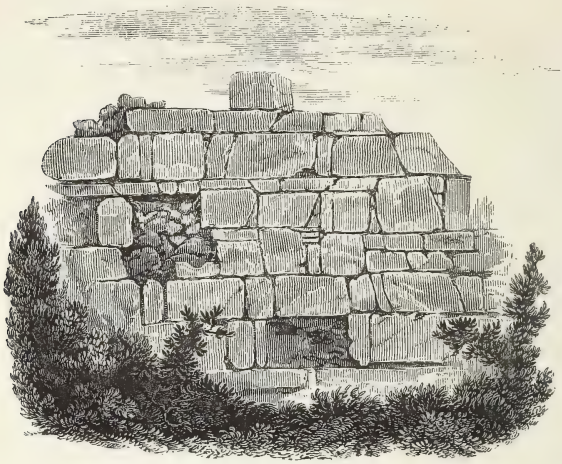
The ancient epicures were well aware of the superiority of this wild vegetable over the larger asparagus which is produced by cultivation[38].

castle and the walls of the modern town, he adds, "as they are so near the sea, they would not be secure from the corsairs without this defence."

[36] *Διὰ τὰ παιδιά—νὰ φάγωσι τὴν Λαμπρή.*

[37] BELON, Observations de plusieurs Singularitez, etc. f. 20. ed. 1555. "A peine pourroit on voir celle maniere d'Asparges en Crete, telle que nous cultiuons en noz iardins: car ils n'ont que la sauuage nommée Corruda, qui y croist en tous lieux. Mais outre ceste là, ils en ont encor vne autre espece qui de nom propre vulgaire et ancien est appellée Polytricha." Wild asparagus is also found on the continent of ancient Greece: see CHANDLER, Travels in Greece, c. LI. near the end.

[38] ATHENAEUS, II. 62. e. *Οὗτοι καὶ ἔλειοι καὶ ὄρειοι καλοῦνται· ὧν οἱ κάλλιστοι οὐ σπείρονται, πάντων ὄντες τῶν ἐντὸς θεραπευτικοί· οἱ δὲ σπαρτοὶ καὶ σφόδρα ὑπερμεγέθεις γίνονται.*



WALLS OF POLYRRHENIA.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

SITE AND RUINS OF POLYRRHENIA. RIDE TO MESOGHIA. THE ISLAND SAEGILIA, THE CERIGOTTO OF MODERN EUROPEANS AND THE AEGILIA OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS. ANCIENT AND MODERN CRETAN WINES. AKTE THE SITE OF KALE AKTE. THE PROBABLE SITUATION OF ACHAEA. THE STAGS OF CRETE EXISTED NOT IN THE TERRITORY OF ACHAEA, BUT IN THAT OF CYDONIA. ARRIVAL AT THE HAMLET OF KAVUSI.

*April* 23.

THE clouds looked very threatening this morning, and I had scarcely commenced my ascent to the ancient acropolis, before I was incommoded by a drizzling rain. In Crete rain usually falls on four or five days during the month of April, but never sufficiently for the people to speak, as our Chaucer does, of the time

> "Whanne that April with his shoures sote
> The droughte of Marche hath perced to the rote."

Besides, the drought of March is a thing sufficiently rare here, since I believe that month to be ordinarily one of the most rainy in the year. At all events the Cretans are anxious that it should be so, and shew, by a common proverb[1], their opinion, that the more rain they have in March the better, while with us in England dry weather is so much desired at the same season, that, according to our proverb, "A peck of March dust is worth a king's ransom." Not only in England, but even in Spain, April, and not March, is the month when the influence of genial and abundant showers is most felt[2].

In spite of the showers I examined the remains. From the summit of the acropolis Kísamo-Kastéli is south-south-west, and is about two miles distant in a right line. The river of Palaeókastro, which is also the river of Kamára, passes close to the east of the acropolis. From the western corner of the citadel, the walls run in a westerly direction for about three hundred paces, and their height varies from ten to eighteen feet. The stones, which are generally between two and three feet long, and from ten to twenty inches high, are disposed in horizontal layers. I should think there can be no doubt that these are remains of the walls built by the Achaeans and Laconians, when they came and settled with the Polyrrhenians and fortified this strong place: and I have thought it worth while to give a sketch of them. Somewhat to the south of this wall, and about half way between the acropolis and its western extremity, are remains of what I suppose to have been a temple. The modern Greek chapel which has been erected on its site is now also in ruins. On the acropolis itself but

[1] The proverb, which I heard every rainy day through the Greek month of March, is Μάρτιος βρέχει, ποτὲ μυφιάζει, where the μυφιάζει must be a corruption of μυδιάζει, as θ, instead of δ, is sometimes changed into φ, in the continent of Greece, and as conversely the Cretan village Viáno (Βιάνο) is sometimes called Dhiáno, (Διάνο.) Μυδιάζω I suppose to be derived from the ancient μυδιᾶν, which is well explained by RUHNKEN, on Timaeus. See also PHOTIUS, Lex. p. 278. Μυδιᾶν, νοτιᾶν, διυγρὸν εἶναι, καὶ σήπεσθαι.

[2] "April showers, May flowers:" "April, aguas mil."

few vestiges of ancient walls are discoverable: there are however sufficient remains of them to shew that the Saracens, Byzantine Emperors, or, more probably, the Genoese, in their superstructure, followed generally the ancient foundations. Within these walls are some cisterns[3]. The circumference of the acropolis is about half a mile: but the city also was surrounded by walls, a portion of which we saw before arriving at the village. On the ancient site, at no great distance from the present village, the rock, a pebbly compound, is hewn in such a way as plainly to shew that its excavations once served as houses in the city of Polyrrhenia. To the westward of the village is the ruined tower before mentioned. It is about forty feet high, and is composed of stones of every size and of marble fragments, which indicate, as the period of its construction, an age when ancient monuments were regarded as useful only for building materials. Hard by this tower is a fountain, which is in fact the mouth of an aqueduct, about four feet in height and two wide, hewn out of the living rock, and said to go *an hour* underground, an assertion, however, which I did not think it worth while to verify by exploring its interior. At some little distance from the tower are also seen several ancient sepulchres.

Polyrrhenia, or Polyrhenia, as Spanheim, following the epigraphs of coins[4], would write the word, was the

[3] See POCOCKE, Vol. II. Part I. p. 246. BELON, in the first book of his Singularitez, Ch. v. fol. 7. describes the site. "A demie lieue de Chysamo tirant uers Cauo spata, ou Capo spada, lon trouue les ruines d'une ancienne ville sur vne colline à demy mile de la mer, ou encor sont restées les vestiges des murailles, et si grande quantité de belles cisternes, qu'il n'y a celui qui les puisse contempler sinon par grand miracle: les habitāts la nomment Paleo Helenico castro." In Ch. LVII, when describing the remains of Bucephalus at Cavallo, fol. 58. he again speaks of the cisterns of this Cretan Palaeókastron, "un peu au delà de Quissamus."

[4] Most of the coins have ΠΟΛΥΡΗΝΙΩΝ. STEPHANUS of BYZANTIUM says: Πολύρην, πόλις Κρήτης, ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλὰ ῥήνεα, τουτέστι πρόβατα ἔχειν. ὁ πολίτης Πολυῤῥήνιος. PLINY, IV. 20. calls the place Polyrrhenium. PTOLEMY, Πολυῤῥηνία; and SCYLAX, Πολύῤῥηνα; which should probably be either the Πολυῤῥηνία of Ptolemy, or the Πολύρην of Stephanus.

neighbouring state to Cydonia[5], and we learn from Scylax[6] that its territory extended from the northern to the southern sea. It was here that Agamemnon, when driven into Crete, came and offered sacrifice[7]. The celebrated temple of Dictynna was in its district[8], and it appears to have been a place of peculiar sanctity in ancient times[9]. Its colonization by Achaeans and Laconians has been already mentioned[10]. The Polyrrhenians took a part in the wars against Cnossos and Gortyna, which are related by Polybius[11].

We have seen[12] that, ever since the revival of letters, this Palaeókastron, in the neighbourhood of the western Kisamos, has been supposed to be the site of Aptera. In addition to the authors already mentioned I might quote Andrea Cornaro, the Cretan historian of his native island, and Ferrarius[13].

Among the extensive ruins of this city, and near one of its gates, Tournefort observed, inscribed on a long piece of stone, IMP. CAESAR.; and, on another fragment, IVII. COS. III[14]. After mentioning this he adds, "Tout cela marque que la ville a été considérable dans son temps, et il n'y auroit aucun doute que Paleocastro ne fust le reste de l'ancienne ville d'Aptére, n'étoit que Strabon ne la place qu'à dix milles de la Canée." The naturalist's way of getting rid of this difficulty is amusing: "Mais il n'y a rien de bien certain touchant les mésures des anciens, ou

[5] See the passage of Strabo, translated at full length in Vol. I. p. 48.

[6] SCYLAX, p. 18. ed. Huds. or Tom. I. p. 264. of the Geograph. Graec. Min. ed. Gail.

[7] ZENOBIUS, v. 50. SUIDAS, in Οἱ Κρῆτες, and Professor HOECK, Kreta, Vol. I. p. 27.

[8] STRABO, X. p. 479. Πολυῤῥήνιοι· παρ' οἷς ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς Δικτύννης ἱερόν.

[9] SUIDAS, Πολύῤῥηνον, τόπος Κρήτης ἔνθα τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυον.

[10] See above, Vol. I. p. 48. [11] POLYBIUS, IV. 55.

[12] See above, Vol. I. p. 54.

[13] ANDREA CORNARO, ap. Cornel. Cret. Sacr. I. p. 123. and FERRARIUS, Lexic. Geograph. v. Cisamus, p. 101. ed. Lond. 1657.

[14] POCOCKE, (Inscript. Antiq. P. I. c. 4. p. 43.) copied a Greek inscription here: see above, Vol. I. p. 41.

peut-être que cet endroit de Strabon est corrumpu[15]." Pococke did try to extricate himself from the difficulty, which these ten miles between Cydonia and Aptera forced on him; and in order to do so supposed, as we have already seen, that Cydonia was an inland city, situated five miles to the south-south-west of the modern Khaniá. Probably it is to this difficulty of reconciling the distance of Strabo with a false hypothesis, that we are also indebted for the indication of the imaginary ruins of Cydonia as existing at Ierámi. It is worth while to remark, that as Tournefort's description of this site agrees well with Strabo's account of Polyrrhenia, so Pococke observes that "the town was very strong by nature."

We left Palaeókastro at three; and, after a descent of about a mile and an ascent of another, passed the first of three or four hamlets, which are known under the common name of Lusákies. At half past four we arrived at the principal village of Mesóghia, where we are about two miles from the sea. Hence Tserígo and the islet called Cerigotto by the Italians, are both distinctly visible. The latter is called Saeghiliá by the Greeks, who have only prefixed an S to its ancient name[16], as has also been done in Sitanos, the name of

[15] TOURNEFORT, Voyage de Levant, Tom. I. p. 81. D'ANVILLE, Oevres, (Géographie ancienne abrégée,) Tom. II. p. 190. ed. Paris, 1834, like every body else, considers this Kísamo near Cape Spádha, as the port of Aptera.

[16] This island Aegilia is called Aegila by DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, v. 499. Αἴγιλά τ' ἠδὲ Κύθηρα Καλαύριά τε τρηχεῖα· on which passage Eustathius shews pretty plainly that he knew nothing about its situation. It is mentioned by POMPONIUS MELA, II. 7. 11. and by PLINY, IV. 19. Aegila autem XV. M. pass. a Cythera, eademque a Cretae Phalasarna oppido XXV. M. pass. STEPHANUS BYZANT. Αἰγιλία—ἔστι καὶ νῆσος μεταξὺ Κρήτης καὶ Πελοποννήσου Αἰγιάλεια. ὁ οἰκήτωρ Αἰγίλιος ὡς Κυθήριος. Modern travellers as well as geographers (as D'ANVILLE, Geographie ancienne abrégé, Oeuvres, Tom. II. p. 191. MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. VIII. p. 690. CRAMER, Vol. III. p. 200. See also TZSCHUCKE, on Pomponius Mela, Vol. III. Part. III. p. 740.) describe the island by its Italian name Cerigotto, which is still as totally unknown to all the Greeks here, as Zante is for Zákythos, or Zákynthos (ἡ Ζάκυνθος) Gianitzares for Dionysiádhes (αἱ Διονυσιάδες), Stalimene for Lemnos (ἡ Λῆμνος), or Candia for Crete.

a modern village close by the site of Itanos, one of the easternmost cities of ancient Crete. A similar change is said to have taken place in the name of the Messenian city Andania, the site of which is now called Sandáni[17]: and thus Cardamyle, in Laconia, has become Scardamúla[18]: and, with the Italians, Chios is now Scio, Carpathos Scarpanto, and so forth.

The only Mohammedans of Mesóghia are the two Súbashis[19]. A considerable quantity of wine is produced here, and though it is not esteemed equally with that of Hághio Mýro, Sárko and a few other places, yet it is excellent; and, the produce exceeding greatly the home consumption, it becomes the main article exported from the district. The Cretan wine is frequently spoken of by ancient authors[20]. Hence our learned poet mentions it as one of the chief wines of antiquity[21]. Vines peculiar to the island are also spoken of[22]; and

[17] GELL's Itinerary of the Morea, p. 69. The change of *Ios* into *Nio* may be noticed as analogous, the last letter of a different case of the article having there been taken and prefixed to the name; compare what has been said above, Vol. I. p. 264. An opposite change, the *omission* of the S, is found in the name of India. The river Sindhu in Sanskrit, became Hindu in Persian, and the aspirate was omitted by the Greeks, in the name of both the river and the people. Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς ἀφ' οὗ Ἰνδοί. See BOHLEN, Das alte Indien, Vol. I. p. 9. and SCHLEGEL, De l'Origine des Hindous, Transactions of the R. S. L. Vol. II. p. 405.

[18] LEAKE, Travels in the Moréa, Vol. I. p. 331.

[19] Οἱ δύο Σουμπάσιδες.

[20] CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, Paed. II. p. 185. ed. Pott. Ὁ εὐώδης καὶ εὔπνους Λέσβιος, καὶ Κρής τις γλυκύς. AELIAN, Var. Hist. XII. 31. Γλυκύς τις καὶ Κρὴς ἄλλος. ATHENAEUS, X. p. 440. e. Τὸν δὲ καλούμενον πάσσον πίνουσι· τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖται μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀσταφίδος, καὶ ἔστι παραπλήσιος πινόμενος τῷ Αἰγοσθενίτῃ καὶ τῷ Κρητικῷ. DIOSCORIDES, and GALEN, cited by TOURNEFORT, Vol. I. p. 90. A passage of JUVENAL will be quoted below, at p. 74. PLINY, XIV. 9. "Passum a Cretico Cilicium probatur, et Africum, et in Italia finitimisque provinciis." SOLINUS, c. 11. "Larga vitis, mira soli indulgentia."

[21] MILTON, Paradise Regained, IV. 117.

Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,
Chios, and Crete.

[22] As the Θρινία of HESYCHIUS, where, however, a comparison of PAUSANIAS, I. p. 66. renders Τεθρινία the probable name. See HOECK, Vol. I. p. 35.

some wines derived their names from the districts where they were produced. The Thenaean wine is thus mentioned by Julius Pollux[23]. It is deserving of remark that the site of Thenae, as we have already seen, is very near the modern villages of Hághio Mýro and Sárko, both justly celebrated as two out of four or five places which produce the best wine in all Crete. It will be remembered that Thenae was near Cnossos[24]. Hence Nonnus describes a libation, poured out by the Cretan Asterios, on the funeral mound of his fellow-countryman Opheltes, as having consisted of

A cup of sweet and fragrant Cnossian wine[25].

The Pramnian wine, spoken of by Homer[26], in all likelihood derived its appellation, in the first instance, from some place of Thrace or Asia, where it was produced[27]. In later times a Cretan wine received the name[28]. Belon supposes it to have been the same with the modern malmesey[29]; but it is pretty plain that the port of our days is the wine which most nearly resembles the ancient Pramnian[30]. The wine of Crete was so little like the Pramnian, that it is called *passum* by several ancient authors[31].

The growth of the vine here may perhaps have received a check, while the Saracens were masters of the island, in the ninth and tenth centuries; but, if so, it

[23] Pollux, vi. 2. According to the correction of Meursius, (Creta, p. 103.) for the old reading Θηραῖον.

[24] Above, Vol. i. p. 224.

[25] Nonnus, Dionys. xxxvii. 81.

Σὺν ἀχνυμένῳ δὲ Λυαίῳ
Ἀστέριος Δικταῖος, ὁμόγνιον αἷμα κομίζων,
Κνώσσιον ἀμφικύπελλον ἔχων δέπας ἡδέος οἴνου
εὔοδμον, δαπέδοιο χυτὴν ἐμέθυσσε κονίην.

[26] Homer, Il. xi. 639. Od. x. 235. Athenaeus, i. p. 10. a.

[27] Eustathius, on Il. xi. p. 871. Pliny, N. H. xiv. 4.

[28] Aelian, l. c. [29] Belon, Observations etc. f. 21.

[30] Henderson, History of ancient and modern Wines, p. 75.

[31] Bentley has rendered it impossible for us to adopt Hardouin's explanation of the verse of Horace: "Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota." On the *passum*, see Casaubon, Animadv. in Athenaeum, p. 735.

soon recovered, and while Crete still belonged to the Byzantine empire, its sweet wine was again celebrated. Theodore Ptokhoprodromos mentions it, with that of Mytilene, as opposed to the Chian[32].

From the period of the Venetian conquest Italy again enjoyed Cretan wines, which were not long in finding their way into the other countries of Europe. At the moment of the great insurrection of the Venetian colonists in 1363, as detailed in several unpublished manuscripts of St Mark's Library, wine was one of the principal exports of the island[33].

Somewhat less than a century afterwards, Buondelmonti travelled in Crete, and wine still held the first place among the exports[34]. About the same time Prince Henry of Portugal sent to Crete for plants to stock the island of Madeira, where the first Portuguese colony was established in 1421[35].

The wine of Crete is said by Aeneas Sylvius, who also flourished in the fifteenth century, to have been in

[32] THEODOROS PTOKHOPRODROMOS, II. 351.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶνον πίνουσιν Χιώτικον εἰς κόρον,—
ἀλλὰ γλυκὺν Μιτυληναῖον καὶ Κρητικὸν ἀθύρην,
ἵνα χυμοὺς ἐκβάλλωσιν τοὺς τῆς ξηροφαγίας.

[33] CRONACA VENEZIANA, Codice XVIII. (belonging to the early part of the fifteenth century: see the Catalogo della Biblioteca Marciana, p. 226.) fol. 96. "Anchora li Centillomeni de Chandia si fexe elli uno p' so ducha e retore, de la tera—e fexe retegnir le nauue e nauuilli da Veniesia, ço i paroni e nocheri e marineri *le qual nave se trovaesse charegade alle vendeme.* In another manuscript, in the same collection, entitled also CRONACA VENEZIANA, and numbered Codice XX. in the Catalogo della Biblioteca Marciana, p. 227. we find at fol. 87. the same fact detailed, and the ships spoken of as "*tute le nave da vendeme andade ī Candia.*"

[34] BUONDELMONTI, in Cornel. Cret. Sacr. Vol. I. p. 9. end. "Veniunt ex omnibus mundi partibus huc naves, quae XX millia ad minus onerantur vegetibus optimi vini, et pinguis casei copia, ac frumenti, propter tamen rusticorum inertiam olivas non habent." Again, at p. 96. the same thing is told in nearly the same words. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, 60,000 botte was the amount exported annually: see FOSCARINI, Relatione, etc.

[35] ALVISE DA MOSTO, in RAMUSIO, Delle Navigationi et Viaggi, Vol. I. fol. 98. "Fece mettere piante ouero rasoli di maluasie, che mandò a torre in Candia, quali riuscirono molto bene." This passage is quoted by HENDERSON, p. 248.

great request even in Bohemia[36], and a Carthusian monk, who visited the island in 1507, on his way to the Holy Land, makes especial mention of the Cretan wine and honey[37]. The commerce between Crete and England, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was so great that Henry the Eighth, in 1522, appointed one Balthazari as "the Master, Governor, Protector and *Consul* of all and singular the merchants and others his lieges and subjects within the port, island and country of Crete or Candia[38]. The staple export of Crete was its wine[39], and the return obtained by it from England consisted chiefly of woollen cloths[40], a branch of commerce which was subsequently obtained by the French. Thevet[41] and Belon[42] both write in the middle of the sixteenth century, and both bear testimony to the abundance and excellence of the Cretan wines. An English traveller,

[36] AENEAS SYLVIUS, Hist. Bohem. Cap. I. in Cornel. Cret. Sacr. Vol. I. p. 56. "Quoties Cretense vinum caupones venale proponunt, invenies quamplures, qui juramento adacti, nunquam cellam vinariam egredientur nisi exhausto dolio."

[37] CORNELIUS, Cret. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 416.

[38] RYMER'S FOEDERA, Vol. XVI. p. 766. The document, relating as it does to the first known appointment of a modern Consul, is interesting. The following is an extract: "De consule constituto. Dedimus et concessimus—dilecto et fideli nostro Censio de Balthazari, filio quondam Johannis de Balthazari, alias dicto Censio de Menesava, mercatori de Luca—modo residenti in insula Cretae vel Candiae—officium sive locum Magistri, Gubernatoris, Protectoris sive Consulis omnium et singulorum Mercatorum, aliorumque Legeorum et subditorum nostrorum, intra portum, insulam sive terram Cretae vel Candiae frequentantium, morantium, mercandisantium sive negotiantium."

[39] The malmesey and muscadine, spoken of by our early poets, and in Shakespeare, were imported from Crete, which must have been, to our ancestors, what Portugal has been since. The Duke of Clarence drowned himself in his butt of malmesey in 1478.

[40] ANDERSON'S Origin of Commerce, Vol. II. p. 60. where he speaks of 1534 and of 1550.

[41] THEVET, Cosmographie de Levant, fol. 23. "Il y ha—grand' abondance de tresbons vins, cõme tesmoignẽt les Epithetes poëtiq̃s et l'experience oculaire."

[42] BELON, Observations etc. f. 21. "Le vin que nous appellons Maluaisie est seulement fait en Crete." Its European names were however derived from Monemvasía: LEAKE, Researches in Greece, p. 197. Moréa, Vol. I. p. 205.

in 1569, mentions the exportation of Malmesey as the common trade of the island[43]. The wood annually imported in order to make casks to hold it, was a considerable article of commerce. Sandys, who wrote more than forty years later[44], after speaking of the other produce of Crete, subjoins, "but that which principally enricheth the country is their Muscadines and Malmsies, wines that seldom come vnto vs vncuted[45], but excellent where not, as within the streights, and compared vnto Nectar.

> Creete I confesse Joues fortresse to be
> For Nectar onely is transferd from thee[46]."

The testimony of the English traveller is confirmed by that of a contemporary Italian Bishop, who was born in Crete, and who, when he speaks of his native land as vini ferax, immediately adds,

> Ignosce vini si excidit nomen mihi,
> Nectar volebam dicere, aut si quid magis
> Beat liquore lauta divum prandia[47].

[43] HAKLUYT's Collection of early Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries of the English Nation, Vol. II. p. 230. ed. Lond. 1810.

[44] SANDYS, a relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610. containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy Land, of the remote parts of Italy, and Ilands adioyning. The third edition. London, 1632. The extract is from p. 224.

[45] This word will be explained by BELON, f. 21. "Osons asseurer que celuy qui est trāsporté le plus loing, comme en Almagne, France, Angleterre, a éste premierement *cuict:* Car les nauires qui abordent en Crete pour trāsporter la Maluaisie en estrange pays, se veulent expressement charger de celle de Rethymo, sachants bien qu'elle se garde moult long temps en sa bonté, et que d'autant qu'elle est plus trauaillée, elle est d'autant plus excellente." He differs from the English traveller in the assertion of his last sentence.

[46] Vera equidem fateor Jovis incunabula magni:
Nam liquor haud alibi nectaris ille venit. J. C. SCALIGER.

[47] ALOYSIUS LOLLINUS, "clarissimus Praesul et Praesulum decus," in his verses entitled de Creta Insula, in Cornel. Cret. Sacr. Vol. II. p. 442. He was Bishop of Belluno for many years, and among other "egregia ingenii sui monumenta" were many writings "quae in Cretensium laudem cadunt." See Cornel. l. c.

Another testimony to the excellence of the Cretan wine is also afforded by a passage of Ben Jonson[48]. In "The Generall Historie of the Turkes," by Knolles, published at London in 1603[49], I find the island spoken of as "now most famous through a great part of the world, for the good Malmesey which there groweth, and is from thence in great abundance sent into many farre countries." England is mentioned as one of these countries by the Proveditor General, Foscarini[50], in his report to the Senate at Venice, made in 1576; and he also speaks of the excellence of the Cretan wine. Wine seems to have been produced in great quantities in the island, till it came into the possession of the Turks. Since that event the juice of the Cretan grape is rarely met with out of the island, but all modern travellers, who have tasted it, are unanimous in celebrating its praises[51]. I must quote the very words in which they are sung by Falconer.

> Relaxed from toil the Sailors range the shore,
> Where famine, war, and storm are felt no more;
> The hour to social pleasure they resign,
> And black remembrance drown *in generous wine*[52].

The whole district about Mesóghia is divided into vineyards. The three little islands seen off the western coast, were once, as I am told by the villagers, the

[48] Ben Jonson, The Fox, Act I. Sc. I. Vol. III. p. 173. ed. Gifford.

> Like the rich merchant, who has filled his vaults
> With Romagnia, or rich Candian wine,
> Yet drinks the lees of Lombard's vinegar.

[49] It is a folio volume: the extract is from p. 868.

[50] Foscarini, Relatione etc. fol. 129. He says about 60,000 botte were produced annually. "Ne navigano molti per Ponente, parte in Inghilterra, parte in Portogallo per India, (they were chiefly muscadines, moscatelli,) molti ne vanno in Costantinopoli et nel mar maggiore, et assai in Alessandria dove non si consumano altri vini che di Candia."

[51] Tournefort, Louis Chevalier, Myller, and all other travellers in Crete down to Tancoigne, (Tom. II. p. 19.) might be referred to. From Pococke, Vol. II. Part I. p. 243. it appears, that, even when he visited the island, the Cretans exported wine "to all parts of the Levant," and that about Rhíthymnos they made "a fine muscadine wine."

[52] Falconer's Shipwreck, Canto I.

castle of the Christians of these parts: most of their wives and families spent a spring and summer (from March to September) on them during the war. The places are called "the islands of the Akté[53]," Akté being the name of the district on the western coast hereabouts.

Now the fact that the word akté has gone out of use in the modern Greek language[54] converts this name into a vestige of antiquity, and enables us to identify the place, where it is found, with an ancient site. Kalé Akté is mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium, on the authority of Eudoxus, as a city of Crete[55], but we know little more of it than its mere name.

The very meaning of the words Kalé Akté is a sufficient assurance that, although situated near the sea and on a beautiful coast, it did not possess a harbour. That an excellent port, on the south coast of the island, should have been called Fair Havens, was perhaps as natural as that this place should have had the name of Fair Shore. Nothing but the scantiness of our information respecting both the places, and the mistake which

[53] Τῆς Ἀκτῆς τὰ νησιά.

[54] The modern word is γιαλὸς or γιαλί, derived from the ancient αἰγιαλός. In Crete γυρογιαλί is very common. Not only have I never heard the word ἀκτή used by a Greek, but I do not find it in any modern Greek lexicon to which I have access, namely, the Λέξικον τῆς Γραικικῆς Γαλλικῆς τε καὶ Ἰταλικῆς γλώσσης of Spyridon Blante, published at Venice in 1816, and the Θήσαυρος τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ τῆς Φραγκικῆς γλώσσας (Paris, 1709.) of Alessio da Somavera, edited by Thomaso da Parigi, (both missionaries.) The words γιαλός, ἀκρογιαλιά, ἀκροθαλασσιά, and even αἰγιαλὸς itself, although it certainly cannot be said to be used by the common people, are all found. I have also searched in vain in the ATAKTA of Koray for any trace of the word ἀκτή, and therefore conclude that it is utterly lost to the modern language.

[55] STEPHANUS BYZANT. Καλὴ Ἀκτή, πόλις Κρητῶν. Εὔδοξος τετάρτῳ γῆς περιόδου· ἔστι δὲ ὡς μεγάλη κώμη. He adds that the gentile names of its inhabitants were Καλακτίτης, Καλοακτίτης, Καλακταῖος, and Καλοάκτιος. By taking what properly belonged to the Sicilian city, we may increase the number of these forms, from Suidas v. Καικίλιος by Καλακτιανός, and from coins (MIONNET, Tom. I. p. 221.) by Καλακτινος. Most of the old terminations of such words are still retained in the language. We have Ὑδραῖος, Καβουσιανός, Λακιώτης, Ῥιζίτης, &c.

I suppose to have been made by many commentators on a passage of the Acts[56], would make it necessary to observe that the occurrence of the same adjective (Fair) in their names, does not imply any identity between them. The place on the south coast, known as Fair Havens, was merely a port, and the adjacent town was called by a different name; while here, at Kalé Akté, it is only a city that is spoken of.

It would doubtless have been satisfactory to have found the old adjective still prefixed to the name of this place. But it is not surprising that it should have been lost. The capital of the island is now called, indifferently, the Great Kástron (Megálo-Kástron) and the Kástron. If it had ever been known by the former name alone, we should still easily recognize it by the latter. I therefore conclude that a part of the fertile district of Mesóghia, belonged in ancient times to the little city of Kalé Akté. Its domain would doubtless be bounded on the north by the Phalasarnian, and on the west and south by the Polyrrhenian territory. In all probability Kalé Akté itself belonged to Polyrrhenia. To suppose it independent, when in the immediate neighbourhood of states so much more powerful, seems to be out of the question.

It may be added that the name Kalé Akté was not peculiar to this Cretan city. Places so called existed both in Sicily and in Euboea. The Sicilian city is well known to Numismatists. A part of the coast of Attica was also designated by this name Akté[57], and it was likewise applied to a considerable portion of the maritime region of Argolis[58].

The name of another Cretan city, Achaea, the exact position of which I have no means of determining, would lead us to suppose its origin connected with an Achaean colony; and the known establishment of Achaeans and

[56] ACTS, XXVII. 8.

[57] STRABO, IX. p. 391.

[58] See the passages of ancient authors, indicated in MANNERT, Vol. VIII. p. 667.

Laconians, at Polyrrhenia[59], renders it probable that it was situated somewhere in this part of the island. The Cretan city Achaea is said, by an old Scholiast[60], by the author of the Great Etymologicon, and by others, to have possessed a peculiar breed of stags. This assertion is erroneous, and arose from its author's having misunderstood the sense of a Greek word ἀχαίνης, which denoted no particular breed of stags, but was appropriated to the animal when in its second year[61]. This has been shewn very clearly by several writers[62]. If we were unacquainted with the true meaning of the word in question, the old Scholiast's false etymology would perhaps lead us to place the city Achaea near Cydonia, on account of Pliny's assertion[63], that in Crete stags were found only in the Cydonian district; and would also make us consider Achaea "as a place remarkable for its peculiar breed of stags[64]."

The word thus used to denote a stag was also the name of a kind of cake, which was made for the festival of the Thesmophoria[65].

[59] See above, pp. 47 and 49.

[60] Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 174. Ἀχαία ἐστι τῆς Κρήτης πόλις, ἐν ᾗ γίνονται ἀχαϊνέαι λεγόμεναι ἔλαφοι, αἳ καὶ σπαθιναῖαι καλοῦνται.

[61] I found peculiar names, used by the Cretans of the present day, to denote a lamb or sheep according to its age: thus, ἀρνὶ being a lamb and πρόβατον a sheep, ἕνα μάροπο denotes the animal when about a year old. This I learnt in the district of Mirabéllo: probably the usage of μάροπο does not prevail throughout the whole island. In the Moréa the calf is called μοσχάρι during the first year, παλαιομόσχι in the second, δαμάλι in the third, and βοΐδι afterwards: see Colonel Leake's Travels in the Moréa, Vol. i. p. 20.

[62] See Meursius, Creta, p. 17. and Hoeck, Kreta, Vol. i. pp. 430–431.

[63] Pliny, N. H. viii. 53. "Mirabilius in eadem insula (Creta) cervos, praeterquam in Cydoniatarum regione non esse."

[64] Cramer, Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. iii. p. 391.

[65] Athenaeus, iii. p. 109. f. Ἀχαίναι. τούτου τοῦ ἄρτου μνημονεύει Σῆμος—λέγων ταῖς Θεσμοφόροις γίνεσθαι. Ἔλαφος also was the name of a cake, πλακοῦς ὁ τοῖς Ἐλαφηβολίοις ἀναπλασσόμενος: Athenaeus, xiv. p. 646. e. See Lobeck, Aglaophamus, Vol. ii. p. 1064. (Epimetrum xiv.)

After a short stay at the chief village of Mesóghia, we rode on to the hamlet of Kavúsi[66], which is considered as belonging to the same little district, and is near the shore. It is the nearest inhabited place to Kutrí, as the site of Phalasarna is now called.

My host at Kavúsi was one of nine brothers, seven of whom fell by the sword during the revolution. Formerly this village contained ninety souls, but now there are only four families in it. Our supper consisted of artichokes, boiled and then served up swimming in oil, eggs and cheese: we had also an abundant supply of the wine of Mesóghia, which we found excellent.

[66] Εἰς τὸ Καβούσι.

DISTANT VIEW OF GRABUSA.

## CHAPTER XXV.

ISLANDS NEAR KUTRI. SITE OF PHALASARNA. A THRONE FORMED OUT OF THE SOLID ROCK, AND OTHER REMAINS OF ANTIQUITY. THE CITY CORYCOS. FRUITLESS EXCAVATIONS. JOURNEY FROM KAVUSI TO KAMPOSELORAKHO.

*April* 24.

The unusual appearance of travellers in the hamlet draws together from the neighbourhood eight or ten individuals, all Christians, as might be expected in this district, soon after day-break. From them I become acquainted with interesting details of several of the melancholy events which happened, here and in the neighbourhood, during the war.

Petalídha[1], is the name of the northernmost of the three little islands, the second, opposite to which is

[1] Ἡ Πεταλίδα.

Kavúsi, is called Megalonesí[2], in spite of its very moderate size, and the third Prasonesí[3]. My host, after telling me the names of these islands, exclaims, pointing out Tserígo and Saeghiliá, "Lo! those islands, which belong to the English, lie close to Crete, and still another has come from so great a distance as Misíri, and has become our master[4]." We have already seen that these three islands, two of which served as places of refuge to the Greeks during the late war, are called by the anonymous coast-describer[5], Jusagora, Mese, and Myle. This notice throws light, as Mannert has observed[6], on the two islands near Crete, called Mylae by Pliny[7].

It may be worth while, before visiting the existing remains of Phalasarna, to see what mention of it is made by ancient writers. The fullest notice of this port of Polyrrhenia, contained in any extant author, is that of Dicaearchus[8], who tells us, in a passage which seems to bear every mark of being a dilatation of what Scylax had written on the subject, (for several of the words used are the very same, and they occur in the same order,) that "Phalasarna is situated to the west, and possesses an artificial port, and a temple sacred to Artemis, and that the goddess is called Dictynna." The distance between Polyrrhenia and its port Phalasarna is given by Strabo as sixty stades[9]. The distances of Phalasarna

[2] Τὸ Μεγαλονησί.

[3] Τὸ Πρασονησί, so called, as my host told me, διατὶ εἶναι γεμάτο πράσα, because it is full of leeks. There is an islet of the same name near Mýcono: see TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Tom. I. p. 278.

[4] Καὶ μᾶς ἐκυρίευσε.

[5] STADIASMUS, in Geograph. Graec. Min. Tom. II. p. 497.

[6] MANNERT, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Tom. VIII. p. 690.

[7] PLINY, IV. 12. §. 20.

[8] DICAEARCHUS, State of Greece, v. 118. (p. 24. ed. Huds.)

Φασὶ δ' ἐν Κρήτῃ πόλιν
εἶναι Φαλάσαρνα, κειμένην πρὸς ἡλιον
δύνοντα, κλειστὸν λιμέν' ἔχουσαν καὶ ἱερόν
Ἀρτέμιδος ἅγιον, καὶ καλεῖσθαι τὴν θεόν
Δίκτυναν.

[9] STRABO, X. p. 479.

from other places are mentioned by the Anonymous Coast-describer[10], who says that the city was sixty stades from the island Jusagora, and three stades from Mese; and adds that the third island was called Myle, and was fifty stades from the end of the promontory. These distances led Mannert[11] justly to conclude that the remains of Phalasarna were to be looked for to the north of Sfinári. Pliny[12] estimates the distance from the Malean promontory to Mount Cadistus at seventy-five miles: and Scylax[13] says, "It is a day's sail across from Lacedaemon to the promontory of Crete, on which is the city of Phalasarna;" adding that it is the first city to the west of the island.

At eight we set out to visit the remains of this city, and in an hour arrive at its site. The day is beautiful: in all probability yesterday morning's shower is the last we shall have for months. When once April draws to an end, scarcely either a single shower or a threatening cloud is seen to obscure the bright blue sky of Greece[14]. While in these highly favoured regions, where nature, at least, is still seen in all her pristine beauty, we wonder not that the ancient Cretans should have transferred to the bright day the very name of the Divinity[15], and that poets and philosophers should have identified the sky and atmosphere by which they were surrounded with the God of Heaven[16].

The plain running down to the shore contracts in width as we leave Kavúsi behind us: between Kavúsi

[10] In IRIARTE, p. 493. or in GAIL, Geogr. Gr. Min. l. c. (Tom. II. p. 479.)

[11] MANNERT, l. c. p. 690.

[12] PLINY, N. H. IV. 20. Item Cadisto a Malea Peloponnesi LXXV.

[13] SCYLAX, p. 17. ed. Huds.

[14] For many months the climate is so delightful, that we may well compare it to that of the quiet and happy abodes of the Gods, so beautifully described in the Odyssey, (VI. 183.)

[15] MACROBIUS, Saturnal. I. 15. *Cretenses Δία τὴν ἡμέραν vocant.*

[16] My reader will remember Chrysippus's doctrine, "aethera esse eum quem homines Jovem appellarent." (Cic. N. D. I. 15.) The sentiment is frequently brought forward by Euripides: see VALCKENAER'S Diatribe, p. 47. foll.

and the sea, it is more than half cultivated; but, for a mile before arriving at the site of Phalasarna, all traces of human labour entirely disappear. The whole is said to have been cultivated before the revolution. The first object which reminds us that we are near the site of an ancient city, is a number of tombs hewn in the solid rock; there are near thirty of them: a little further is a great chair, which has also been cut out of the solid rock: the height of the arms above the seat is two feet eleven inches; and its other dimensions are in proportion. The chair, as well as the tombs which we have passed, is on the south-west side of the ancient city, the acropolis of which forms a conspicuous object from Kavúsi.

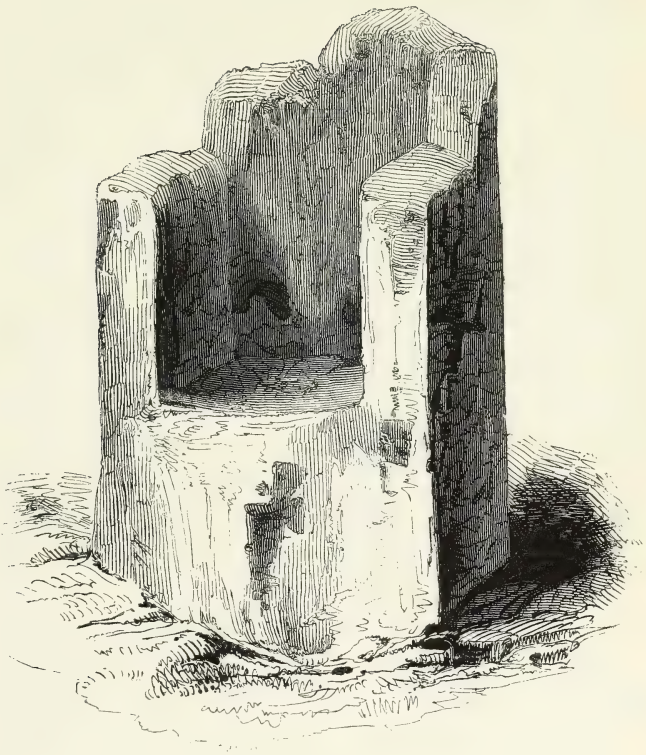
This enormous chair deserves some consideration, since the design of such a work is not very obvious.

We learn from Pausanias that many thrones were erected in Grecian temples, in honour of gods whose statues were generally in a sitting posture on them. Mr Quatremère de Quincy, in his great work on the Olympian Jupiter, has given an engraving of such thrones as may be supposed to have existed at Argos, Mantinea, Tegea, Sicyon, Patra and Megalopolis[17].

A throne was dedicated in the great temple at Olympia, by Arimnus king of the Tyrrhenians[18]; and, as we learn from Herodotus, Midas king of Phrygia, presented his own throne to the God at Delphi[19]. These were the first offerings made at Olympia and Delphi by any barbarian. Somewhat later the poet Pindar dedicated at Delphi a chair of less costly materials, but

[17] See PAUSANIAS, for Argos, II. p. 163. Mantinea, VIII. p. 616. Tegea. VIII. p. 695. Sicyon, II. p. 127. Patra, VII. p. 577. Megalopolis, VIII. p. 664. Of the last he says, Καθεζομένῳ δὲ τῷ Διὶ ἐν θρόνῳ παρεστήκασι, τῇ μὲν ἡ Μεγάλη Πόλις, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Σωτείρας ἄγαλμα. Mr QUATREMERE DE QUINCY has attempted the restoration of all these thrones in Pl. XIX. p. 322. of his splendid work, Le Jupiter Olympien. See the paragraph, "sur les trônes des divinités et autres monumens semblables dans les grands temples de l'antiquité," pp. 314—325.

[18] PAUSANIAS, V. pp. 405–406. [19] HERODOTUS, I. 14.



THRONE OF PHALASARNA.

which was most highly valued, and had a place assigned it near the very shrine of the deity. It was made of iron, and its donor used to seat himself in it, whenever he visited Delphi, and to sing such of his hymns as celebrated the praises of Apollo[20]. The throne of Danaos was dedicated, in the temple of Apollo, by Lycios at Argos[21], and there was also a throne in the temple of the Mother of the Gods between the town of Corinth and the Acro-Corinthos[22].

It is unnecessary to dwell on works of ancient art so celebrated as the throne of Zeus at Olympia, or that of Apollo at Amyclae; but I will briefly mention such offerings of this kind as have come down to us, not merely in the descriptions of ancient authors, but in the hard and lasting materials of which they were made, or on which they were represented. In the temple of Themis at Rhamnus "a chair of white marble was placed on each side of the entrance; that on the right was dedicated to Nemesis, and the other to Themis[23]."

An ancient throne, curiously ornamented, has been found in the church of the Holy Virgin at the site of Chaeroneia[24]. Others are seen at Athens, at the Piraeus, to the north of Parnassus, and in the neighbourhood of Epidaurus[25].

[20] PAUSANIAS, X. p. 858.

[21] PAUSANIAS, II. p. 153.

[22] PAUSANIAS, II. p. 121.

[23] UNEDITED ANTIQUITIES OF ATTICA, published by the Society of Dilettanti, pp. 51–52. The inscriptions on the two chairs are similar to one another. One is,

ΘΕΜΙΔΙ
ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΕΙΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑ

[24] The villagers call it the throne of Plutarch. See DODWELL, Tour through Greece, Vol. I. p. 32 and p. 222. It is spoken of by CLARKE, Travels, Vol. IV. p. 145. ed. 4to. and by LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. II. p. 115, from whom we learn that it is called ὁ φρόνος τοῦ Πλουτάρχου, as Θῆβαι is called Φῆβα.

[25] DODWELL, l. c.

Among the numberless treasures brought to light by the excavations at Ercolano are seen empty thrones of Mars and Venus[26]. They are both veiled or covered, as is likewise a throne of Saturn, represented on a bas-relief, which has been engraved and described by Mr Millin[27]. Two others, made of white marble, in excellent preservation, and highly ornamented with sculptured emblems which refer them to Bacchus and Ceres, are now at Rome, in the galleries of the Vatican[28]. Thrones of Neptune[29] and Saturn[30] were found in the ruins of an ancient temple at Ravenna, nearly a century ago.

It appears from a passage of Porphyry, that in the cavern of Mount Ida, where Zeus had been fed by bees and watched by the Curetes, a throne was placed in honour of him[31].

[26] LE PITTURE D'ERCOLANO, Tom. I. Tav. XXIX.

[27] MILLIN, Monumens antiques inédits, Tom. I. Pl. XXIII. p. 218. Mr Millin says, "Sur le trône du dieu est un grand voile. Il est probablement allégorique, et désigne l'obscurité dont les temps sont couverts;" an explanation which a knowledge of the custom, which we see to have prevailed, of covering the thrones of other deities, requires us at once to reject. Moreover the opinion that Kronos was the same deity as Saturnus, and that they were symbolical of time even in the most ancient popular belief, seems to be wholly destitute of all solid foundation. It has lately found a supporter in BUTTMANN, Mythologus, Vol. II. p. 32. f.; but it is sufficiently refuted by LOBECK, De Dodecatheo, Part II. pp. 5. and 10.

[28] VISCONTI, Museo Pio-Clementino, Tom. VII. Tav. XLIV. Trono di Bacco, and Tav. XLV. Trono di Cerere.

[29] BELGRADO, Il trono di Nettuno illustrato, Cesen. 1776. MONTFAUCON, Antiquité expliquée, Suppl. Tom. I. Ch. VII. Pl. XXVI. "Le trône paroit des plus magnifiques—un grand voile couvre le siége." QUATREMERE DE QUINCY, Le Jupiter Olympien, p. 315.

[30] MILLIN, Monumens antiques inédits, Tom. I. Pl. XXVI. Monumens du Musée Napoléon (Prioli), Tom. I. Pl. I. L'Abbé BELLEY, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Tom. XXI. pp. 421. and 427.

[31] PORPHYRY, Life of Pythagoras, p. 34. ed. Kiessling. *Εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἰδαῖον καλούμενον ἄντρον καταβάς, ἔρια ἔχων μέλανα τὰς νενομισμένας τριττὰς ἐννέα ἡμέρας ἐκεῖ διέτριψε, καὶ καθήγισε τῷ Διΐ, τόν τε στορνύμενον αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος θρόνον ἐθεάσατο.* This annual custom of covering the throne reminds me of the new garment which was made once a year for the Amyclaean Apollo. PAUSANIAS, III. p. 247. *Ὑφαίνουσι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αἱ γυναῖκες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χιτῶνα.* The peplos of the Olympian Here

It must be allowed that the instances adduced do not completely illustrate the meaning of this enormous seat: but it is not surprising that the Greeks should have cut the natural rock into the form of an offering with which, as has been shewn, they were wont to honour their deities. We know how gladly they availed themselves of any physical objects which could be converted into monuments of their piety; and thus, as we have elsewhere seen[32], the sides of a cavern were covered with an address to its tutelary deity, or received the sculptured forms of the Nymphs who enjoyed its shade[33], while seats were hewn for them within its cool recesses[34].

I also find a similar work described, by Pococke[35], as existing near the site of Antaradus in Syria. He says, "There is a court cut into the rock, with a throne in the middle of it—the throne consists of four stones besides the plain pedestal, which is cut out of the rock—it was probably built for an idol worshipped in this

Here was also renewed every fifth year. PAUSANIAS, v. p. 417. Διὰ πέμπτου δὲ ὑφαίνουσιν ἔτους τῇ Ἥρᾳ πέπλον. See VI. p. 515. It appears from the Rosetta Inscription, that in Egypt the statues were clothed three times a day by the priests, that is as often as divine service was performed in the temple. L. 40. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΙΕΡΕΙΣ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕΙΝ ΤΑΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΑΣ ΤΡΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΤΙΘΕΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΙΣ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ. The custom is also mentioned by HERODOTUS, II. 42. and II. 132. and PLUTARCH, de Isid. et Osir. p. 366. f. See DRUMANN, Untersuchungen &c. p. 106. foll. These ceremonies of the Egyptians and Greeks prevailed among the Romans, and have been duly adopted in the religion of modern Italy. As the temple of Baal, 2 KINGS, x. 22, possessed a wardrobe in former times, so the house of our Lady of Loretto is well provided with one now; and at Rome the great bronze statue of Saint Peter is splendidly habited on days of festival. (See MIDDLETON'S Letter from Rome, p. 154. and DODWELL'S Tour through Greece, Vol. I. p. 317.)

[32] At Melidhóni: see above, Vol. I. p. 139.

[33] As at Paros, where there is an inscription under the bas-relief: see TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Tom. I. p. 201. and above, Vol. I. p. 139.

[34] HOMER, Od. XII. 318.

Ἔνθα δ' ἔσαν Νυμφέων καλοὶ χοροὶ ἠδὲ θόωκοι.

VIRGIL, Aen. I. 167.

Intus aquae dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo,
Nympharum domus.

[35] POCOCKE, Description of the East, Vol. II. Part I. p. 203. (c. 27.)

court or open temple; and it is one of the greatest and most extraordinary pieces of antiquity that is to be seen[36]."

We learn moreover from Pausanias, that a throne was cut out of the living rock, as this is, at Temenothyrae, a small city of Lydia, where the common people called it the seat of the giant Geryones[37]. Probably its dimensions were not very different from those of the massive block before us.

Ptolemy Euergetes, after his extensive conquests in Asia, went down to Adule, a maritime city of Ethiopia, where he placed a sculptured throne, made out of a single block of white marble, on the spot which he had chosen for his seat while he reviewed the assemblage of his numerous armies[38]. Ptolemy's offering was dedi-

[36] BOETTIGER, Ideen zur Kunst-Mythologie, p. 244. observes, that this throne must have belonged to a national deity of Syria, and may very well have been designed for a statue of Kronos. Perhaps, however, no statue was ever placed on it, any more than in the seat of Geryones: the throne alone, as has been so fully shewn in the text, was an offering in honour of the deity.

[37] PAUSANIAS, I. p. 87. Λυδίας τῆς ἄνω πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη Τημένου θύραι. ἐνταῦθα περιῤῥαγέντος λόφου διὰ χειμῶνα ὀστᾶ ἐφάνη—αὐτίκα δὲ λόγος ἦλθεν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Γηρυόνου τοῦ Χρυσάορος εἶναι μὲν τὸν νεκρὸν εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν θρόνον· καὶ γὰρ θρόνος ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἐνειργασμένος ὄρους λιθώδει προβολῇ. The city Temenothyrae was on the confines of Mysia, and became, in later times, a Christian see: vid. MANNERT's Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. VI. Part III. p. 115. Dr CRAMER, Description of Asia Minor, Vol. I. p. 60. mentions Temenothyrae as an obscure place noticed only by Ptolemy.

[38] COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, in CHISHULL's Antiquitates Asiaticae, p. 77. MONTFAUCON, Nova Collectio Patrum, p. 140. and VINCENT, Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients, Vol. II. p. 331. foll. Xerxes also seated himself in a throne, made of white marble, at Abydos: HERODOTUS, VII. 44. whose expression προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ, reminds me of the inscription, ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝΟΣ ΤΩ ΛΕΣΒΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ: ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ, found on a throne of white marble, which I saw at Mytilene in 1833, and which is briefly mentioned, and well engraved, in POCOCKE, Vol. II. Part II. p. 15; and is also engraved in M. CHOISEUL-GOUFFIER's Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, Tom. III. Part. I. Pl. 8. p. 85. A silver-footed throne served the Persian monarch as a seat during the battle of Salamis: see HARPOCRATION, in ἀργυρόπους δίφρος, AESCHYLUS, Pers. 466. and BLOMF. Gloss. v. 473. If any one should suppose the throne

cated to the God of War[39], and was placed at the very entrance of Adule[40], just as we find this monument within a few paces of the ruined walls of Phalasarna.

The maritime situation of the city might lead us to suppose the throne to have been dedicated, like that at Ravenna, to Poseidon; but the prevalence of Dictynna's worship in this part of the island, and the known existence of a temple of her's at Phalasarna, make it perhaps somewhat more probable that the offering was meant to honour that Cretan Goddess.

Remains of the city walls of Phalasarna exist in a greater or less degree of preservation, from its northern side, where it seems to have reached the sea, to its south-western point, cutting off the acropolis and the city along with it, as a small promontory. In the existing remains of these walls, near the sea on the north side, there are seen square projections, which we may suppose to have been the places of towers. One of these projections is found near the very northern extremity of the walls: it is succeeded by a curtain, if I may consider the towers as bastions, and may use a technical term of the art of fortification, one hundred and twenty feet long: another interval of about two hundred and thirty feet brings us to a third tower, the face of which is thirty-six feet, while its flanks are twenty feet long. A hundred paces more and we arrive at a little chapel dedicated to Hághios Gheórghios; and one hundred and twenty feet further on is another projecting tower or bastion, after passing which the direction of the walls changes, and, instead

throne at Phalasarna to have been thus meant as a seat of honour for men, rather than as an offering to a deity, he may compare SUIDAS, under *οἱ νομοφύλακες*, VALESIUS, on Harpocrat. 55. and WALPOLE, Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, Vol. I. p. 310. The throne represented on the coins of Olba in Cilicia, and on which there is a dissertation by the Abbé BELLEY, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Tom. XXI. pp. 421 and 427. may either have been dedicated to Zeus, or used by Polemo.

[39] CHISHULL, p. 78. or pp. 81–82.

[40] COSMAS, in CHISHULL, p. 74. Ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος, προσέχων ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἀξιώμεως.

of proceeding southward, turns to the east. Following them in this new direction for about one hundred and twenty feet, on an elevated ridge where their foundations are visible all the way, we arrive at a mound of large hewn stones, lying about in such confusion, that it is impossible to say of what building they once formed a part. One naturally thinks of Dictynna's temple. From this point the course of the walls again changes, and resumes very nearly its original southerly direction. Their length from this point to the southern sea, near the artificial port spoken of by the ancient writers, and the situation of which is immediately discerned, is about two hundred paces.

The towers found in some ancient walls resemble still more nearly the modern bastion than those seen here at Phalasarna. The nearest approach of the kind, which I have noticed, is in the ruins of Priapus, the celebrated city on the Hellespont. Remains of walls, built probably at an early period after the transfer of the seat of empire to Constantinople, still exist there, with towers at short intervals, which project beyond the line of the wall, and present something very like the requisites of a bastion, two flanks, each at right angles to the wall, and two faces, each inclined to the flanks and to each other at given angles[41]. Here we have only the simple

[41] I shall be pardoned for making the following extract from my journal, since I believe these remains of Priapus have not been described by any modern traveller: "Sunday, 22d September, 1833. The city of Priapus occupied the whole of this narrow tongue of land, the shape of which may possibly have led to its selection as a suitable place for the worship of its tutelary deity, and may have bestowed its name on the city. The whole of it appears to have been surrounded by walls, which however were not very strong, except on the land side, and in fact, with such a coast, were but little needed elsewhere. Across the neck of this promontory the walls extend from sea to sea, and have regular towers at very short distances from one another. There are distinct and considerable ruins of ten of these towers, eight of which may be said to be well preserved. They are built in the common Roman style: the interior being made of bricks, loose stones of various shapes and sizes, and a great deal of mortar; while all this is covered on the outside with regular brick-work: a casing which is here in some parts three feet thick. I also find three cisterns for water, two of them communicating with one another, and

front parallel to the line of the walls, and its two flanks. But there are some other remarkable peculiarities about these walls: the first that they have a *slope*, as if constructed according to the rules given by writers on the modern art of fortification, and which every one will remember to be of invariable occurrence in both the bastions and curtains of regular fortifications, although it must be very rare, even if it ever occurs, in ancient cities: the second is that there is a double line of walls, and these towers or bastions are similarly situated in both. Very considerable remains of both the walls are seen as we pass along the first three hundred and fifty feet of their length on the north side of the city, and the distance between them is sixteen feet. As we follow their continuation from the confused heap of large hewn stones to the southern sea, it appears, both from the considerable width of the elevated ridge which indicates their position, and from some still visible remains of them, that the system of double walls and towers was followed throughout their whole extent. The whole distance from sea to sea is about six hundred paces. The little chapel of Hághios Gheórghios is situated somewhat less than two hundred paces from the northern sea, and nearly four hundred from the south-eastern part of the city, where, close by the shore, are rocks in which stone-quarries have been worked, and this too with such regularity as to shew that the apartments thus

and each of them more than twenty-two feet long, and about fourteen feet wide and sixteen feet high. From these old towers we have a fine view of the Granicus, and of the whole of its plain, where the great battle between Alexander and Darius was fought, as well as of the mountains by which it is bounded. The river discharges itself into the sea right opposite to this Palaeókastron. The trees which surround the village of Dhemotikó, distant about twelve miles up the plain, form an object very distinctly visible. Near us we see the picturesque village of Karáboa, parts of its houses peeping out from among the trees which surround it, and with its mosque and minaret, the neighbouring windmills, and its beautiful cypresses, forming a picture which pleases the eye, and produces an illusion soon to be destroyed by rude realities, when we enter its precincts, and see the squalid poverty and wretchedness of its mud cottages."

formed, in the open air, were meant to be applied to some use. The principal entrance to the city appears to have been about fifty paces from the sea, near these excavations; and, between this entrance and the shore, a long and solid slip of the rock has been left standing, to serve no doubt as a continuation of the walls, which extended to this entrance from the other side of the city.

It only remains to describe the acropolis, which forms so conspicuous an object in the view seen from Kavúsi. After mounting up it I found, in a gap between two rocks, a small space, just before reaching which the ascent is aided by a flight of eight or ten steps. The interval between the highest step and the rock is not above eighteen feet long. The indications of an ancient building here are the shaft of a column and foundations of a wall. In ascending to this spot, which is about one hundred and ten paces from the northern end of the acropolis, and not far from the chapel of Hághios Gheórghios, the side of the hill is not quite so steep as it is elsewhere; and on this account it would seem that nine or ten walls which I passed have been built along its side. Their age is a little difficult to determine: at first sight, and from a distance, one would take them for a specimen of the most ancient of the so-called cyclopian styles; but, on a nearer inspection, they seem to bear a greater resemblance to those which are used in some parts of England as fences; and to have been put together without any very great care. I suppose the remarkable solidity of the construction to have been caused by the simple fact that these stones were found by the builders ready to their hand, and that the excess of labour in putting them together was compensated for by their not having to use the hammer or chisel. No doubt walls so put together might last two or three thousand years; but that these cannot pretend to any high antiquity is certain; for after passing, on descending, the nine or ten lines of them, and reaching the foundations of what

were plainly the exterior walls of the ancient city, I see, on these still visible foundations, which are similar in appearance to the rest of the undoubted ancient masonry, a piece of walling of precisely the same character as those in question. Perhaps one may suppose this acropolis to have been made a stronghold, and, on this account, to have been thus rudely strengthened by the Greeks, when first attacked by the Moors in the ninth century; or when, early in the thirteenth century, they united themselves with Henry Count of Malta, supported by the Genoese, in attempting to make a stand against the Venetians, and to expel them from the island. But it may be alleged as an objection to the latter supposition, that all the contemporary fortresses are strengthened in a manner very different from this.

Walking along the acropolis to the south, I find remains of an ancient building on each of its summits. Whether they were forts or temples, the existing remains, than which I never saw a greater heap of confusion, do not enable me to say. From the south end of the citadel a sketch of the view to the north, including most of the rock and fortress of Grabúsa, was taken, and is exhibited at the head of this chapter. The promontory which we see is put down in Lapie as "Pointe Frizer," a name which, as is usually the case with the received names of capes, hills, rivers and even towns in maps of Crete, is unknown in the country: La poêle à frire would have been nearer the truth, for the Greeks call it the Fryingpan[42], on account of its shape. It was the scene of a conflict very disastrous to the Greeks, during their occupation of Grabúsa, sometime before they arose with Khadjí Mikháli.

The Grabúsian headland is called Kimaros by Strabo[43] and Tretos by the anonymous Coast-describer[44]: all other

[42] Τὸ Τηγάνι. The site of the ancient city Messa is on a promontory called Τηγάνι: see Colonel LEAKE's Morea, Vol. I. p. 286.

[43] STRABO, X. p. 474.

[44] In the Geograph. Graec. Min. Tom. II. p. 497.

geographers call it Corycos. We learn too from Pliny[45] that the islands of Grabúsa, which lie off this promontory, were called Corycae. Mannert[46] and Dr Cramer[47] speak only of the promontory Corycos[48] and its mountain, and say nothing of a city of the same name which existed on it. Meletius mentions both the promontory and the city[49]; and I find in Golzius[50] a coin of the Corycians, the symbols on which are manifestly Cretan, being the same as are common on medals of the island, though perhaps this is the only independent single city in it on the coins of which they are found. To place the matter out of doubt, Ptolemy[51] speaks of Corycos as the name of the promontory *and city;* and there is a passage where Juvenal mentions a Corycian vessel which evidently belonged to this Cretan town[52].

Pococke[53] tells us that the Turkish garrison of Grabúsa "were such bad neighbours that the whole promontory was uninhabited;" and he could not hear of any remains, "there being only a small ruined convent of Saint George and two churches on the promontory." Remains, however, do exist, or at all events did exist when the Florentine traveller Buondelmonti visited Crete in the year 1415. He speaks of them as situated on a small plain at the summit of the hill,

[45] Pliny, N. H. iv. 20. "Reliquae circa eam ante Peloponnesum duae Corycae: totidem Mylae."

[46] Mannert, Geographie der Griechen und Roemer, Vol. viii. p. 691.

[47] Cramer, Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. iii. p. 365.

[48] Thus Stephanus of Byzantium, Καὶ ἀκρωτήριον Κρήτης Κωρυκίη, and Pliny, iv. 12.

[49] Meletius, Geograph. p. 409. Κώρυκος Ἄκρα, κοινῶς Κόρυκο, καὶ πόλις ποτὲ κατὰ τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος τῆς νήσου, ὅπου παράκεινται αἱ Κώρυκαι Νῆσοι, καὶ αἱ Μύλαι Νῆσοι.

[50] Golzius, Graeciae et Asiae Minoris Nomismata, Tom. iii. p. 221. (Tab. iii. Insularum Nomismata,) ed. Antwerp, 1644.

[51] Ptolemy, Geogr. iii. p. 91. Κώρυκος ἄκρα καὶ πόλις. He is referred to by Dr Cramer, who makes no mention of the city.

[52] Juvenal, xiv. 267.

Tu Corycia semper qui puppe moraris—
Qui gaudes pingue antiquae de litore Cretae
Passum, et municipes Jovis advexisse lagenas.

[53] Pococke, Travels &c. Vol. ii. p. 246.

and as consisting of walls still of a considerable height, and remains of buildings, with cellars and cisterns excavated out of the living rock[54]. The words of this old Italian traveller "montem per immeabilem ascendo semitam," remind me of the expression of the Coast-describer[55], and of the accounts of the people at Kutrí and elsewhere, when speaking of the road to Grabúsa, which they all described as one of the very worst and the most difficult to pass in the island.

After spending several hours in the examination of the remains of Phalasarna, we obtained some misíthra, brought us by a shepherd whose sheepfold was near, and with it and some bread we appeased the hunger excited by our long morning's work, and began to retrace our steps to the hamlet of Kutrí. Our host Gheorgákes Ligopsýkhes[56], who, along with some other villagers, had accompanied us as a guide and companion, tells me of the discovery, some years ago, of certain "statues[57]" and "idols[58]," a little below the village. The Greek who found them, afraid of the fact's becoming known, and thus perhaps producing a suspicion that he had also discovered a hidden treasure, hastened to conceal them all: he mentioned his good fortune to no one till he was lying at the point of death, when he disclosed it, and described the place where he had concealed them. Captain Maniás, whose antiquarian

[54] CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, I. p. 87. "Dum sic peragramur per longum iter aliquantisper sub radicibusque promontorii Coricis fessi recreamur, denique ad eundem montem per immeabilem ascendo semitam, in summitate cujus civitas cum plano exiguo eminebat, meniaque ejus non parum a terra elevata cernere poteramus. Mansiones insuper diligentissime fabricatas cum cellulis subterraneis clare videmus, et cisternas in lapide sculptas mire industrie collaudamus."

[55] ANONYMI STADIASMUS, p. 497. ed. Gail. Ἀκρωτήριόν ἐστι τετρημένον, κατάκρημνον τῆς Κρήτης.

[56] Γεωργάκης Λιγοψύχης, Georgy Littlesoul, if literally translated. The class of names derived from moral qualities is not very extensive either in modern Greek or in English. We have Good, Best, Goodenough, Sly, Coward, Coy, Gallant, Humble, Keen, Sharp, Wise, Kenworthy, Wordsworth, and others.

[57] ἀγάλματα. [58] εἴδωλα.

zeal shews itself daily in the alacrity and indefatigableness with which he aids me in making inquiries for ancient remains, and for coins or other antiquities, is very anxious that I should not suffer all these hidden treasures to continue buried in the earth, and warmly seconds my host's wishes. At length, although the assertion that the "idols" are small and golden, makes me fear that it will end in nothing, for the form assumed by the story bears a slight resemblance to that of a buried treasure, which, of course, no European in his senses would ever search for; yet, the day being already very far advanced, I at length give way to the solicitations of the people, and agree to wait here till to-morrow at noon; the Greek undertaking to have the excavations finished by that time. Being unwilling, however, thus to stay, before I decide on doing so, I offer, but in vain, to give the man a written authority to excavate, which, on his own account, he would not have dared to do, and suggest that he may inform me afterwards of the result of his labours. His objection to doing any thing if I leave him is because the first finder died soon after making the discovery, and he believes my being present will avert from him a similar fate, which would assuredly await him, if he set to work after my departure.

*April* 25.

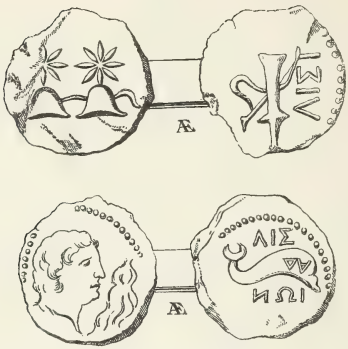
The excavations are commenced early this morning by half a dozen men, who continue their work six or seven hours without finding any thing. On this I became satisfied that nothing would be found, either within or outside the house, and, after recompensing the people for their trouble, I set off at three o'clock.

We soon commenced the ascent of the western slope of Mount Elías: the greater part of the olive-trees, amongst which our road lies, are uncultivated. This ascent lasts for forty minutes, and the descent by which it is succeeded is nearly as long, and at length brings us on a slope extending from the mountains to the

shore, and along which we pass for between four and five miles, always at a distance of about two miles from the sea. Its continuity is broken by three small ravines: in the winter there flow down them torrents, which are already reduced to mere streamlets. At the third ravine, near the extremity of the slope, the village of Sfinári is on our left. Hence, after a steep ascent of nearly half an hour, we arrive at the summit of the ridge, which ends in what may be called Cape Sfinári, and, descending into a fertile and well-cultivated valley of corn-fields and olive-trees, we pursue it, in a southwardly direction, for about half an hour, when we arrive, at six o'clock, at the village of Kamposelórakhos[59]. We are still only about two miles from the sea, which is visible through another valley in a west-north-west direction.

Although we arrived before sun-set, the villagers, unable as they were to imagine what could be the object of our rambles among their mountains, were considerably alarmed on seeing so extraordinary a sight as European travellers. I should add, that in the houses near which we dismounted, no male inhabitant was at the moment to be found. One of the women asked me, What our business was, and why we had come there. I replied, laughing, "To see you to be sure." But her fears were too serious to be trifled with, and I could not at all quiet the suspicion with which she regarded us. We succeeded in finding a stable for our steeds, but since the good lady professed *not to have the key* of her house, we did not obtain a lodging for ourselves, but remained in the open air, till fortunately a man arrived in the village, and received us with the ready hospitality usually shewn. Our evening meal consisted of milk and eggs.

[59] Καμποσελόραχος.



COINS OF LISSOS.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

KAMPOSELORAKHO TO SKLAVOPULA. THE ANCIENT CITY DULOPOLIS. THE PRESENCE OF SLAVONIANS, IN THE CONTINENT OF GREECE, HAS NOT EXTENDED TO CRETE. SELINO-KASTELI. SFAKIAN DIALECT. SITE OF KALAMYDES. ANCIENT DORIAN INSTITUTIONS IN CRETE. HAGHIO KYRKOS, THE SITE OF LISSOS. TWO SUPPOSED COINS OF LISSOS. A NIGHT'S LODGING AT HAGHIO KYRKO.

*Kamposelórakho, April* 26.

This village now contains only forty houses: it pays fifty-eight kharatjs. Kamposelórakhos and Kunoné are the two principal villages of the district called Enneá-khoriá. The similarity of sound between Inakhorion and Enneá-khoriá, reminds us of the ancient city which formerly existed on the sea-coast at no great distance from this place. I am inclined to believe the name of the district to be a corruption of that of the ancient city[1]. I do not, however, hear of any remains of an-

[1] Thus, I suppose, Hippocoronion has become Apokórona: see Vol. I. p. 63.

tiquity in the neighbourhood; and I am but little disposed to follow the shore from this place to Sélino-kastéli, a route which, in all probability, would require three days.

We have already seen that the territory of Polyrrhenia extended from the northern to the southern sea: hence, therefore, it is plain that the little towns on the coast between Phalasarna and Kriu-metopon, though recorded by many writers, and though each of them may have enjoyed a nominal independence, were yet so limited in their respective districts and resources, that their size and power must always have been very insignificant. And this want of physical greatness is not compensated for by the connexion of any of them with early religious or other myths, which might make them interesting. My reader will see them placed on the map either in or very near the places which they occupied; and, not having spent my own time in endeavouring to identify precisely the position of each of them with any ruins which may now exist and indicate their sites, a slight notice of them is all that will be wanted before we go on to the south coast. Ptolemy mentions Khersonesos, Port Rhamnus, and Inakhorion as existing between Phalasarna and Kriu-metopon. Not one of them is recorded in Pliny's list, though it contains forty Cretan towns. The Coast-describer[2] speaks of Bienon, which he fixes at twelve stades from Kriu-metopon: he mentions it as a place with a port, and where there was water, an indication which he frequently makes, and which of course was as useful a direction for sea-faring people in ancient times as it is now a-days.

We leave Kamposelórakhos at eight. A descent of a few minutes brings us to a cascade, the first which I have seen in the island: the fall, of not more than twenty feet, is over rocks into a streamlet. We ride

[2] STADIASMUS, p. 497. ed. Gail. (Tom. II. Geograph. Graec. Min.) Ἀπὸ Κριοῦ Μετώπου περίπλους εἰς Βίενον σταδ. ιβ'. λιμένα ἔχει καὶ ὕδωρ.

along a slope running gradually down to the sea, which is distant only about a mile. The mountains are covered hereabouts with heath, which is now in flower, and wild strawberry trees[3]. The fruit of this shrub is gathered in September and October for making rakí: I am also assured that it is pleasant to the taste; which is certainly more than can be said of the spirit extracted from it. In the silk districts, mulberries, which the Greek believes to be unwholesome and can hardly be persuaded to taste, are either given to pigs or converted into a rakí, perhaps the most execrable of all the preparations that bear the name. We pass the hamlet of Keramúti[4], and, a few minutes after nine, arrive at Amýgdhalokepháli[5]: our road continues to be in the same direction, and, after passing the villages of Makerianá[6] and Vavulianá[7], we arrive, at half past ten, at Kunoné[8]. We had overtaken a Christian peasant of this place a mile before arriving at it, and I, as usual, immediately began to talk with him, and continued doing so till we arrived at the village. As we approached it I saw an Arnaut, whom, in Crete, one can at once recognize by his dress, so different from the Cretan costume, as well as by the musket slung over his shoulder and the pistols hanging in his girdle. I observed to the Greek, "So you have got some Arnauts in your village; how many are there?" He made no reply. I repeated my question, and the poor fellow, evidently in great alarm, drew close to my horse, and answered me in a very low voice. Now the Albanian was at least three hundred paces from us, and the Greek's conduct is only indicative of the system which prevails here. No doubt people will be cautious of using their tongues in a country where an indiscretion in speech may cause a man to lose his head. Yet after all the ráya walks

[3] The arbutus, which, like most other plants and trees, has preserved its ancient name, κόμαρος.

[4] Κεραμούτι. [5] Ἀμυγδαλοκεφάλι. [6] Μακεριανά.

[7] Βαβουλιανά. [8] Κουνονή.

more erect, and lives in a less horrible and wretched state of fear and trembling, under Mehmét-Alí, than in any part of what may still be called the Sultan's dominions. Here the Cretan Mohammedan fears the established authorities just as much as the Christian does: while, under the Sultan, the Musulman is an insolent tyrant, and the Greek a wretched slave.

Soon after leaving Kunoné the mountains become barren, although they still afford pasture to the numerous flocks of the district. At ten minutes before eleven a slender streamlet, shooting over a rock and falling about sixty feet, forms a picturesque waterfall[9]. We continue to ascend a little further, and then follow a nearly level path till we arrive at a little ruined chapel, where we mistake our way by taking a turn to the left. Following this wrong track all semblance of a road soon vanishes, and we have nothing left but a path, trod only by sheep and goats, and so narrow that a single false step would inevitably precipitate both horse and rider down the steep side of the mountain. We ramble along for some time without well knowing whither we are going: at length we halt, and Maniás, after using his lungs three or four times, with a force which would have rivalled even Stentor's brazen throat, is at last answered by a shepherd at a considerable distance in the mountains, and whom, for awhile, we cannot discern[10]. At length

[9] The cascade of the Styx, the most considerable in Greece, is well described by Colonel LEAKE, Travels in the Moréa, Vol. III. pp. 160—168.

[10] This τηλολαλία, among the mountains of Greece, is spoken of by Colonel LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. II. p. 372. and Vol. I. p. 279. "It is curious to remark with how much ease this τηλολαλία, or distant conversation, is carried on. It is an art which, as well as that of τηλοσκοπία, or of distinguishing distant objects, is possessed by the Albanians and mountaineers of Greece in a degree which seems wonderful to those who have never been required to exercise their ears, eyes, and voices to the same extent. The same qualities were among the accomplishments of the heroic ages of Greece, the manners and peculiarities of which have never been extinct in the mountainous and more independent districts of this country." ZALLONY, Voyage à Tine etc. p. 77. (quoted by SINNER, on Buondelmontii Insulae

he approaches and becomes our guide, conducting us till we come in sight of the village of Sklavopúla[11], a little before two o'clock. A steep descent and then a short ascent bring us to this village at twenty minutes past two.

The name Sklavopúla reminds me that there is a place called Sklaverokhóri in the eparkhía of Pedhiádha, and another called Sklávus in Sitía[12]. Sklavokhóri is also a name which is sometimes met with[13], and has precisely the same meaning as Dulopolis in ancient Greek. That there was a Cretan city called Dulopolis

Insulae Archipelagi, p. 135.) says, "Les Tiniens ont la voix forte et animée; et deux habitans à une distance d'une demi-lieue, même plus, peuvent *très-facilement* (!) s'entendre, et quelquefois *s'entretenir*. (!!)"

[11] Σκλαβοπούλα. [12] Σκλαβεροχώρι and Σκλάβους.

[13] See Colonel LEAKE's Travels in the Moréa, Vol. I. p. 136. where the author observes: "its name appears to indicate that it was the principal settlement of the Slavonic colonists of the *Laconice* in the middle ages." This explanation of the name is in all probability true as regards the Peloponnesian village. On the very interesting question of the influence of Slavonian conquerors and immigrants on the population of the Moréa, during the middle ages, I must again refer to a work, which I have cited in the previous volume, and which, I fear, is but little known in this country: FALLMERAYER, Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea waehrend des Mittelalters. On the influence of other northern immigrants, in Attica, see the same author's Entstehung der heutigen Griechen, published at Stuttgard and Tuebingen in 1835. In the Moréa the "Sklavokhória" may have been originally Slavonian settlements; but such an explanation can hardly be applied to Crete. Several islands near Attica, as Salamis, Aegina, Poros, Spézzia, and Hýdhra, have been colonized by Albanians, and Tzerígo has even obtained a Slavonic name: see FALLMERAYER, die Entstehung &c. p. 49. and LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. III. p. 70. But certainly in Crete almost all the names of villages are still Greek, and since the island possessed an ancient city Dulopolis, we are disposed to believe that it may have been the origin of the Sklavokhório or Sklavopúla of the present day, just as the ancient Port Phoron (*φώρων*) in Attica has been replaced by a Kléfto-Liméni. The words slave in English, esclave in French, schiavo in Italian, and sclave in German, were derived from these Slavonians. When they were made prisoners of war, by any neighbouring nation, they were reduced to a condition which their national name alone served to express: see ADELUNG's Woerterbuch, Vol. III. p. 1761. in the word *Sclave*. The usage of the word was soon extended from this limited sense, and came to designate any captive. MATTHEW PAR. 1252. "Cum Christianis sclavis, sic namque vocantur captivi." DU CANGE, Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis, Tom. VI. p. 238. ed. Paris, 1736.

we are told by several authors[14]; but unfortunately none of them in speaking of it, give any hint which might serve to determine its situation. It is said to have contained a thousand male citizens[15].

In the absence of all direct evidence on the subject, the following is a conjecture respecting the probable site of this ancient city. It is well known that the Dorian lords lived solely on the labour of their slaves or subjects, and derived all their means of subsistence from the land. Wealth could be obtained, by members of the subject classes, from commerce alone, for success in which the numerous ports of the island afforded many opportunities and advantages. What can be so likely as that some upstart town, which had thus sprung into importance, should have been called Dulopolis by the haughty and insolent Dorian freemen of the island? This conjecture seems to derive additional probability from a verse of Cratinus[16], from the name of another ancient city Poneropolis, and from the Gaidhurópolis, which we have already met with[17]. On what part of the coast Dulopolis should be placed is undoubtedly a matter which, unless some additional mention of it should be found, can never be determined with absolute certainty. I may, however, observe that there is a long tract near the shore, extending from the middle of the Sfakian district to the eastern end of Hághio Vasíli, on which I have not succeeded in establishing, on the testimony of ancient authors, a single city. That at least two or three must formerly have existed within

[14] It was spoken of by SOSICRATES, in the first book of his work on Crete: SUIDAS, Ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ Δουλόπολις, ὡς Σωσικράτης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Κρητικῶν. HESYCHIUS, Δούλων πόλις. Εὔπολις ἐν Μαρικᾷ, κώμην γὰρ λέγει Δούλων πόλιν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ Λιβύῃ.

[15] STEPHANUS BYZANT. Δούλων πόλις—φασὶ καὶ κατὰ Κρήτην Δουλόπολιν εἶναι χιλίανδρον.

[16] STEPHANUS BYZANT. l. c. Σημειωτέον δ' ὅτι Κρατῖνος ἐν Σεριφίοις πόλιν δούλων φησίν—

Εἶτα Σακὰς ἀφικνῇ καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἐρεμβούς
ἔς τε πόλιν δούλων ἀνδρῶν νεοπλουτοπονήρων.

[17] See above, Vol. I. p. 82.

those limits is certain, and Dulopolis may have been one of them.

At Sklavopúla we obtain directions about the road, of which Maniás knows but little in this district of Sélino, invaluable as I have found his knowledge and talents as a guide in all other parts of the island. We descend gradually from Sklavopúla to Pelekánas, where we arrive at twenty minutes past three. Here we enter a valley which runs down to the African sea. Soon after four we pass a few cottages, called Tzalianá, and inhabited by Sfakians, who descend with their flocks for the winter months, and have not yet returned to Sfakiá. I learn from them that there are ancient remains on the summit of a hill to the south-west of Tzalianá, and that at Spaniáko are many tombs[18], where the Greeks excavated for ten days during the revolution, and found three gold ear-rings and several silver coins. We follow the course of the valley till twenty minutes before five, when we cross the ridge of hills on our left and descend into a similar valley, where the banks of the river are covered, as is generally the case in Crete, with lofty platanes. We follow this valley a little way, cross it, ascend the hill before us, and, sometime before sunset, come in sight of Sélino-kastéli, to which we immediately descend. I had supposed the old Venetian fort to be now occupied by Turks, and surrounded by a small village, as at Kísamo-kastéli, but found it entirely in ruins and uninhabited; there is a house, however, hard by, which is not unfrequently used as a corn magazine, and, fortunately enough for us, so employed at this time by the master of a Turkish schooner now at anchor in the bay. She arrived two days ago from Khaniá with a cargo of corn, which the proprietor has already stowed in the house, and is selling daily to the peasants of the neighbourhood. The Sfakians and Seliniotes, especially the former, thus purchase the greater part of their corn.

[18] Μνήματα.

We were glad to learn that the schooner was Turkish, since there was a chance of our finding on board her what one may call some Christian food, though no oriental Christian considers meat to be such at this season. We should have had no more chance of meeting with mutton on board any Greek vessel, during the continuance of their Lent, than we should have had of obtaining pork at any time from a Mohammedan. The Turk had bought a lamb the day before, a considerable portion of which he immediately bestowed on us; so that we fared better than, an hour before sunset, we had expected. A Sfakian shepherd whom we had passed on the road as he was tending his flock, brought us an ample supply of milk.

*Sélino-kastéli, April* 27.

Soon after sunrise I walked round what is called Sélino-kastéli: it consists of the remains of the old Venetian fort, which is celebrated in the history of the revolt headed by Varda Kalerghi in 1332, when it was taken by assault. It is about fifty paces square: the height of its walls, where they are now standing, is about thirty feet. There is a good engraving of the ancient fort and bay in Dapper's work[19]. I was told last night that there are remains of antiquity at Khádros, near Kántanos, or Kándanos[20], as it is pronounced, and also at a spot called Hághio Kýrko[21], near Cape Flomí. From several Sfákians, who arrive with their asses to purchase corn, I learn that there are hellenic remains near Haghía Ruméli, and that "the ancient city of the Hellenes" is above Samaría. They add: "it is said that a treasure is there concealed, but no one has yet discovered it[22]."

In Crete, as well as throughout the east, there is a universal belief that ancient sites contain hidden treasure,

[19] DAPPER, Description exacte des Isles de l'Archipel, p. 415. ed. Amst. 1702.

[20] Εἰς τὴν Κάνταvo.

[21] Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Κυριακόν I suppose must be the proper name of the place: it is always pronounced Κύρκο by the people.

[22] Ἡ παλαιὰ χώρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι ἀπάνω ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμαρία, καὶ λέγουνι ὅπως ἔχει ἐκεῖ θήσαυρον, ὅμως δὲν εὑρήθηκε.

to find which is the object of every European's examination of them; and this idea, in some parts of the Turkish empire, opposes considerable obstacles to the traveller's researches. I had with me in Crete a pocket compass, which, on more than one occasion, a Greek noticed, and would exclaim, with an air of acuteness, and perhaps of pride on account of his discernment, "O, I know what that is for: it points out to you where the treasure is hid, when you go to any Palaeókastron."

Yesterday and to-day I saw several Sfakians, as I have mentioned. Up to this time I had scarcely spoken to any one of the inhabitants of the White Mountains, excepting my guide Maniás; and I had feared that the difference between his language and that of the other Greeks of the island, might be, in some degree, owing to an individual peculiarity: that as Alcibiades called a man a flatterer when he meant to call him a crow, so Maniás might call him a crow when he meant to call him a flatterer[23]. I found, however, that there is no difference between his dialect and that of his fellow Sfakians: the same peculiarities distinguish them all.

After leaving Sélino-kastéli at a quarter past nine, we cross a river less than half a mile to the east: the ground about it is covered with pieces of broken pottery, the only material of any kind which could possibly indicate this as the site of an ancient town.

The anonymous Coast-describer places Kalamydes between Kriu-metopon and Lissos, a city which, as we shall hereafter see, was situated a few miles to the east of Sélino-kastéli; so that this strip of land, near the ruins of the Venetian fort, might be supposed to be the site of Kalamydes, if it is an ancient site at all; but the fragments of pottery may be mere remains of the Venetian *borgo*[24], which existed outside the castle

[23] ARISTOPHANES, Wasps, 44.

Εἶτ' Ἀλκιβιάδης εἶπε πρός με τραυλίσας
ὁλᾶς; Θέωλος τὴν κεφαλὴν κόλακος ἔχει.

As the Athenian changed ρ into λ, so the Sfakian changes λ into ρ.

[24] DAPPER, Description exacte des Isles de l'Archipel, p. 415.

walls, and probably no ancient city ever existed here. At all events, if we ought not to take for granted, without a clear necessity, that Sélino-kastéli is any ancient site, still less can we admit that "Lissos, according to Ptolemy, near Criu-metopon, is Castel Sélino[25]," for we shall soon find evidence that Lissos was situated elsewhere.

About ten minutes further to the eastward, we cross a second river which issues out of another defile. The plain running down to the shore is narrow: it is bounded to the north by the mountains of Sélino, through defiles in which the streams above mentioned flow: behind Sélino-kastéli this plain may be three quarters of a mile in width: here at the second river it is not above two hundred yards. After crossing this river we have an ascent of eighteen minutes: it is so steep that we are obliged to dismount. We soon arrive at the winter-dwelling of another Sfakian mountaineer, who confirms what I have already learnt respecting the existence of ancient remains at Hághio Kyriakó, or Kýrko, and says, that the summit of a hill near us, where there is a church of the Prophet Elías, is surrounded by ancient walls: but I have made so many painful ascents, which have ended only in the discovery of petty Venetian forts, that I determine to go on towards Hághios Kýrkos, which is on the shore, and where, I think, from what is told me, that the chance of finding ancient remains is much greater than at the other place. I stay conversing with the Sfakian upwards of half an hour, and then pursue my journey: pass a sheepfold, also belonging to Sfakians, and following a road, which, like many others in this island, is so bad as to be almost impassable, arrive, at half past twelve, at a spring, and, before one o'clock, reach the small village of Prodórmi.

At Prodórmi we are welcomed by a Mohammedan, Mehmét-agá, an acquaintance of Maniás. The poorest Mohammedan of the island is called Agá by his neigh-

[25] Dr CRAMER, Description of Ancient Greece, Vol. III. p. 377.

bours of equal rank, and by every Christian, though of course he is not so styled by his superiors. The Mohammedan did not invite us *into* his house, but brought out stools, which he placed in the open space before it; and, in the course of a few minutes, his wife, whom we did not see, had employed herself so busily within doors, that our host put before us a dish of fried meat and eggs, a plate of olives and a bowl of milk. It may be observed that this reserve, as to Mohammedan women, is rare in Crete, and only exists with regard to strangers, and sometimes is not observed even as to them.

After our repast and half an hour's conversation with our Mohammedan host and his children, Mehmét and Ibrahím, I obtained a guide to conduct us to Hághio Kýrko, where we arrived at three o'clock. The road was terrible: we were not only obliged to descend on foot, but I almost despaired of our horses escaping without some serious accident, as they kept sliding and clambering over the rough rocks which they had to pass, when we began to descend towards the shore. On coming to the worst part of the descent we saw before us the church of Hághio Kýrko, and the site of the ancient city, in a small plain running down to the sea, surrounded on every other side by rocky hills, and presenting, on a large scale, a form very much like that of a Greek theatre.

Near the sea, where the width of the plain contracts to about one hundred and fifty paces, is a church of the Panaghía, which seems to stand on the site of an ancient temple. I observed near it fragments of the shafts of granite columns, and in the walls are several pieces of white marble, some of which seem to have been parts of pediments; others of entablatures.

The inference that this may have been a fane of Dictynna, will not fail to suggest itself to the reader.

On the south-western side of the plain, the lower part of the hills is covered with sepulchres, not scooped out of rocks, but each of them a small building, the

interior of which is eight or nine feet long and six or seven wide, and the crown of its arch about six feet high. There are perhaps fifty of these tombs: their entrance-doors are so small as only just to afford room for any one to pass into them. The interior of many of the tombs is covered over with plaster.

Thus, at the site of this ancient Cretan city, scarcely a vestige of its temples can be seen, and these narrow cells are the only object which arrests the attention of the passing traveller.

> So perish monuments of mortal birth—
> Save o'er some warrior's half-forgotten grave,
> Where the gray stones and unmolested grass
> Ages, but not oblivion, feebly brave,
> While strangers only not regardless pass,
> Lingering like me, perchance, to gaze, and sigh "Alas!"

After partially examining the remains, I became so unwell that I was glad to make the best of my way to the church of Hághio Kýrko, distant about a quarter of a mile from the shore, and near which would seem to have been another temple, and a theatre.

A few observations are demanded by the peculiar situation of this ancient city, on account of the influence which such towns must have had on the Dorian institutions of the island. When those institutions flourished, "To be free from all labour save warlike exercises, to live upon the toil of his subjects and slaves[26], to know no care but the defence of his station, was the glory and happiness of the citizen; and to secure to him the enjoyment of these privileges, was the main object of all the institutions of the state[27]." It is obvious that the situation of the subject-classes, with respect to their Dorian lords, must have been different in the inland

[26] Thus at the present day the Musulman conquerors, or converts, who form the ruling class in Albania, observe, as at Kardhíki, "that the use of the musket is their only art, and their only property: the care of their fields and flocks they leave to the Christians." LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. I. p. 60.

[27] THIRLWALL, History of Greece, Vol. I. p. 284.

agricultural districts, and in the maritime states. The region of commercial enterprise, from which the institutions of the country excluded all the members of the territorial aristocracy, was open to their subjects; and thus probably there were never heard at the festive board of these commercial towns, the sounds of the celebrated Cretan drinking song[28]: "My great wealth is my spear, my sword, and my stout buckler, my faithful guard: with this I plough, with this I reap, with this I press the sweet juice of the vine: this is my title to be master of the mnoa. They who dare not grasp the spear, or the sword, or the faithful buckler, fall prostrate at my feet and adore me as their lord, and salute me as the great king."

If then in every maritime city there existed a tendency to oppose and destroy the Dorian institutions[29], how much greater must it have been in a place like this, the inhabitants of which had absolutely no means of existence but those which commerce supplied? Nature had given them a good port; and, therefore, although they were cooped up, when on shore, within the narrow limits of their plain, yet there was no reason why their commerce should not flourish, as that of Aegina did, before the rise of Athenian power, and as those of the mere rocks of Hýdhra, Spétsies, and Sýra, have become considerable in modern times[30].

It remains to be shewn what was the ancient city which existed on this site. In the anonymous Coast-describer's list, are mentioned, in succession and under forms slightly altered, Phoenix, Tarrha, Poekilassos, Suia, Lissos, Kalamydes and Kriu-metopon. We have already seen Kriu-metopon, and shall soon find that if Kalamydes was not at Sélino-kastéli, it was a little inland and very near it. The situation of Suia is also

[28] A scolion of HYBRIAS: see ATHENAEUS, XV. p. 695. f. EUSTATHIUS, on Odyss. VII. p. 1574. JACOBS, Anthol. Graec. Tom. VI. p. 307. ILGEN, Carm. Conviv. Graec. pp. 102—119.

[29] See HOECK's observations on this subject, Kreta, Vol. III. pp. 447—449.

[30] See LEAKE, Moréa, Vol. II. p. 432.

incontrovertibly fixed three miles to the east of these remains, which every one will therefore infer to be those of Lissos.

My conviction of this fact was greatly strengthened on ascertaining that to the north or north-east of Sélinokastéli there is a village called Kántanos[31]. Its distance from this place is about fourteen or fifteen miles, and the Peutinger Table gives sixteen miles as that between Cantanum and Liso.

This Cretan Lissos was an episcopal see in the time of Hierocles. The order in which he mentions it, with the other bishoprics in the western part of the island, agrees very well with the supposition that its site was on this spot[32].

Of all the towns which existed on this part of the coast, Lissos alone seems to have struck coins, a fact which agrees very well with the evidence, afforded by its situation, of its having been a place of some commercial importance. Its harbour is mentioned by Scylax: and the types of its coins are either maritime, or indicative of the worship of Dictynna, as might have been expected in this part of the island.

The obverse of the first coin[33] bears the impress of the caps and stars of the Dioscuri[34], and its reverse a

[31] Ἡ Κάντανος, pronounced Kandanos, as observed above, p. 85. The τ always obtains the sound of our *d* when it comes at once after a consonant and before a vowel.

[32] HIEROCLES, Synecdem, p. 650. ed. Wessel. CORNELIUS, Cret. Sacr. I. p. 235. The order is Κίσαμος, Καντανία, Ἔλυρος, Λίσσος, Φοινήκη ἤτοι Ἀραδένα.

[33] Which is of silver, and was first published by ECKHEL, in his Numi Veteres Anecdoti, p. 152. and Tab. X. from the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna. It would seem that both Σ and P used to be doubled, either by ancient writers or by their copyists, for, on coins, we have ΛΙΣΣΙΩΝ, as we have ΚΝΩΣΣΙΩΝ, ΠΟΛΥΡΡΗΝΙΩΝ, &c. Eckhel, who of course inspected carefully the coin he published, mentions the other Lissos of Illyria, and adds, "Sed fabrica et typus, utrumque ex Cretae ingenio, hujus esse insulae opus, aperte loquuntur." Every one who has seen many Cretan coins must be aware of the force and conclusiveness of this argument.

[34] See the engraving of the coins, at the head of this Chapter, p. 78. Similar caps are also assigned to the Corybantes, the guardians of the infancy of Zeus:

quiver and arrow. The egg-shaped caps allude, perhaps, to the birth of the Dioscuri from the egg, which, even so late as the time of Pausanias, was still suspended in the temple of the Leucippides at Sparta[35]. The star seen above each of the caps is easily accounted for. The Dioscuri used to appear under the form of stars to sailors during a storm at sea: as soon as they were seen the clouds dispersed and the winds fell[36]. They

Zeus: see D. Celestino Cavedoni, Appendice al Saggio di Osservazioni sulle Medaglie di Famiglie Romane ritrovate etc. Modena, 1831, p. 124.

[35] Pausanias, iii. p. 247. Ἐνταῦθα ἀπήρτηται ὠὸν τοῦ ὀρόφου κατειλημένον ταινίαις· εἶναι δέ φασιν ὠὸν ἐκεῖνο ὃ τεκεῖν Λήδαν ἔχει λόγος.

[36] Hesychius, Διόσκουροι, ἀστέρες οἱ τοῖς ναυτιλλομένοις φαινόμενοι. Horace, Carm. i. 12. 27.

Quorum simul alba nautis
Stella refulsit,
Defluit saxis agitatus humor:
Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes.

Propertius, i. 17. 17.

Ignotis circumdata litora silvis
Cernere, et optatos quaerere Tyndaridas?

Pliny, N. H. ii. xxxvii. "Exsistunt stellae et in mari terrisque. Vidi nocturnis militum vigiliis inhaerere pilis pro vallo fulgorem effigie ea. Et antennis navigantium, aliisque navium partibus, ceu vocali quodam sono insistunt, ut volucres sedem ex sede mutantes: graves cum solitariae venere—geminae autem salutares, et prosperi cursus praenunciae: quarum adventu fugari diram illam ac minacem, appellatamque Helenam, ferunt; et ob id Polluci et Castori id numen assignant, eosque in mari Deos invocant." Seneca, Natur. Quaest. i. 1. 11. "In magna tempestate apparent quasi stellae velo insidentes. Adiuvari se tunc periclitantes existimant Pollucis et Castoris numine. Causa autem melioris spei est, quod jam apparet frangi tempestatem, et desinere ventos." Compare the Homeric Hymn to the Dioscuri, 14—17. Theocritus, Id. xxii. 6—22. Valerius Flaccus, i. 569. foll. and Conrad Gessner, de lunariis herbis et rebus nocte lucentibus, Tigur. 1555. pp. 6—10. where other ancient authorities are quoted. These are electrical phenomena: see Priestley's History of Electricity, pp. 394—397. ed. Lond. 1767. Dr Watson, in the Philosophical Transactions, Vol. xlviii. Part i. p. 210. foll. Falconer's Observations on the knowledge of the ancients respecting Electricity, in the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, Vol. iii. p. 278. foll.: and Schneider's Eclog. Physic. Anmerk und Erlaeut. p. 144. who quotes Ostertag. de auspiciis et acuminibus, Regens. 1779. The appearance has been frequently noticed by modern travellers and sailors. Shaw (Travels or Observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant, in fol. Oxford, 1738, p. 362.) describes an ignis fatuus seen by him in the valley of Mount Ephraim, and adds that he had observed, when at sea, "in a like disposition

also occasionally alighted on a ship in fine weather, but always in the form of stars; and their appearance was a certain augury of good fortune[37]. The attributes of the Dioscuri, namely, the name of sons of Zeus, the birth from an egg, the egg-shaped caps, the alternation of life and death, and the dominion over the winds and the waves, have been supposed to have belonged originally to the great gods of Samothrace, from whom, in process of time, they were transferred to the Laconian brothers of Helen[38]. Now the Dorians having adopted the worship of these sons of Leda, which they found established in various parts of the Peloponnese, it ought

disposition of the weather, those luminous bodies which skip about the masts and yards of ships, and are called corpusanse by the mariners." The cuerpo santo, as it is called by the Spanish sailors, seems to have been corrupted by the English into, not corpusanse, but comazant. See Captain JOHN WADDELL'S account of their appearance, in the Philosophical Transactions, Vol. XLVI. p. 11. Other mariners call them the fires of Saint Elmo, of Saint Peter, or of Saint Nicolas: see HARDOUIN, on Pliny, N. H. II. XXXVII. and Dr FALCONER, l. c. On one occasion about thirty of these lights were seen on a ship at once, v. Mémoires du Conte de FORBIN, Tom. I. p. 368. (also published in the "Collection des Memoires relatifs à l'histoire de France" of Messieurs Petitot and Monnerqué, Tom. LXXIV. and LXXV. and quoted in Philosoph. Trans. Vol. XLVIII. p. 213.) LA MOTRAYE, Voyages, Tom. I. Ch. XVIII. p. 392. ed. La Haye, 1727. "Nous essuyames une terrible tempête—Un feu celeste, que les anciens appelloient Castor et Pollux, et que les Grecs appellent de Sainte Hélène, et les Latins de St Elme, se posta au haut de nôtre grand mât—Ce feu disparût bientôt, sans faire aucun mal. Un deluge d'eau, que le ciel versa ensuite, abaissa considérablement le vent." These attributes of the Dioscuri will remind the reader of the New Testament of the ship of Alexandria, which wintered in the island of Melite, and "whose sign was Castor and Pollux:" ACTS, XXVIII. 11.

[37] Thus they both appeared on the ship of Lysander as he was putting out to sea on his way to engage the Athenians, on the occasion when he gained his great victory: PLUTARCH, Tom. I. p. 439. Ἦσαν δέ τινες οἱ τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐπὶ τῆς Λυσάνδρου νεὼς ἑκατέρωθεν, ὅτε τοῦ λιμένος ἐξέπλει πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἄστρα τοῖς οἴαξιν ἐπιλάμψαι λέγοντες· and see HEMSTERHUSIUS, on Lucian's Dialogues of the Gods, Dial. XXVI. p. 282.

[38] SEXTUS EMPIRICUS, IX. §. 37. Καὶ τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας δέ φασι τὴν τῶν Διοσκούρων δόξαν ὑπελθεῖν πάλιν (or rather πάλαι, with Hemst.) νομιζομένων εἶναι θεῶν. See HEMSTERHUSIUS, Lucian, Tom. I. p. 282. MUELLER'S Dorians, Vol. I. p. 423. Eng. trans. But consult also LOBECK, Aglaopham. p. 1230–1.

not to surprise us to find their correligionaries, as the Cretans may well be termed, adopting it at Lissos; where therefore their emblems on coins are doubly appropriate, first, as in a maritime city[39], and, secondly, as in a state probably Dorian in its origin[40]; or at least so surrounded by Dorian colonies, and by places connected with the Dorian religion, as Elyros and Tarrha, that our meeting with the types of the Dioscuri, although found in no other Cretan city, does not excite surprise.

On the second coin the caps and stars of the Dioscuri are replaced by a dolphin, and, instead of a quiver and arrow, we see a female head, probably that of Artemis or Dictynna. Thus the maritime symbols, and those of the Cretan goddess of the chase are united as before, and shew that the coin must have belonged to this maritime Cretan city. I need not observe how the type of this goddess, found on the reverse of the second medal[41], agrees with what we have seen of her worship at Dictynnaeon, Rhokka, and elsewhere in the western part of the island.

[39] CATTANEO, Lettera al Sestini etc. p. 15.

[40] The Polyrrhenian district extended to the south sea, and Polyrrhenia was colonized by Achaeans and Laconians: (see Vol. I. p. 48. and above, pp. 47 and 49.) who are thus brought close into the neighbourhood of the Lissians. Elyros and Tarrha were also near Lissos, so that we cannot wonder that the Dioscuri should have settled here.

[41] This second coin exists at Milan, in the royal cabinet of medals at the Brera palace, where I myself examined it. The Signor Gaetano Cattaneo, Director of the Cabinet, has written an essay on this and another coin of the collection, in the shape of a letter addressed to the celebrated numismatist Sestini, now no more, intitled: "Lettera al Signor Domenico Sestini, Direttore del Museo Numismatico di S. A. I. la gran Duchessa di Toscano, sopra due medaglie greche del gabinetto reale di Milano. Di G. C. Milano, 1811." A Frenchman, Monsieur du Mersan, criticized this essay of the Signor Cattaneo, and, by doing so, drew from the Italian numismatist an answer intitled: "Difesa della Lettera di G. C. al Signor Domenico Sestini sopra due medaglie greche del Gabinetto reale di Milano contro un articolo de Signor T. Du Mersan inserito nel giornale letterario intitolato Magazin Encyclopédique del mese di Ottobre, pag. 417. Milano, Nella stamperia reale 1811." In this little work the incensed Italian shews plainly enough his French critic's ignorance of even the elements of numismatics.

If the coin belonged to the Illyrian Lissos, it would be difficult to account for the presence of Dictynna. Undoubtedly her worship spread from Crete to various other places. We find it in Rhodes, Lesbos, Thasos, Euboea, and other islands. She naturally adopted the habits of the islanders among whom she first dwelt, and became a sea-goddess, like Artemis herself[42], accompanying Apollo Delphinios[43] to preside over the altars which were dedicated to them in many maritime towns and colonies[44]. Temples were erected to her in Aegina, at Sparta, and near the Taenarian promontory[45], and she is represented on the coins of Lacedaemon[46], just as on those of Cydonia itself. She was worshipped on the Corinthian gulf[47], and, after having settled among the Phocaeans, on the coast of Asia Minor[48], she accompanied their colony to the distant shores of Gaul[49]. But, widely spread as her worship became, she was not honoured on the coast of the Adriatic, and the Dictynna

[42] HESIOD, Theog. 413.

Πόρεν δέ οἱ ἄγλαα δῶρα,
μοῖραν ἔχειν γαίης τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης.

EURIPIDES, Hippol. 228.

Δέσποιν' ἁλίας Ἄρτεμι Λίμνας.

[43] The notion connected with whom, from the time of the Homeric Hymnist, was invariably that of a sea god: as to what it may have been in earlier times, see MUELLER, Aeschylos Eumeniden, p. 140.

[44] PLUTARCH, de solert. animal. p. 984. a. (Tom. IV. p. 989. ed. Wytt.)

[45] PAUSANIAS, in different passages cited by HOECK, Kreta, Vol. II. p. 177.

[46] HOECK, l. c.

[47] PAUSANIAS, X. p. 890.

[48] PAUSANIAS, VII. p. 529. RAOUL-ROCHETTE, Colonies Grecques, Tom. III. p. 94. HOECK, l. c.

[49] As appears from an inscription found at Marseilles,

ΘΕΑ ΔΙΚΤΥΑ
ΔΗΜΟΣ ΜΑΣΣ

See HOECK, (Kreta, Vol. II. p. 178.) who refers to the Mémoires de l'Instit. Nat. (Litter. et Beaux Arts,) An. IV. Tom. I. p. 170.

of Dalmatia never had an existence except in the imagination of a late Roman poet[50].

The argument in favour of the Illyrian city, derived from the letters seen on the dolphin of the second coin, and which are supposed[51] to denote Dalmion[52], or Dalminion[53], falls to the ground when it is remembered that the barbarian inhabitants of that country were as unacquainted with the use of money[54] as they were with the worship of Dictynna.

These are considerations against which the greater historical celebrity of the Illyrian Lissos cannot for a moment weigh[55].

On arriving at the church of Hághios Kyriakós, which the people called Kyrkos, we found, in a shed near it, the Papás of a neighbouring village, who, possessing some of the land of this little plain, was come to stay here a few days. He had brought with him no provisions, except some barley bread of the worst kind and a little indifferent oil, which latter article is to himself a forbidden luxury at present, it being now *the great week*[56] of the Greeks. For supper, then, a few herbs were boiled by the priest, and were eaten by

[50] CLAUDIAN, de Sec. Cons. Stilich. v. 302.

> Dalmatiae lucos, abruptaque brachia Pindi,
> Sparsa comam Britomartis agit.

[51] By SESTINI.

[52] STEPHANUS BYZAN. v. *Δάλμιον*. EUSTATHIUS, on Dionys. Perieg. v. 95.

[53] STRABO, VII. p. 315. *Δαλμίνιον δὲ μεγάλη πόλις ἧς ἐπώνυμον τὸ ἔθνος*. EUSTATH. l. c.

[54] STRABO, X. p. 315. *Ἴδιον δὲ τῶν Δαλματέων, τὸ διὰ ὀκταετηρίδος χώρας ἀναδασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι· τὸ δὲ μὴ χρῆσθαι νομίσμασι πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ ταύτῃ ἴδιον· πρὸς ἄλλους δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς κοινόν*. See also the SCHOLIAST ON DIONYSIUS PERIEG. v. 97.

[55] SESTINI lets it weigh against some of them in his Descrizione d'alcune Medaglie greche del museo del Signore Carlo D'Ottavio Fontana di Trieste, per Domenico Sestini, p. 35. where he concludes, "Dai geografi poi si parla d'un Lissus dell' Illirico più celebre del Cretico, e non saprei decidermi, se per la nostra medaglia debba preferire quello o il Cretico."

[56] *Ἡ μεγάλη ἑβδομάδα*.

himself, Maniás, and my companion: for my own part I lay down supperless[57].

[57] MATRON, in Athenaeus, IV. p. 134. f.

Ἐνθ' ἄλλοι πάντες λαχάνοις ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἴαλλον,
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην!

Would that I had refrained in order to enjoy such a feast as followed the herbs in the house of Xenocles! We should have been glad indeed to have had, now, even that lenten fare of salt fish and sea-urchins, which Matron there disdained to touch:

Ὠμοτάριχον ἐῶν χαίρειν Φοινίκεον ὄψον·
αὐτὰρ ἐχίνους ῥῖψα καρηκομόωντας ἀκάνθαις.

RHODHOVANI AND THE SITE OF ELYROS.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

WALK TO SUIA. VULTURES, EAGLES, FALCONS, AND THE COCK OF THE WOODS IN CRETE. KRUSTOGHERAKO. AFRICAN HOUSEHOLD SLAVES. VILLAGE OF RHODHOVANI. SITE AND REMAINS OF ELYROS. THALETAS. HONEY OF RHODHOVANI. COINS OF ELYROS. RIDE TO TEMENIA.

*April* 28.

AFTER a night spent without obtaining much sleep, I found, at day-break, that I was covered with traces of the ravages committed on me by the light troops, which, in this part of the world, invariably take up their quarters in unfrequented buildings, even more than in inhabited ones; and whose attacks had been kept up, with the most annoying perseverance, throughout the night. I was still so weak and unwell that I hardly knew what course to adopt, when I learnt that the direct road to Súia, about three miles further to

the east, and also on the shore, is absolutely impassable for horses. The whole distance by the paths, along which the road is best, and which may be traversed on horseback, was said to be about twelve miles. My only alternative, therefore, was between walking on foot for an hour, directly over the hills, and making, on horseback, a tedious circuit, part of which would be along our yesterday's road. I determined on walking, and on sending the horses round. The ascent up the hills does not take above twenty minutes, but the road is such that I was glad not to have attempted bringing our steeds along with us, although asses, which are never shod in this part of the world, do constantly traverse it without any danger. When we reach the top of these hills bounding the little plain of Lissos on the east, summits of mountains still covered with snow are visible four or five miles in an east and north-east direction. After starting a covey of partridges, we disturbed a flock of ten large vultures, of a light brown colour, with wings which were nearly black, as they were feeding on the body of a kid lying near our path.

Belon observes that vultures, eagles and falcons, in Crete, build their nests, not, like other birds, in trees, but in difficult and precipitous places, among rocks which look towards the sea[1]. He mentions the fact, of which we have here ocular evidence, that vultures

[1] Belon, Singularitez etc. Liv. I. Ch. XI. fol. 13. His phrase is: "en lieu moult difficile et precipiteux." He subjoins: "Les voulants desnicher, faut auoir vne longue corde qu'on laisse pendre le long du roc, dont le bout est attaché dessus le faiste de la montagne à quelque pau fiché en terre. Un paysan deualle le long de la corde jusques à tant qu'il paruient au lieu où est le nid du Vautour, puis retourne à mont par la mesme corde par laquelle il estoit descendu. Autrement mettent vn petit garson dedans vne grande corbeille, qu'ils deuallent le dessus le roc contre bas: & quand il est parvenu au nid, lors il met les oiseaux en sa corbeille & se fait retirer à mont." The eagle's building in high places is frequently alluded to in the Old Testament, as in Job, XXXIX. 27–28. Our Milton says, (Paradise Lost, VII. 423.)

There the eagle and the stork
On cliffs and cedar-tops their eyries build:

I suppose him to mean cliffs for the eagle, and cedar-tops for the stork. See Psalm CIV. 16–17, and Bochart's Hierozoicon, Vol. III. pp. 89–90.

frequent the mountainous parts of the island, and adds, that they destroy young lambs, kids and hares. In his time the vulture's wings used to be sold to the arrow-makers, and its skin to the furriers[2].

It is singular that the well-known cock of the woods of northern Europe[3], distinguished by the name of capercailzie, in Scotland, where the species has become extinct only within the last fifty years[4], should have been seen in so low a latitude as Crete. The fact, however, is recorded by Belon, in a manner which seems to leave no doubt on the subject[5].

After leaving the vultures, we descend and soon arrive at Súia, which, like Hághio Kýrkos, is entirely uninhabited. Some peasants shewed us a spring of brackish water, and conducted me to a mutilated inscription[6], from which alone it would have been impossible to determine the name of the city[7].

The modern name Súia, or, if I adopt an English instead of the Italian mode of writing the word, Soúia, is the same as that of the ancient city[8], of which we

[2] Belon, l. c. "Ils les escorchent, & en vendent les œlles aux artilliers, qui s'en servent à faire des ampennons aux flesches: & la peau aux pelletiers qui la conroyent pour en faire fourrures, qui sont vendues bien cher."

[3] I am told, by an excellent authority on the subject, Lord Melgund, that this noble bird is frequently seen by travellers in Norway, still oftener in Sweden, and is also common in the mountains of Bohemia. It finds its way, every winter, to the tables of the wealthy in London, and is frequently met with in the bill of fare of the Parisian restaurant.

[4] Attempts have been lately made to re-naturalize the bird in Scotland.

[5] Belon, Singularitez etc. Liv. I. c. IX. fol. 11. "L'oiseau que les Romains nommèrent tetrao, et lequel les Italiens nomment pour le iour d'huy Gallo Cedrone, et en Auvergne un faisan bruyant, et en Savoye un coc de bois, *est souuent veu* par les forests des hautes montagnes de Crete, deux fois plus gros qu'un chappon."

[6] ΑΡΡΑΝΙΟΝΙΟΥ
ΥΝΔΟΥΥΙΟΝ
ΞΙΩΝΗΠΟΛΙΣ

[7] We can obtain a termination in ΙΩΝ neither from Συϊάτης nor Συϊεύς, the two forms, given by Stephanus of Byzantium, for the name of the citizens.

[8] The present name of the place in modern Greek is Σούϊα; that of the ancient city was Συΐα. Although the number of words in which the ῡ has been

learn from Stephanus of Byzantium, in a passage which I have copied into a note-book, and have with me when I find these remains, that it was the port of Elyros[9]. Now Pausanias says expressly that Elyros existed in the mountains of Crete even in his days, and therefore I feel satisfied that I ought to find vestiges of that most interesting ancient city somewhere in these mountains of Sélino, a few miles from the sea. The anonymous Coast-describer speaks of a city Syba or Syva[10], evidently meaning to indicate the same Syia as being sixty stades to the west of Poekilassos, which is therefore situated to the east, somewhere within the confines of Sfakiá. The common boundary of Sélino and Sfakiá is said to be at the church of the prophet Elías and

been thus altered into οὐ in the modern Greek is not very great, yet they will suffice to shew that the change does not unfrequently happen. The name of Σκαρδαμούλα thus fixes the site of Καρδαμύλη in Laconia, as I have already mentioned. I have also been told, in England, that the island Γύαρος is commonly called Γούαρος, another instance of the same law. In the modern language χρυσὸς and χρουσὸς are both in common use: πτερούγα also is met with. A song which I learnt at Hierápetra begins:

Κάτω εἰς τὴν κάτω γειτονιάν, πέρα εἰς τὴν πέρα ῥούγα,
χαμαιπετᾷ μιά πέρδικα μὲ τὴν χρουσὴν πτερούγα.

We have similarly, in the Erotocritos, the verse

Τὰ φρούδια τζὴ ἐνεσίκωνε μὲ μαστοριάν ἡ κόρη.

From Ἄχυρα it appears that a diminutive Ἀχούρια (instead of Ἀχύρια) has been formed, and is used as the name of villages in the Peloponnese. Leake's Morea, I. p. 90. II. p. 252. This corruption existed in the word σοῦκον, for σῦκον, at Athens, in the time of Theodosius Zygomalas: (see Crusius, p. 99. Du Fresne, 1410.) and it prevails more in some parts of Greece than in others at the present day. A Cretan chieftain was once talking to me about the celebrated Rumeliote leader Khadjí Mikháli, and of the distrust and misunderstanding between him and the Sfakians. In fact, said my informant, the Khadjí had lived so much among the Turks in Rúmeli, "that he did not know how to speak Greek, and used to say τρούπα for τρύπα." Thus it is stated that Κύρα is corrupted into Κούρα at Naxia: Hawkins, in Walpole's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 395: and, generally, the οὐ is "a favourite" in the language, as Colonel Leake, Researches, p. 71, has observed. This οὐ has even usurped the places of ευ (see Koray, ATAKTA, Tom. II. p. 430.) and of οῖ, as in Προικίον· (see Koray, ATAKTA, Vol. IV. p. 273.)

[9] Stephanus Byzan. v. Συία.

[10] Auctor Stadiasmi, in Geograph. Graec. Minor. Tom. II. p. 496. ed. Gail.

of Hághios Isódhoros, about three miles to the east of Súia.

I learn that, till a few years ago, there was here a large marble slab covered with an inscription. A kaík came and took it away. In the middle of the plain is a winter stream[11], between which and the rocky cliffs, forming the eastern boundary of the plain, are found the existing remains of the ancient city. I see spread over the ground here pieces of pottery and three fragments of the shafts of columns. Although the plain is narrow even at the sea, and contracts at no great distance from it, yet Súia is not so cooped up by surrounding rocks as Hághio Kýrko. I observe remains of the city walls, and also, in several places, those of public buildings; but nothing deserves a particular description. None of the visible remains can be more ancient than the time of the Roman emperors. They are either of different sized stones or of brick work. The sculptured cross on some fragments of white marble would seem to indicate the existence of the city in Christian times, and from the mention of Elyros in Hierocles's list of Cretan cities, then reduced in number to one-and-twenty[12], there can be but little doubt that its small port also continued to exist at that time. On the side of the hill, to the south-east of the city, are several tombs resembling those of Hághio Kýrko.

My guide does not arrive, with the horses, at Súia till near one o'clock, and has been at least four hours in performing the journey, which is less than three miles along the path followed by us, and is probably not two by sea. We reached Livadhá, a village two miles to north-north-east of Súia, about two o'clock. We found the honey at this place most delicious. After a short stay we continued to ascend towards the village of Krustoghérako, distant not a mile and a half from Livadhá, although, owing to the steepness of the ascent,

[11] Ξηροπόταμο.

[12] HIEROCLES, Synecdemus, p. 650. ed. Wessel.

we were near forty minutes in reaching it. I found an ancient sepulchral inscription in the village[13].

The villagers, in talking over the events of the war, mention as a remarkable peculiarity in the recent history of Krustoghérako, which was burnt by the troops of Khusseín and Mustafá beys, when they overran the district of Sélino, that none of its inhabitants were enslaved during the whole war.

An ancient ring of twisted gold, and a stone on which was cut a Demeter with her horn of plenty, as well as some coins, were shewn me to-day; but the price demanded for each of them was so extravagant that I could not purchase any thing. It is a common belief that the possession of an ancient coin is a sovereign charm against maladies of the eyes[14].

At last I learn, after making an infinity of vain inquiries during the whole day, in every place to which

[13]
ΚΑΛΛΙΠΟΝΟΣ
ΚΑΙΑΙΤΟ ΣΑ
ΑΓΗΣΙΦΩΤΩ
ΥΙΩ

[14] Gold and silver medals of Alexander were supposed, in heathen times, to be of great use as a charm to ensure the prosperity of their possessor. Trebellius Pollio, Life of Quietus, (c. xiv.) "Dicuntur juvari in omni actu suo, qui Alexandrum expressum vel auro gestitant, vel argento." St John Chrysostom, Homil. xxv. ad Pop. Ant. bitterly inveighs against the practice: see Galeotti, Museum Odescalchum, Tom. i. Tab. xv. p. 20. The Italian Girolamo Dandini, who visited the principal city of Crete in 1599, on his way to Mount Libanus, after mentioning several remarkable things, adds, "but that which is wonderfully surprizing, and beyond the force of nature, are certain pieces of money, which they call Saint *Helen's*, that are found up and down the fields, where there is also brass and other silver. They pretend that that Saint happening to be in that country without money, made some of brass, which in passing of them changed into silver: this money, they say, hath the vertue to this day, to cure the falling sickness in them that hold it to their hand." See p. 12. of "A Voyage to Mount Libanus: also a description of Candia, Nicosia, Tripoly, Alexandretta, &c. written originally in Italian, by the R. F. Jerome Dandini. London, 1698." The chapter on Candia (pp. 9—13.) is also printed in Pinkerton's Collection. The work was translated into French, under the title of "Voyage du Liban, &c. à Paris, 1675."

I went, that there exists a palaeókastron near the village of Rhodhováni, situated some miles to the westward of Krustoghérako; and, consequently, I determine to go thither to-morrow morning with great hopes of finding the site of Elyros.

*April* 29.

We leave Krustoghérako at twenty minutes to seven: repass Livadhá, and continue to descend till twenty-five minutes past seven, when we cross the bed of the river, and, in another quarter of an hour, arrive at the village of Moné, where a Mohammedan, an acquaintance of Maniás, presses us warmly to stay and breakfast. We sit down with him for half an hour under the lofty trees which overshade his dwelling, and are attended by two negro slaves, who have as yet learnt but little of the language of the island.

There are but few negros in the villages of Crete, although in the principal towns there are slaves in the families of almost every Mohammedan gentleman. The price of labour is every-where very high, the difficulty of obtaining labourers in many cases amounting to an absolute impossibility, and the markets of Khaniá and Megálo-Kástron are as regularly furnished with human flesh as they are with bullocks, the supply of both being chiefly drawn from the same place, Bengázi. One may therefore wonder, that of the small proprietors, who form the rural population of the island, so few should have slaves to assist them in the cultivation of their lands.

We leave Moné at a quarter past eight, and in about half an hour see, somewhat to our right, ruins, which prove to be situated on the site of an ancient city. After a slight survey of these remains we proceed to the village of Rhodhováni, about half a mile farther on. The chief fountain in this village is a very copious source, surrounded as usual by lofty trees, and occupied, at the moment of our arrival, by seven or eight Greek women, employed in washing their linen.

In the masonry of this fountain I observe, built up along with less precious materials, three fragments of ancient sculpture, one of which, a female figure that has lost the feet and head, is well executed: the drapery is very graceful.

On sitting down under the shade of the trees by this fountain we are soon surrounded by all the villagers who were either at home or near enough to hear of the arrival of two Europeans at Rhodhováni, an event which if not sufficiently contrary to the established course of nature to be considered as miraculous, is at least unprecedented, and is regarded as most wonderful here and everywhere else in this eparkhía of Sélino.

The Hellenic city goes by the name of Kephalés[15]: the grammatikós of Rhodhováni proves an unusually intelligent and very obliging person: I gladly accept his offer of accompanying us with another villager, to point out all the ancient remains: among which I first noticed a building, consisting of a series of arches; and next, vestiges of walls, especially on the north and north-eastern sides of the ancient city. On part of the site of what seems undoubtedly to have been a Christian church of some antiquity, there exists a modern Greek chapel. The length of the old building is seventy-three feet, and its width forty-eight feet: its altar, like that of the diminutive chapel which stands on part of its site, seems to have been, as usual, at its eastern end.

At some little distance from the church and chapel are remains indicating far greater splendour, of a very remote period: a few massive stones, some pieces of an entablature, and several fragments of the shafts of columns, are all that now remain of an ancient temple. I learn from my very civil and communicative guide that, upwards of twenty years ago, there were standing "two great stones," which formed an entrance to the temple. Each of them was ten or eleven feet high, and

[15] Τζὴ Κεφαλαίς.

several feet more were buried in the ground. Hence the spot was called Orthés Pétres[16]. They were destroyed by a Mohammedan, who converted them into millstones[17].

My informant remembers when the ground all about here was covered with mosaic, like some remains still existing in the church, formed of red, black and white marble. A further examination shews us some cisterns. On the north and north-east sides of the ruins are remains of the city walls, the circuit of which must have extended about two miles.

On the very summit, the elevation of which, however, is so slight, above the rest of the site, that one hardly knows how to call it the acropolis, are remains of walls which seem to have belonged to a fortress. The view hence is very extensive, and its beauty is such that the place well merits the epithet bestowed upon it by my guide[18]. To the south we have the valley and little plain of Súia, bounded by the African sea: to the west, a range of lofty mountains: to the east, still loftier, many of them, even now that the season is so far advanced, being still covered with snow. The ranges of undulating hills to the north have several villages, surrounded by olives, almonds and other trees, on their lower slopes.

My excellent guide, the grammatikós of Rhodhováni, also tells me, and another villager mentions the same fact, that between this place and Súia, remains of an ancient aqueduct[19] are to be seen: it had its source to the north-west, about two miles hence, on a somewhat higher range of hills, near the village of Livádha. I learn too that there are very considerable Hellenic remains at a place called Kastrí, due west, about four miles off, and on a hill still higher than this where we

[16] To use the Cretan expression, τζῆ ὀρθαὶς πέτραις.

[17] The grammatikós observed, τὶ ὄφελος ἦτον θὰ τὰ κόψωσι;

[18] One of his expressions was εὔμορφος τόπος!

[19] Which he called αὐλάκι, and compared to that by which the city of Khaniá is now-a-days supplied with water.

now are. The villagers tell me that Spaniáko once belonged to Spain, and obtained its name from its Spanish occupants, whose nation, at that time, possessed Sélinokastéli and all the surrounding district[20].

Every scholar will have seen long ago, that all the remains which we have just examined belong to the most important ancient city Elyros. Pausanias[21] says that the city Elyros still existed in his time, in the mountains of Crete, and we also learn from him, that the Elyrians sent to Delphi a brazen goat, which he saw there, and which was represented in the act of giving suck to the infants Phylacis and Phylander. The Elyrians affirmed that these were children of Apollo and the nymph Acacallis, whose favoured lover the youthful god had been in the house of Carmanor at Tarrha. Elyros is also spoken of by Scylax[22], who places it between Cydonia and Lissos: a straight line drawn from Khaniá to Hághios Kýrkos, the sites of those two cities, would, I believe, pass through this Palaeókastron, a fact which shews the accuracy of the old geographer's description. Stephanus of Byzantium, as we have seen, mentions this city when he speaks of Súia[23], and also notices it elsewhere[24].

[20] On the presence of the Catalans in Greece, Pachymeres, Nicephorus Gregoras, Ducange, and GIBBON, c. LXII. may be consulted. Similar traditions of the presence of Spanish occupants are frequently found in Northern Greece, see LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece. Vol. I. pp. 91. 336. and 392. Vol. II. p. 15. and Vol. III. p. 29. On the occupation of Attica by the Catalans, see LEAKE, Topography of Athens, p. LXXV. foll.

[21] PAUSANIAS, X. p. 835. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι Ἔλυρος πόλις· οὗτοι οὖν αἶγα χαλκῆν ἀπέστειλαν ἐς Δελφούς· δίδωσι δὲ νηπίοις ἡ αἶξ Φυλακίδι καὶ Φυλάνδρῳ γάλα. παῖδας δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἐλύριοί φασιν Ἀπόλλωνός τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀκακαλλίδος νύμφης· συγγενέσθαι δὲ τῇ Ἀκακαλλίδι Ἀπόλλωνα ἐν πόλει Τάρρᾳ, καὶ οἴκῳ Καρμάνορος. A learned friend suggests to me the correction κατ' οἶκον Καρμάνορος.

[22] SCYLAX, in Geograph. Graec. Min. Tom. I. p. 265. ed. Gail. Κυδωνία, καὶ λιμὴν κλειστὸς πρὸς βορέαν· ἐν μεσογείᾳ δὲ Ἔλυρος πόλις. πρὸς νότον δὲ Λίσσα, (vulg. νότον Μέλισσα) πόλις καὶ λιμήν, παρὰ Κριοῦ μέτωπον.

[23] STEPHANUS BYZANT. v. Συία, πόλις μικρὰ Κρήτης, ἐπίνειον οὖσα τῆς Ἐλύρου.

[24] STEPHANUS BYZANT. Ἔλυρος, πόλις Κρήτης, ὡς Ξενίων ἐν Κρήτῃ. ὁ πολίτης Ἐλύριος.

It seems from a passage of Suidas[25], that Thaletas, the Cretan poet, lived before the time of Homer, and was born at Elyros. Cnossos[26] and Gortyna[27] are, it is true, likewise mentioned as his birth-place, but, as has been well observed[28], the popular opinion in cases of such uncertainty, chooses the more celebrated town; and the connexion of Elyros with Tarrha, and with Apollo's worship, will make us decide in favour of its claim to be regarded as this ancient poet's birth-place. It appears from the authorities quoted by Kuster on the passage of Suidas, by Tzschucke on Strabo[29], and by Meursius in his Crete, that the same poet is spoken of both as Thaletas and Thales. Strabo tells us that the Cretans used to refer to this Thaletas, who was considered as the inventor of the *cretic* rhythm, the paeans and the songs of their country, and many of their institutions[30].

After finishing our examination of the ancient site, we returned to the village of Rhodhováni. Some delicious honey, given to us by the grammatikós, reminded me of the bee seen on the old Elyrian coins[31]. My companion makes a sketch of the village and ancient site, which is on the hill to the right a little further off. The sea just beyond Súia is also visible. The snow-

[25] SUIDAS, Θαλήτας, Κρῆς, Ἐλύριος (adopting Meursius's certain and received emendation for the corrupt ἢ Ἰλλύριος) λυρικὸς γεγονὼς πρὸ Ὁμήρου. Μέλη. On other dates at which Thaletas is placed, see ULRICI, Geschichte der Hellen. Dichtkunst, Vol. II. p. 213.

[26] SUIDAS, Θαλήτας, Κνώσσιος, ῥαψῳδός· ποιήματά τινα μυθικά.

[27] PLUTARCH, on Music, Tom. V. p. 637. ed. Wytt. Oxon.

[28] By Professor HOECK, Kreta, I. 27.

[29] STRABO, X. p. 480. Tom. IV. p. 279. ed. Tzsch.

[30] STRABO, X. p. 480. fin. Ὡς δ' αὕτως καὶ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς Κρητικοῖς χρῆσθαι κατὰ τὰς ᾠδὰς συντονωτάτοις οὖσιν, οὓς Θάλητα ἀνευρεῖν· ᾧ καὶ τοὺς παιᾶνας, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐπιχωρίους ᾠδὰς ἀνατιθέασι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων. Whoever wishes for more information respecting Thaletas, as one of the ancient lyric poets, may consult the authorities indicated by ULRICI, l. c.

[31] On these coins consult PELLERIN, Recueil de Médailles etc. Tom. III. p. 63. Pl. XCVIII. fig. 20. ECKHEL, Numi Veteres Anecdoti, pp. 148, and 158. SESTINI, Museo Hedervariano, Parte Europea, p. 154. MIONNET, Supplément, Tom. IV. p. 319.

covered mountain is, I should suppose, the most easterly of the chain of the White Mountains. It is in the eparkhía of Sélino, and is the only snow-clad mountain out of Sfakiá.

I wondered at finding so few remains of the ancient city in the modern village. In addition to the sculptured fragments at the fountain, I did at last succeed in discovering an inscription: its letters, however, were worn almost entirely away, and the slab was placed upside down in the outer wall of a house, at a considerable height from the ground, so that it was very difficult to make any thing out[32].

The intelligent grammatikós is the Kiaías of the eparkhía, and is therefore the best authority on the subject of its produce. The mean amount of the seventh of oil in Sélino is three thousand místata: and all the other produce barely equals that of oil. Sélino is the poorest district in Crete next to Sfakiá.

We leave Rhodhováni at ten minutes past five, and soon cross the head of the valley which lies to the west of the village, and, ascending for about twenty minutes, pass the hamlet of Mázo. Continuing to ascend for nearly all the rest of the way, we arrive at the village of Teménia soon after six o'clock, and take up our quarters with a relation of the grammatikós of Rhodhováni: he is, however, as stupid and reserved a fellow as the Rhodhovanian was intelligent and communicative.

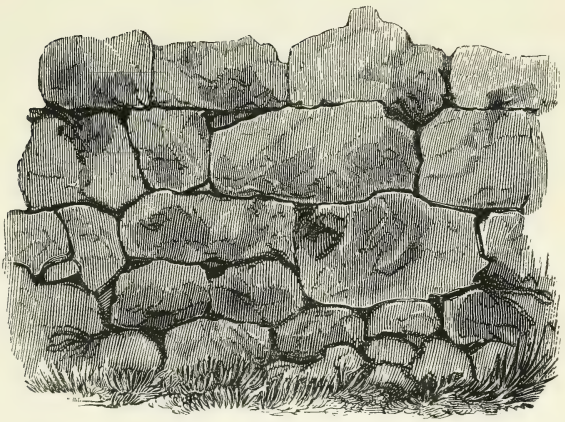
During the evening our host and his wife were visited by an elderly dame, accompanied by her young and

[32] The following letters were transcribed by me:

ΑΓΑΘΑΙΤΥΧΑΙ
ΚΟΣΜΩΤ.ΙΕΛ
ΤΩΑΓΗΣΙΦΩΩΕΛΟ·ΕΤΟΙ·ΚΟ
Σ·ΙΙΛΠΟΛ··ΔΗΣΤ
ΦΩΝΩΝΛΣΑΝΛ
ΙΙΙΛΙΩΝ

beautiful daughter, whose dress, peculiar to one of the islands of the Archipelago, struck me, on account of the great difference between it and that of every other woman in Crete. I learnt that she is a native of this village, but having fled to the islands[33], with thousands of her sex, for protection and security, during the continuance of the war in Crete, she had not yet abandoned, since her return, the costume of her place of refuge.

[33] Εἰς τὰ νησιά.



ANCIENT WALLS OF HYRTAKINA.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE SITE AND EXISTING RUINS OF HYRTAKINA.

*April* 30.

The morning is beautiful as usual: the weather has long been quite invariable. We leave the village of Teménia at half past five, and are nearly half an hour in reaching the summit of the hill to the south, on the top of which I yesterday learnt that there are Hellenic remains: I find all my hopes fully realized.

To the south of this ancient site the extremity is narrow and precipitous: the ascent on the eastern side is also so steep that one looks not to find walls there. Along the south-western and western sides, however, considerable remains of the ancient walls still exist: their height above the ground varies from two to five

or six feet. After following their course on the south-western side for about two hundred paces, we arrive at an entrance not only defended by the ordinary projections of the outer wall, but by what is here observed within, two other walls extending for some distance nearly parallel to the outer one. The distance between the outer and the second wall is about ten paces; that between the second and third near forty. Soon after passing this entrance, we find a considerable piece of the outer wall, which is still from five to twelve or thirteen feet high. The piece sketched[1] is perhaps rather more regular, in the size and forms of the stones, than the greater part of the walls which remain; but the whole may be considered as a near approach to what has been termed the second style of cyclopian masonry. As I pass along, following constantly the course of the walls on the north-western side of the city, I observe on the ground numerous pieces of pottery, and also notice that the stones are, in some places, more massive than those sketched. On this north-western side of the city there appears to have been a defended entrance in one of the interior walls, and between this entrance and the acropolis, of which I will soon speak, three other walls can be distinguished, although the ground is a continual ascent and is very rocky. The whole length of the present remains of walls on the south-west, west and north-west sides of this ancient city scarcely exceeds half a mile.

The little acropolis is situated on a mount about one hundred and fifty paces from the southern extremity of the site: round its base are seen remains of walls: I observe also some slight foundations on its summit. Between this and the southern extremity the ground is covered with fragments of pottery, and other foundations, probably of the walls of houses, are also

[1] The length of which is 11 feet 6 inches, its height being 8 feet 6 inches.

seen. A little to the south-west of the acropolis are remains of an entrance, one of the stone pillars of which is still standing, and a small piece of wall, consisting, like the rest, of massive stones.

From the summit of the acropolis we have an extensive view in every direction: the extremity of the promontory of Kástel-Sélino and the sea, even over the hills which terminate in Cape Krío are visible: we have before and below us the villages of Plataniás and Prodórmi: to the west and north-west are seen two other villages, half-buried in the olive-trees by which they are surrounded. On descending I notice two tombs cut out of the rock.

I believe this to be the site of the ancient city of Hyrtakos, or Hyrtakina, the coins of which, presenting as they do types similar to those of Elyros[2], might alone lead one to suppose, if we knew nothing of its situation, that it was somewhere in these mountains. But, little as we learn of its position from Ptolemy[3] and Stephanus of Byzantium[4], yet we may safely infer, from the former's words, that it was situated to the south-east of Polyrrhenia, and to the west of Lappa. Scylax teaches us something more respecting its site: he places it on the south side of the island, and to the south of the Dictynnaean temple of Artemis and the Pergamian district[5].

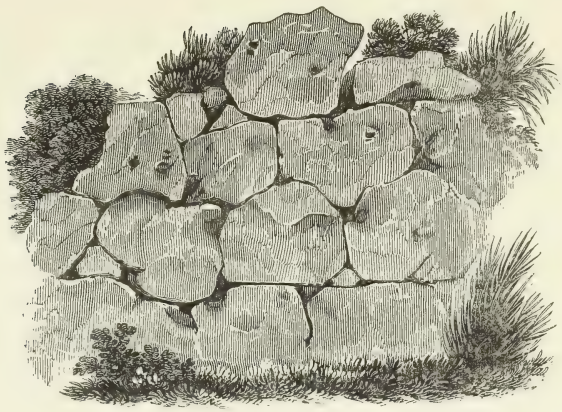
[2] On the coins of Hyrtakina are found the epigraphs ΑΤΥΥ, and ΥΡΤΑΚΙΝΙΩΝ. They have been erroneously ascribed to Elyros, by COMBE, (who read ΥΡΙΑΚΙΝΙΩΝ,) Numi Musei Britannici, Tab. 25. fig. 20. RASCHE, Lexicon Rei Numariae, Tom. II. Part. I. 600. and MIONNET, Description de Médailles etc. Tom. II. p. 277. Nos. 157 and 158. See SESTINI, Lettere e Dissertazioni Numismatiche, Tom. VIII. pp. 4 and 5. MIONNET, Supplément, Tom. IV. p. 324.

[3] PTOLEMY places it among the inland cities of Crete.

[4] STEPHANUS BYZANT. v. Ὑρτακός, ἡ καὶ Ὑρτακῖνος, πόλις Κρήτης. ὁ πολίτης Ὑρτακῖνος. Πολύβιος δὲ τὸ θηλυκὸν Ὑρτακίνη ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑρτακῖνος ἐθνικοῦ. ἀπὸ Ὑρτάκου δὲ Ὑρτάκιος.

[5] SCYLAX, p. 18. ed. Huds. (compare MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 40.) Δικτυναῖον Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν πρὸς βορέαν ἄνεμον τῆς χώρας Περγαμίας. πρὸς νότον δὲ Ὑρτακίνα. Κυδωνία, καὶ λιμὴν κλειστός, πρὸς βορέαν. ἐν μεσογείᾳ δὲ Ἔλυρος πόλις.

This agrees well with the situation of these ruins; and, as he goes on to the eastward in his description, he next speaks of Cydonia and Elyros, which shews clearly that Hyrtakina was to the westward of Elyros, and thus confirms the supposition that this is its site.



WALLS NEAR KHADHROS.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

THE SITE OF KANTANOS, NEAR KHADHROS. VILLAGE OF SPANIAKO, AND RUINS OF TWO TOWERS NEAR IT.

*April* 30, *continued.*

We return to the village of Teménia at ten minutes past nine, and then pursue the course of the river westward: the plane-trees with which its banks are covered are just shooting out their foliage. We soon leave the river on our left, and, after ascending for about a mile, descend, during nearly a quarter of an hour, to the river and village of Stráti. Here we remain till half past ten, my horse having run away as we descended the hill on foot. The banks of this river of Stráti also are covered with fine plane-trees. Immediately after leaving the village, the promontory of Sélino-kastéli, four or five miles off to the south-west, becomes visible, and we also see the course of the valley all the way down to it. In less than an hour we arrive at a shepherd's cottage to

the north of Khádhros, and find that the ancient remains, of which I am in search, are situated on a conical hill about a mile to the south, and which we passed on our left as we descended into the valley of Kántanos. The site is of course on the eastern side of this valley, and is easily distinguished by the ruins of the little chapel of Haghía Iréne, which crown its summit. After obtaining a crust of bread and some misíthra at the cottage, I proceed to examine the ancient remains.

From the summit we have a fine view of the valley of Kántanos: we are three or four miles from the sea, to which the valley leads in a southerly direction: the little villages designated by the common term Kántanos are near its north-eastern extremity: the hills on both sides of the valley are well covered with olive-trees for a considerable way up their sides. Near the chapel of Haghía Iréne I searched in vain for traces of any ancient building. The hill has two peaks, and the chapel is situated on the southernmost of them: these peaks are formed by a cleft in the rock ten feet wide, forty to sixty feet high, and about two hundred paces long, in a direction north-west and south-east. One sees plainly that it is the effect of an earthquake: the irregularities of the surfaces on the two sides correspond so faithfully, that if they could again be brought together they would fit accurately: the rock is limestone, and small stalactites are formed on some of its overhanging portions.

Remains of walls, which are here, as at so many other sites, almost the only evidence now left us of the existence of an ancient city, are found on the eastern and south-eastern sides of the hill of Haghía Iréne. They are traceable for little more than one hundred and fifty paces. The style of their masonry however attests a high antiquity: and thus, in one day, I have had the good fortune to find the sites of two as yet unvisited ante-Homeric cities. I may add that, about twelve paces from these remains, are some slight

ruins of an outer wall. Other portions of the continuation of both these walls are discernible to the east of the hill on the northern side of the cleft, and are perhaps even better preserved than those which I have described, and of which a specimen is engraved at the head of this chapter.

To the east of these remains, which, in the whole, run three or four hundred yards on the side of this hill, the slope is more gradual than on the other sides; and here also are discernible vestiges of four other walls, meant no doubt to strengthen the side where the city was, from the nature of the ground, most exposed to attack. I also notice several tombs, cut out of the solid rock, on the side of the hill to the east of the ancient city, and on that side below some of the tombs are also remains of a wall. Khádhros, the nearest village to Haghía Iréne, is about half a mile to the north.

We shall not find it difficult to fix, with certainty, on the ancient city which existed here. There is a district called Kántanos by the Cretans, just as we have districts of Mesóghia, Enneá-khoriá, and so forth, the appellation being used to denote collectively a number of villages, and this little district is situated at the inland extremity of the fine valley in which we now are, a few miles to the north or north-west of these remains. We see at Mílata how the name of an ancient city is sometimes transferred to a modern village, existing not on its site but in its neighbourhood[1]; and thus we may suppose that here the name of the ancient city has been transferred to the small district, and therefore consult the ancient authors with an expectation of finding something to prove that the city of Kantanos existed on this spot.

The Peutinger table gives us, as the distance from the western Kisamos to Kantanos, twenty-four miles: this agrees perfectly well with the distance between

[1] See Vol. I. p. 269. not. 48. and compare Vol. I. p. 63. and above, p. 78.

Kísamo-kastéli and these ruins near Khádhros. We know, on the same excellent authority, that from Kantanos to Lissos was sixteen miles: here too we see, that reckoning four miles from this place to Sélino-kastéli, and following our route thence to the ruins at Hághio Kýrko, we obtain a distance which again agrees perfectly with that of the table.

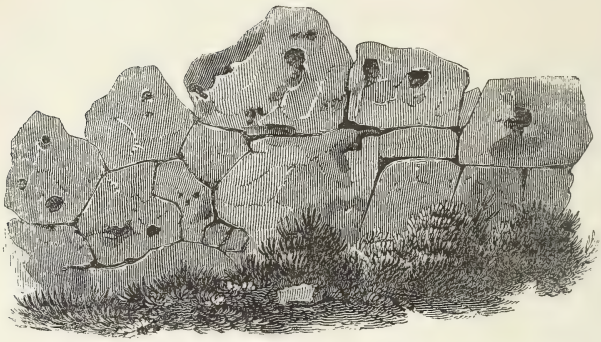
The city Kantanos is mentioned in Stephanus of Byzantium[2], and is also found in Hierocles's list of Cretan cities, where it is called Kantania, and is placed between Kisamos and Elyros. It was a bishop's see under the Byzantine Emperors, and when the Venetians obtained the island they established a Latin bishop here as in every other diocese. A letter from Gregory XI. written from Avignon in April 1375, to the bishop of Cantanus, is preserved[3]: as well as a diploma by which Clement VI. in 1346, appointed a new bishop to the see.

Spaniáko, where we arrive at three P.M. is about a mile to the south-west of the remains. We have now nearly returned to Sélino-kastéli, which is only about three miles further southward. Between the site of Kantanos and the village of Spaniáko, I fall in with a Mohammedan who has been at London, as one of the attendants of a Turkish ambassador, and who, on other occasions, has visited Leghorn and Marseilles. He is eloquent in his praise of Europe, and of the material comforts and luxuries which are there so common, while here they are entirely unknown. I learn that there are ancient remains, near a village called Vlithiás, a little to the north; and also, from a Sfakian, that at Anópolis in Sfakiá, there are very considerable remains of walls, the stones of which are of an enormous size.

[2] STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS says, in a passage the corruptness of which it is as easy to see, as it is difficult to find out the true reading: Κάνταυος, πόλις Κρήτης, ὡς Ξενίων ἐν περιορίου Κρητικοῦ τόπῳ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Καντάνιος.

CORNELIUS, Creta Sacra, Vol. II. pp. 55 and 168.

I also learn, in conversing with the Mohammedans of this village, that, to the south-east of Haghía Iréne, is a thólos or vaulted apartment, six or seven feet high, near thirty feet long, and ten or twelve feet wide. There are remains of what would seem to have been two towers, half a mile to the south of Spaniáko: they were visited by my companion, while I staid conversing with the Mohammedans of the village.



WALL OF RUIN NEAR VLITHIAS.

## CHAPTER XXX.

RUIN OF AN ANCIENT TOWER OR SEPULCHRE NEAR VLITHIAS. ARRIVAL AT THE HAMLET OF VLITHIAS. DEPOPULATION CAUSED BY THE LATE WAR. HEAR OF ANOTHER ANCIENT SITE.

*April* 30, *continued.*

A GUIDE accompanies us from the village of Spaniáko to the ruins found, about two miles off, near Vlithiás. A natural rocky elevation is here surmounted by very ancient walling, which affords a beautiful specimen[1] of what is commonly termed the second cyclopian style, and would seem to have been a sepulchre. The monument being round, and of a very solid and beautiful style of construction, reminds me of Caecilia Metella's tomb in the neighbourhood of Rome: but they differ greatly in their age; for this monument was undoubtedly in existence long before the earliest beginnings of

[1] The portion engraved is 16 feet 3 inches long, and about 6 feet high.

Rome and the Romans. The internal diameter of the tomb is about fourteen feet, and the thickness of the walls four feet. The sketch is taken from the east, on which side the rock is about twelve feet high: on the west one can just walk round it, at eighteen or twenty feet below its summit, (and above this path I observed steps cut in the solid rock,) but there is still a considerable precipitous descent even below this path.

We arrive soon after sunset in the little village of Vlithiás, the only male inhabitant of which is a young Mohammedan, in whose house we took up our abode. The rest are all widows. In many places in Crete the number of widows is large: and in one village of Lassíthi they actually form the entire population, as is so nearly the case here. These are striking instances of the depopulating and exterminating character of the late war, so different from those carried on between civilized nations, with whom the effects on population, as even under the most rigorous conscriptions of Napoleon, are almost imperceptible.

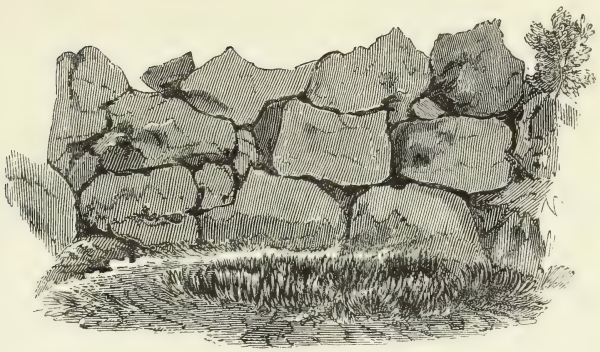
This almost total extermination of the male inhabitants in some parts of Crete, and the general aspect of its villages, all of which may be said to be in ruins, recall to mind the scene which was presented to the eyes of Demosthenes, as he travelled through Phocis[2].

Having obtained a young lamb from a Mohammedan at Spaniáko, for the very reasonable price of seven Turkish piastres, somewhere about eighteen pence in English money, we fared better this evening than was usual with us.

I had also the satisfaction of learning that the distance is not very great to the ancient site, near which I passed, without visiting it, between Pelekánas and Kástel-sélino; and, having reaped so rich a harvest

[2] DEMOSTHENES, p. 361. Ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἦν ὁρᾷν ἡμῖν πάντα ταῦτα, οἰκίας κατεσκαμμένας, τείχη περιῃρημένα, χώραν ἔρημον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδάρια ὀλίγα.

of discovery during the last few days, I can now afford to lose a day in an attempt to glean something, even if the field should prove barren: I therefore determine to start early to-morrow morning to examine the spot.



WALLS OF KALAMYDE.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

VISIT THE SITE OF KALAMYDES. A GENERALLY PREVALENT SUPERSTITION. POLITENESS OF MANIAS IN SPEAKING TO A MOHAMMEDAN. THE LIGHT IN WHICH JEWS ARE HELD BY ORIENTAL CHRISTIANS.

*May* 1.

I LEAVE Vlithiás at half-past six, and I find the descent steep and the road extremely bad down to the river, which is even now a considerable stream: after passing it I begin to ascend, winding in a south-westerly direction along and up the side of the mountain, which I soon cross, and descend at a place called Kontokynéghi[1], into a valley parallel or nearly so to that of Kántanos. I reach Kontokynéghi at twenty minutes past seven: it is one of the most sequestered and quiet spots imaginable, entirely shut in by the lofty rocky hills of the valley, and half buried in the thick grove of tall olive-trees, carobs and almonds, in the midst of which it is situated. This is one of the many spots in Crete

[1] Κοντοκυνήγι.

which, if one could but be surrounded by some of the ordinary comforts of European life, would be a delightful refuge from the tumult and anxieties of the world: a fitting spot wherein,

Ducere sollicitae jucunda oblivia vitae.

After passing the river which flows along this valley of Kontokynéghi, I ascend the ridge which separates it from that of Pelekánas, and soon cross the road by which we had traversed the ridge on our way from Pelekánas to Sélino-kastéli: a few minutes more and I arrive at a church of Hághios Antónios, after passing which I notice several tombs hewn out of the solid rock, a never-failing indication that an ancient site exists somewhere near. About a mile from the church of Hághios Antónios I arrive at another of Hághios Gheórghios and also at the ancient site of which I am in search. It is situated on the summit of the ridge between the two valleys: on the western and south-western sides of the city the walls may be traced for three or four hundred paces: on the east I could only observe them for about one hundred paces, while on the south the ridge narrows, and the wall, adapting itself to the natural features of the hill, has not a length of more than fifteen or twenty paces. The whole seeming circuit of these walls cannot much exceed half a mile: still, possibly, the city might extend further to the north. Foundations of the walls of buildings are seen to the south of the church of Hághios Gheórghios. Of the walls which remain the style is ancient though the construction is not very massive: the chisel has not been used for any of the stones: the sizes of most of them are pretty nearly the same, and they are all polygonal. The thickness of the wall is about four feet.

I suppose these to be remains of Kalamyde, of which the Coast-describer[2] says that it was to the west

[2] Anonymi Stadiasm. in Geogr. Graec. Min. Tom. II. p. 496. See also above, p. 86.

of Lissos, and thirty stades distant from Kriu-metopon. I know of no other city mentioned in any ancient writer, which we should be authorized to place here; and the site agrees perfectly with what we learn of Kalamyde from the author in question, who alone has recorded the name of this city.

I returned to Vlithiás by half-past ten.

Some days ago, while I was washing, I asked Captain Maniás to reach me a piece of soap, which was lying near him. He placed it at some distance from me, and told me that no motive could ever induce him to put it directly into my hands. The superstition, that when one person so gives soap to another, it will wash away their friendship, is generally diffused in Greece and Turkey[3].

I could not but notice Maniás's politeness, when, addressing our Mohammedan host at Vlithiás, he spoke of "those animals which have bristles on their backs," and carefully avoided even the name of the unclean pig. In a similar manner a Greek will apologize to any one before whom he may mention a *Jew*[4].

[3] Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE, Travels in Albania, Vol. I. p. 33. observes, "The captain would not give the soap into my hands, though I was sitting close to him, but put it on the ground within an inch of me.—I found that in Turkey there is a very prevalent superstition against giving soap into another's hands: they think it will wash away love."

[4] This observation is made by HARTLEY, Researches in Greece and the Levant, p. 206. "It is impossible to give an adequate idea of the contempt in which the Jews are held by the Greeks. The style in which they sometimes speak of them may, in part, illustrate this assertion. When the Greeks have to mention swine, and some other objects which they deem particularly offensive, they usually introduce the expression, *μὲ συμπάθειαν*, *begging your pardon*, as a duty of politeness to the persons present. A similar mode of speaking is often adopted, when there is occasion to introduce the mention of a Jew:—'I was walking along the street, and I met, *begging your pardon*, a Jew!'"

MONUMENT AT VLITHIAS.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

DEPARTURE FROM VLITHIAS. SFAKIAN WOMEN. THE OLIVE-TREES OF SELINO. A BEAUTIFUL FEMALE PEASANT. VIEW OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN SEAS. ARRIVAL AT ERGASTERI. FISCAL INNOVATIONS OF MEHMET-ALI-PASHA. SONG ON THE DEATH OF THE CHRISTIAN CHIEFTAIN TZELEPES. A RUMELIOTE SONG ON THE DEFENCE OF MESOLONGHI. SONG ON THE DEATH OF KHADJI-MIKHALI.

*May* 1, *continued.*

We set out from Vlithiás at noon. Not a breath of air was stirring either yesterday or to-day, so that the heat is very considerable. About one o'clock, on entering the straggling village of Kakotíkhi, I was struck with such an apparition of female beauty, as, when once seen, can never be forgotten. This Cretan

maiden's features were certainly more heavenly than I had ever seen in any "mortal mixture of earth's mould." She professed ignorance on the subject of my inquiries, and at the same time drew her veil half over her face. So strange an event as her being addressed by a European traveller at once called up

> The embarrassed look of shy distress
> And maidenly shamefacedness.

Very few moments elapsed before several other more matronly persons approached, and, in a few minutes, all the female population of the village was congregated around us. Their language at once told me that they were all from Sfakiá, and I learnt that they come down here during the winter to gather olives, and that they have been so employed for five or six months. They, however, return to their mountain-village Hághio Yánni to celebrate Easter Sunday, a day on which all Greeks think it almost a sin not to be at their homes. I observed to some of them, that the olive-trees, which vary greatly in size in different parts of Crete, are very fine in Sélino: the most talkative old dame of the group, whose tongue scarcely rests for an instant during my stay with them, and whose language, like that of all her companions, was uniformly characterized by the most strongly marked peculiarities of her native dialect, replied, "Yes, yes! and the oil too is excellent, and abounds in the whole district of Sélino, little as we have of it in Sfakiá[1]." It is natural that the women, who dwell so much at home, and associate so little with any one except the inhabitants of their respective villages, should preserve more purely than the men the idiomatic peculiarities of their native mountains. One of the women began by observing, "You are only two men, and therefore we dont fear you, for we are many." Had we, the travellers, been a more numerous party, or had

[1] The oil, λάδι, was called ῥάδι, and was said to be καρὸ (καλό).

they been fewer, it is plain that the beautiful young girl whom I had first addressed, a native of the Sfakián village of Hághios Ioánnes or Yánni, would have run away, and the others would not have ventured to come out of their houses. The men, who are seldom found at home except early in the morning and towards evening, were all busied in the fields or were gone to the city. On leaving this singular group, with whom I staid some time, I confess I "cast a longing lingering look behind" on her whose features, once seen, could hardly ever be forgotten:

> Cose appariscon nello suo aspetto
> Che mostran dei piacer di Paradiso—
> Elle soverchian lo nostro intelletto:
> Come raggio di sole un fragil viso:
> E perch' io non la posso mirar fiso,
> Mi convien contentar di dirne poco!

In three quarters of an hour, continuing to follow the course of this fine valley, we arrive at Plemmelianá, one of the small villages which are comprised under the common name of Kántanos. This place is on the western bank of the river, both sides of which are thickly covered with fine platanes: we see vines twining round them, as in other parts of the island, to a height of thirty or forty feet. I remain here to have all our steeds shod: I had despatched Maniás before us this morning with my own horse; and now the same operation was performed on the mules. There are but few villages in which one can find a blacksmith, and if a horse or mule happens to lose a shoe, the traveller in Crete will, in all probability, be obliged to continue his journey for two or three days, before he finds the means of replacing it.

We leave this village at twenty minutes past three, and follow the river, with its platanes, to which I see that ivy attaches itself still more closely than the vines, for about half a mile, when we pass, for a few minutes,

through a double hedgerow of myrtles, which is succeeded by a plantation of olive-trees. At length we arrive at the village of Kufalatós, having on the way passed another of the hamlets of Kántanos, where an Albanian bulúkbashi was very anxious to see my teskeré from the Pashá, and where I was shewn what would seem to have been an ancient cistern. At Kufalatós we began to ascend, our course continuing, as it has been for some time, nearly due east. This ascent lasts for no less than three quarters of an hour. On reaching the summit of the mountain we have a wide view, extending northward to Cape Spádha and the whole bay of Kísamos, and southward to the African sea, including also the mountains of Sélino, and spreading right over to those of the Grabúsian promontory. On this summit was the church of the cross, a post where the Mohammedans established themselves in the early part of the war, and from which the Christians had great difficulty in driving them. We see, on looking back, the head of the valley, in which is situated the little district of Kántanos, nearly entirely surrounded by mountains: it was in this district that the Mohammedans, of nearly the whole eparkhía of Sélino, were attacked by the Christians in the second year of the war.

We descend till six, when we pass, to the left, the village of Lukianá, and commence a slight ascent, pass the village of Skáfi, and, at about twenty-five minutes past six, arrive at Ergastéri[2], with the grammatikós of which village we take up our quarters for the night.

This evening the novelty of the sight of European travellers draws together an assembly of ten or twelve peasants at our host's house, and some of them were from other villages. I succeeded, in a short time, in quieting the fears which seized on them, at first, when I inquired about the number of houses in this and the

[2] Ἐργαστήρι, more commonly called Ἀργαστήρι.

neighbouring villages. One of them, a Mohammedan, as I learnt afterwards, immediately whispered to my host, saying, "Dont tell him: he must be sent by the Pashá, and it can only be to put a tax on each house, that he wants to know how many there are." I mention this not as a peculiar incident, but, as to the distrust entertained of me at first when I arrive any where, a daily one: so great was it that I had to talk at least half an hour or an hour every day with the people, before I could commence asking questions on any subject on which I wished to obtain information. If I asked a question before gaining their confidence, I could never obtain an answer: nobody knew any thing.

I was able this evening, from the goodly assembly of villagers here met, to verify the account of the villages and population of Sélino, which I had made in the last few days; and found, as I had hoped, that in every instance its correctness was nearly perfect. I listen to several songs, in which the events of the war are celebrated: one on the death of Tzelepés, at the spot we passed this afternoon. At last the villagers begin to unburthen themselves of their grievances: to speak to me of the proceedings of the government: of the merciless changes in the system of taxation: of the duties on the leather for their boots, of the tithe of their almonds and silk, of the piastre for each místato of their wine, and of the various other extortions, which, they say, make them all, Christians and Mohammedans, long for the Frank, that is for some European power, instead of the Egyptians. One of them said, facetiously, "I ought to prefer the Turk, for I have got some fine old Frank olive-trees, which I suppose the Franks will make me pay for, if they come back again." It is probable enough that his olive-trees existed for centuries before the Venetians lost the island.

Several of the villagers said, that they heard yesterday of my being at Rhodhováni, but did not believe it. I asked why: they answered, "because it was said, that

you wrote down a great deal about the Hellenic remains: which we did not understand; but, now that we see it with our own eyes, we believe it." Perhaps they may be pardoned for not having believed in an event, which is certainly contrary to the ordinary course of nature in Sélino, until they were convinced of its occurrence by the evidence of their own senses, when they saw, heard and talked with me.

The party did not break up till near midnight.

---

The following is part of the song on the death of Tzelepés, of which I have just spoken.

[3] Ill luck the Sunday e'er betide,
And perish the Tuesday,
When far-famed Tzelepés came here
To engage in hostile fray.

Gaúres 'twas he sought to find,
Up at the cross's height,
As with him he his cannon dragged,
With Moslem foes to fight.

* * *

[3] Νὰ ἔχῃ βούλισιν ἡ κυριακή
καὶ νὰ ῥαΐσῃ ἡ τρίτη,
ὥντεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Τζελεπής
ἦλθε νὰ πολεμήσῃ.

Καὶ τὸν Γαοῦρι ἐγύρευγε
εἰς τοῦ Σταυροῦ τὸ σπῆθι
καὶ τὸ κανώνι τοῦ ἔσυρνε
νὰ τῶνι πολεμήσῃ.

* * *

The Tzelepés his sword unsheath'd,
The roof to perforate,
In order on them fire to cast,
That all might meet their fate.

Then Zunalákes at him aimed,
And did his weapon rest
So that its ball was buried deep
In Tzelepés's breast:

It entered deep beneath his breast,
And to his throat it ran;
Nor e'er till then the Tzelepés
Was heard to cry, Amán!

* * *

Τὸ μαχαιράκι τοῦ 'συρε
τὸ δῶμα νὰ τρυπήσῃ
νὰ τῶνι βάνῃ καὶ φωθιά
καὶ ὅλους νὰ τζὴ κεντήσῃ.

Δῶμα *tectum*. This sense of the word is unaccountably omitted by Passow, though it occurs, not only in the Greek Scriptures, Old and New, but also in Josephus, Herodian, and Aesop.

Τὸ Ζουναλάκι τοῦ 'παιξε,
καὶ τοῦ 'στεκε τζελέκι,
γιὰ τὶ τούτην ἐξάμμωσε
τοῦ Τζελεπὴ στὸ μπέτι.

Στὸ μπέτι τοῦ τὴν ἐξάμμωσε,
στὸ στόμα τοῦ τὴ βάνει,
καὶ τότε ἐφωνάξενι
ὁ Τζελεπὴς, ἀμάνι!

Ἀμάνι, *Amán*, (ἔλεος or συγγνώμη in ancient Greek, in English *Mercy*,) like several other words of this song, is of Turkish origin.

"Stand on thy feet O Tzelepés,
That we the assault may push:
Perhaps the Moslems e'en may dare
From out the house to rush."

* * *

The Christians went and buried him
At Sfakiá's chief town,
Because e'en sweet as violet's flower
Was Tzelepés' renown.

At length the Moslems ventured forth
As evening's shades drew near,
Nor knew they that the Tzelepés
Was stretched upon his bier.

* * *

Σήκωσε ἀπάνω Τζελεπής
νὰ κάμωμεν γεροῦσι,
ἐμπορετὸ νὰ πορίσουσι
ἀπὸ τὸ σπῆθι οἱ Τοῦρκοι.

καὶ πάγουν νὰ τόνι θάψουνι
στῶν Σφακιανῶν τὴν χώρα
διατὶ τὸν ἔλεγαν Τζελεπή,
καὶ ἦτον καὶ ὡσὰν ἡ βιόλα.

καὶ ἀργὰ ὡσὰν ἐμούδισε
πορίζουνι καὶ οἱ Τοῦρκοι
δὲν ξεύρουνι τὸν Τζελεπὴ
ὅπως εἶναι στὸ τὸ ταμπούτι.

Πορίζω is of very common occurrence in the language of Crete, but is not used, as far as I am aware, in any other part of Greece or Turkey.

Some years later, during the protracted siege of Mesolónghi, Mustafá-pashá was encamped in the district of Mesóghia[4]. In order to produce a belief in Crete, that Mesolónghi, which the Greeks so heroically defended, had fallen, the Pashá more than once gave out, that he had received positive intelligence to that effect, and also fired salutes in honour of the event[5]. Before I left the island, I heard, from a Rumelióte, a song grounded on similar rumours, which were spread, by the Turks and their friends, elsewhere as well as in Crete. It will be observed that there are no rhymes in the verses of the original: in this respect it resembles the other songs of continental Greece[6].

[7]Would that on high I could ascend,
And like a bird could fly,
To gaze on Mesolónghi's walls
In distant Rúmeli.

[4] Mentioned above, p. 60.

[5] CORRESPONDANCE DU CONSUL DE FRANCE: "*Le* 30 *Decembre*, 1825. Mustafa bey—qui se trouve en ce moment à Kissamos, avait reçu une lettre qui lui annonçait—la nouvelle positive de la prise de Missolonghi. Il avait desuite fait tirer le canon, et avait donné l'ordre au Mousselim de la Canée de faire aussi tirer le canon dans cette forteresse, et à la Sude." Again, "*Le* 17 *Fevrier*, 1826. Il est evident dès lors que Mustafa bey, en faisant tirer, dans les forteresses de l'île de Candie, le canon pour annoncer que Missolonghi était prise, avait pour but d'intimider les bandes de Grecs insurgés, qui parcourent les montagnes de cette isle, et espérait, par ce moyen, obtenir leur soumission." The fall of Mesolónghi was not known at Khaniá till the beginning of May.

[6] FAURIEL, Discours préliminaire, p. CXX.

[7]Νὰ 'μοῦν πουλὶ νὰ πέτανα
νὰ πήγανα στοῦ ὑψηλοῦ
νὰ θώρουνα, στὴν Ῥούμελη,
τὸ δόλιον Μεσολόγγι·

This πουλὶ is of perpetual occurrence in the songs of Northern Greece.

To see with all the Moslem host
And four Pashás its fight,
While balls like drops of rain descend,
And bombs like hail alight.

To see there too the light tufécks
Like sands on the sea-shore;
They said that it surrendered had,
And would contend no more:

They said that Mesolónghi had
Submitted to the foe,
While still in war alone she seeks
Her bravery to shew.

The death of every chieftain who fell during the war is thus celebrated in popular songs[8]. I have heard several, in different parts of the island, in which Khadjí Mikháli's expedition to Crete, and his death near Fránko-Kástello in Sfakiá, were celebrated. The following are parts of one of the most interesting of them.

πῶς πολεμᾷ μὲ τὴν Τουρκιά,
μὲ τέσσαρους Πασάδαις,
πέφτουν αἱ μπάλλαις σὰ βροχή,
αἱ μπόμπαις σὰ χαλάζη·
κ᾽ αὐτὰ τὰ λιανὰ τουφέκια
σὰν ἄμμο τῆς θαλάσσης·
τὸ λέγαν νὰ παράδοθη,
τὸ λέγαν νὰ προσκυνήσῃ·
κ᾽ αὐτὸ γυρεύει πόλεμον
θέλει νὰ πολεμήσῃ.

[8] See those on the deaths of Búzo-Márko, Glemédh-Alí and Theódhoros, in Vol. I. pp. 78. 110. and 165.

[9] On every holy festival,
On Sunday, Easter-day,
Listen to what I now will tell,
Khadjí Mikháli's fray.

When the Grabúsians did write
Of their affairs the sum,
And it to the Moréa sent
That the Khadjí might come;

They also wrote to the Khadjí,
That ancient Moreíte,
That he should gather steeds of war,
And go down into Crete.

While at Anápli he collects
Horsemen full sixty-five,
That with them he to Crete may go
And with the Egyptians strive.

[9] Πᾶσα λαμπρὴ καὶ κυριακὴ
πᾶσ' ἑορτὴ μεγάλη
ἀφρουκαθῆτε νὰ σᾶς 'πῶ
διὰ τὸν Χατζὴ Μιχάλη.

'Εκάθσανι οἱ Γραμπουσιανοί
καὶ γράψαν ἀρζουχάλι·
στὸν Μορεάν τὸ πέψανι
νὰ 'λθῇ ὁ Χατζὴ Μιχάλη.

Καὶ πέψαν γράμμα τοῦ Χατζῆ
τοῦ παλαιοῦ Μορεΐτη,
νὰ περμαζώξῃ ἄλογα,
νὰ καταβῇ στὴν Κρήτη.

Στ' 'Ανάπλι μονομέρισε
ἑξῆντα πέντε ἀτλίδαις
στὴν Κρήτην διὰ νὰ καταβῇ
ἀποῦ 'ναι Μεσιρλίδαις.

His men, when they collected were,
He embark'd in ships of war:
He had selected Rumeliótes
Each a brave pallikár.

He went and landed all his men
Upon the desert shore;
And asked the Grabúsians
If they had powder in store.

"Powder have we, and balls in store
Wherewith the war to wage;
We only long thy steeds to see
On Creta's plains engage."

Yet, still, he ventured not to trust,
But to his boats did turn,
And landed at the port Lutró,
The truth that he might learn.

Ἀπεῖ τζὴ μονομέρισε
τζὴ ἔβαλε στὰ καράβια
ἐδιάλεξεν τζὴ Ῥούμελεις
τὰ ὥμορφα παλλικάρια.

Πάγει καὶ ξεβαρκάρε τζὴ
στὴν ἐρήμην Γραμποῦσα,
κ' ἠρώτα τζὴ Γραμπουσιανούς,
ἂν ἔχουνι μπαρούθια.

"Ἡμεῖς μπαρούθια ἔχομεν
βόλια νὰ πολεμοῦμεν,
ἄλογα μόνον θέλομεν
στὴν στερεὰν νὰ βγοῦνι."

Μὰ πάλιν δὲν ἐπίστεψε
μὰ 'μπῆκε στὰ καΐκια,
νὰ 'ξεβαρκάρῃ στὸ Λουτρό
νὰ μάθῃ τὴν ἀλήθεια.

There, on the shore, he Sfakians found,
Men all of tried valoúr,
And who, for every feat of war,
Were highly in honoúr.

"Come hither all ye Sfakians,
Come also ye Rhizítes,
That we may go and make revolt
E'en the Katomerítes.

Come hither all ye Sfakians,
Ye who are warriors hight,
Leave all your flocks, that we may rush
On the Moslem host in fight."

And the Pashá this news did find
Most grievous for to hear,
At Kástro, and at Rhíthymnos,
Where now it met each ear.

Εὑρίσκει ἐκεῖ τζὴ Σφακιανούς
ἀποῦ ἦτον ἀνδρειομένοι,
κ' ἤτονι, κ' εἰς τὸν πόλεμον,
περίσσια τιμημένοι.

"'Ελᾶσθε ὑσεῖς οἱ Σφακιανοί
καὶ νὰ 'λθουν κ' οἱ Ῥιζῖταις,
νὰ πάμε νὰ σηκώσωμεν
καὶ τζὴ Κατωμερῖταις.

'Ελᾶσθε ὑσεῖς οἱ Σφακιανοί
ἀποῦ εἶσθε παλλικάρια,
νὰ πολεμοῦμεν τὴν Τουρκιά,
κ' ἀφεῖσθε τὰ κοπάδια."

Καὶ ὁ Πασιάς, ὡς τ' ἄκουσε
πολλὰ τοῦ βαρυφάνει—
στὸ Κάστρο, καὶ στὸ Ῥίθυμνος
τὸ μουκιαρέμι φθάνει.

"Assemble all ye bravest men
Of Islam's faith, to-day:
That we may make this stranger flee
To the hills from out the fray.

For sure he'll perish midst the hills,
Or in the sea will fall;
Or we shall kill the man who comes
As if to meet my ball."

This speech when his Kiaias heard,
He turned, and said, "From war
This man will never flee, Pashá,
For he's a pallikár.

This is not a Lazópulo,
To the mountain-heights who springs,
But comes from out of Rúmeli,
And with him warriors brings.

"Περμαζωκτεῖτε τῆς Τουρκιάς
πρόβολα παλλικάρια,
νὰ πάμε νὰ τόνι σφίξωμεν
νὰ πιάσῃ τὴν μαδάρα.

Ἢ στὴν μαδάρα νὰ χαθῇ,
ἢ στὸ γιαλὸ νὰ πέσῃ,
ἢ νὰ τόνι σκοτώσωμεν,
γιατὶ ἦλθε σὰν πεσκέσι."

Μὰ ὁ Κιαιάς του τὸ ὁρικᾷ,
γυρίζει, καὶ τὸ *κάνει,
"Δὲν φεύγει, Μουσταφά-πασιά,
γιατὶ 'ναι παλλικάρι.

Δὲν εἶναι αὐτὸ Λαζόπουλος,
νὰ πιάσῃ τὴν μαδάρα,
μόνον εἶναι 'πὸ τὴν Ῥούμελη,
καὶ σύρνει παλλικάρια.

With him Bulgarian youths he counts,
Horsemen of worth approved:
And us full surely they'll destroy,
Howe'er we may be moved."

"Such fears, Kiaia, know not I!
Him, with his horsemen good,
Like herbs in salad I'll devour,
Or anchovies, for food."

* * *

The self-same hour that the Pashá
The unwelcome truth did ken,
Forth from the walls of Khaniá,
He marched with all his men.

* * *

Καὶ σύρνει Βουλγαρόπουλα,
ἀτλίδαις τιμημένοι,
καὶ θὰ μᾶσι, σκοτώσουσι,
καὶ ἂς εἴμεσθα γνοιασμένοι."

"Ἔτσι φοβοῦμαι 'γώ, Κιαιά;
μὲ τόσους καβαλλάρους
σὰν τὴν σαλάτα τρώγω τζή
ὡς τρώνι τζὴ ψαρογάρους."

* * *

Καὶ ὁ Πασιὰς ὡς τ' ἤκουσε
ἐκείνηνα τὴν ὥρα
μονομέρισε τζὴ ἄλλους του
καὶ βιαὶν' ἀπὸ τὴν χώρα.

* * *

The assemblage of all the Pashá's forces in the plain of Apokórona, is next described.

He bade the Kastrians too to advance,
With the Rhithymniótes,
That they might all their forces join
With those of the Khaniótes:

That when they came, and were conjoin'd,
In single column good,
They might proceed, to take and sack
Sfakiá, nor be withstood.

* * * *

They march, and all their forces join
At the Hellenic bridge,
And this the Christians also hear,
And flee to the mountain's ridge.

The passage of the Pashá, through the gorge of Askýfo, into Sfakiá, is followed by a description of the consultation (κοσούλτο) held by the Rumeliótes, near the southern shore. The advice of Kyriakúles is men-

Μηνούνι καὶ τῶν Καστρινῶν,
νὰ 'λθουν, κ'οἱ Ῥιθυμνιώταις,
νὰ 'λθοῦνι νὰ 'νταμώσουνι
μαζὴ μὲ τζὴ Χανιώταις·

Νὰ 'λθοῦνι νὰ 'νταμώσουνι,
νὰ κάμουνι κολώνα,
νὰ πάγουνι νὰ πατήσουνι
τῶν Σφακιανῶν τὴν χώρα.

Πάγουν καὶ μονομερίζουνι
τζὴ Ἑλληνικαῖς καμάραις,
καὶ τὸ γροικοῦνι κ'οἱ Ῥωμαιοί,
καὶ πιάνουνι τζὴ μαδάραις.

tioned: and also the directions given by Khadjí Mikháli himself. At the end of the latter's speech his troops, with one voice, exhort him not to expose his person in the approaching contest.

His warriors then, both great and small,
With voice united said,
"Share not, Khadjí, in this day's fight,
Thou only art our head.

Thou only art the head, Khadjí,
And refuge of thy host;
And, if the foe thy death should cause,
Then all our lives are lost."

It is in vain that they thus try to dissuade him from taking an active part in the combat: he answers them as follows:

"As once into the world I came,
So, any one can tell,
That I, like every other man,
Must bid it, once, farewell.

Τὸ ἀσχέρι τὸν παρακαλεῖ,
ὅλοι μικροὶ μεγάλοι,
"Χατζῆ μὴν μπῇς στὸν πόλεμον,
διατὶ εἶσαι τὸ κεφάλι.

Διατὶ εἶσαι τὸ κεφάλι μας,
καὶ διὰ *καταφυγήν μας,
κ' ἂν εἶναι νὰ σᾶς σκοτωσούν,
χάνωμεν τὴν ζωήν μας."

"Μία φόλα ἐγεννήθηκα,
μία φόλα θὰ 'ποθάνω,
καμμία νὰ τὸν ἀπαρνηθῶ
τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἀπάνω.

And nobler 'tis that I should fall,
Far nobler 'tis to die,
Than that my honour should sustain
Disgrace in every eye.

Do ye then saddle quick my horse,
Into the fight I'll speed:
I hear that the Pashá doth come,—
To take him is my meed."

The Khadjí next describes the probable events of the conflict, and gives fitting directions to his followers:

And then he offered up a prayer,
And aid from God did seek;
And next he took his own light sword
And hung it round his neck.

Καλήτερα νὰ σκοτωθῶ,
καλλιά 'χω νὰ 'ποθάνω,
παρὰ νὰ 'χω τὴν ἐντροπή
στὸν κόσμον τὸν ἀπάνω.

Σελλώσατέ μου τ' ἄλογο
στὸν πόλεμον νὰ κάψω,
καὶ ἀκούω ὁ Πασιὰς ἀποῦ ἔρχεται
νὰ πάγω νὰ τόνι πιάσω."

Νὰ κάψω: this verb is of constant use in Crete, and is, I think, peculiar to the Cretans.

Καὶ κάνει παρακάλεσιν
δέησιν στὸ θεόν του,
καὶ πιάνει τ' ἀλαφρὸ σπαθί,
κρεμνᾷ τὸ στὸ λαιμόν του.

Then, offering up another prayer,
The cross's sign he made:
His pistols next he duly took
And in his girdle laid.

Scarce had he vaulted in his seat,
When wept his charger good;
And then he understood full well
His death it did forbode.

He offered up another prayer,
And in his saddle sate;
Then onward spurred his trusty steed
From out the castle gate.

Καὶ κάνει παρακάλεσιν
καὶ τὸ σταυρόν του κάνει,
καὶ πιάνει τὰ πιστόλια του,
εἰς τὴν μέσην του τὰ βάνει.

Ὥντεν ἐκαβαλλίκενε
ἔκλαιε τ' ἄλογό του·
καὶ τότεσα τὸ ἐγνώρισε
πῶς εἶναι ὁ θάνατός του.

Of the truth of this incident I was assured by many other Cretan peasants, besides those from whom I learnt the song. The notion is full three thousand years old, and is beautifully expressed by HOMER, IL. XVII. 436.

Ὣς μένον ἀσφαλέως περικαλλέα δίφρον ἔχοντε,
οὔδει ἐνισκίμψαντε καρήατα· δάκρυα δέ σφι
θερμὰ κατὰ βλεφάρων χαμάδις ῥέε μυρομένοιϊν,
ἠνιόχοιο ποθῇ· θαλερὴ δὲ μιαίνετο χαίτη.

The Cretan poet, however, endues his steed not with mere human affections, but with foreknowledge of the fate which was about to befal his rider.

Ἔκανε παρακάλεσιν,
στὴν σέλλαν τοῦ καθίζει·
δούδει βιτζιὰ τ' ἀλόγου του,
εἰς τὴν πόρτα 'ξωπορίζει.

The song ends with an account of the affray, and of the vain prowess of the Khadjí; who soon paid the price of his temerity, although, for awhile, "the Mohammedan host trembled as it saw the war which he waged."

LAKI.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

MOSQUES IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS OF CRETE. A CATERPILLAR INJURES THE VINES IN SELINO. ANCIENT AND MODERN SUPERSTITIONS. PRODUCE OF AN OLIVE-TREE IN SELINO. SNOW NOT COMMON AT THE SEA LEVEL IN CRETE. RIDE TO LAKUS. AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAKIOTES. A PASSAGE IN THE HISTORY OF THE VENETIAN RULE IN CRETE. THE ANCIENT CTTY RHIZENIA. PREPARATIONS FOR EASTER SUNDAY.

*May* 2.

THE Cretan converts to Islamism have erected but few mosques out of the principal towns of the island. There are, however, three in the eparkhía of Sélino, which does not possess a single Greek monastery.

In this neighbourhood a small insect called Kampia[1] eats the young sprouts[2] of the vine about this time of

[1] The word used was *κάμπια*: the ancient name is *κάμπη*.

[2] *Τοὺς βλαστούς*.

the year. On account of its ravages last year, my host obtained only six místata of wine from his vineyard, which ought to have produced fifty místata; in Kísamos, the same quantity of ground, ten days' work[3] of a man, would produce nearly two hundred místata.

This caterpillar sometimes infested the vineyards of the ancients, as it now does those of the moderns in the district of Sélino. In order to free the vine from its ravages, various superstitious charms used to be practised, some of which were of a very extraordinary kind, and must remain veiled in the decent obscurity of a learned language[4]. In more recent times a supposed remedy consisted in summoning the offenders into a court of law. As soon as they were thus publicly called on, to answer for their depredations, it is gravely said that they at once abandoned the vineyard[5].

In the district of Sélino, where the olive-trees are very fine, nearly two trees are ordinarily required to produce a místaton of oil: sometimes three roots would be requisite. A village here producing one hundred

[3] Μεροκάματα, from ἡμεροκάματον.

[4] Geoponica, xii. 8. p. 858. Aelian, N. A. vi. 36. Pliny, N. H. xvii. 47. Columella, Hort. 357.

> At si nulla valet medicina repellere pestem,
> Dardaniae veniant artes, nudataque plantas
> Foemina, quae, justis tum demum operata juventae
> Legibus, obscoeno manat pudibunda cruore;
> Et resoluta sinus, resoluto moesta capillo,
> Ter circum areolas et sepem ducitur horti.
> Quae cum lustravit gradiens, mirabile visu,
> Volvitur ad terram distorto corpore campe.

The κάμπη does not confine its attacks to the vine: see Theophrastus, H. P. iii. 22. 3. p. 486. and Athenaeus, ii. p. 55. e.

[5] Leo Allatius, de quorund. Graec. Opinat. p. 177. Relatum mihi est, opportunissimum remedium esse, si illi, tanquam rei, per praeconem, aut libello scripto, per nomina in curiam ad judices citentur. *Sic enim vel illico evanescunt.* Si pergunt adferre noxam, repetita citatione proclamantur. Ubi pertinacius persistunt, in contumaces sententia pronunciatur. Sunt etiam, qui pro damno, jam accepto, et detrimento, testes examinant. Mirum esse dicunt, vermiculos, qui omnia tolerant, judicium non sustinere; sed repente, ne deprehensi poenas luant, eodem tempore diffugere, atque evanescere. See another extraordinary remedy against the poor kampe prescribed by Michael Psellus, and another practised by Tuscan monks, at pp. 178–179. of the same work.

místata would probably possess nearly two hundred roots of olives. I am told here, as in every other place where I have made enquiries, respecting the consumption of oil by each Cretan family, that it may be estimated at four okes a week, at the least. A mother will hardly give bread to her children without pouring them out some oil into a dish, that they may moisten the staff of life, and render it more savoury, before eating it. Oil is used with all kinds of vegetables, as well as in preparing every sort of meat and fish: in short it enters into every dish in Crete, and though all Greeks use a good deal of it, there is a much greater general consumption of it in this island than elsewhere. "The Cretans are used to it," say they, as I have already mentioned[6], and it is perhaps the only article in which no one ever thinks of stinting himself.

Even at this elevation, which, with mountains so much loftier in sight, does not seem very great, the snow usually lies several feet deep for some days in December or January. Last winter was unusually severe here: snow fell even on the island of Gávdha. The severity of the last winter was however general throughout the east.

After breakfasting on eggs, milk, bread and cheese, we start and reach Epáno-khorió in fifty minutes. Haghía Iréne is a mile to the north-east of Epáno-khorió. I hear at both these villages most unfavourable accounts of the *descent* by which, after reaching the elevated plain called 'Omalos, it is usual to enter Sfakiá, the people all doubting whether a horse like mine would be able to pass one part of the road called Xylóskalo[7] with safety; and agreeing that the *probabilities* were that he would miss his footing, and be dashed to pieces. About the mules no fears are entertained: "they are accustomed to the bad road[8]." Not wishing my horse

[6] Οἱ Κρητικοὶ εἶναι μαθημένοι εἰς τὸ λάδι· see Vol. I. p. 121.

[7] Τὸ Ξυλόσκαλο, a term which sufficiently explains its own meaning.

[8] Εἶναι μαθημένα εἰς τὸ κακόβολον.

to meet with any accident, I determined to go to Láki, and thence, if I shall hear no better accounts of the Xylóskalo, to traverse the Rhízoma, and part of the plain of Apokórona, and thus to enter Sfakiá by the ordinary pass of Askýfo.

Having come to this decision, I leave Haghía Iréne at a quarter past ten, and soon after meet three Greeks who are driving two mules and an ass all laden with manufactures of various kinds, brought from Sýra, and which they are now going to dispose of in the different villages hereabouts. At a quarter past eleven, we reach the summit of this long ascent, and again have a view of both the Cretan and African seas. The plain of 'Omalos is about five miles to the east: it is three or four miles wide and five or six long. As we descend on the north side of the mountain-chain, which we have just crossed, the Akrotéri, Cape Spádha and the whole gulf of Khaniá come into view. We halt from soon after twelve till near one, and my companion makes a sketch of the wide view which we have before us. At twenty minutes before three we reach Orthúni, and, in about an hour more, arrive at the considerable village of Láki.

The snow-clad mountains, visible from Láki, have each of them a particular name. To the south-east is Aliákes, to the south-west, or nearly so, is Agúzi, and between these two is Papalákos.

The Lakiótes acted a most conspicuous and honourable part in the war. This was partly owing to their active habits, caused by the mountainous nature of their country; but still more to their having been accustomed to the use of fire-arms, both for the chase on their neighbouring mountains, and for less innocent objects, which, in so wild and savage a state of society as that which existed in Crete, before the outbreaking of the Greek revolution, used constantly to offer themselves. In those times they used often to have petty wars with the Turks: that is, a Lakióte would cut off a Turk

who had given him what he thought a just cause of offence, and, if the perpetrator of the crime was found out, the Pashá would come to the village with a sufficient force, and burn his house, &c. If he was not found out, a heavy fine was imposed on the village. Old Nikolúdhes, my host, the proestós or head-man of Láki, had his house burnt in this way no less than three times: it was also twice confiscated by the Pashá, along with all the property of his uncle and relations. In these petty wars Nikolúdhes received nine gun-shot wounds, three of which, since his vest and shirt were open, the day being very warm, I saw on his breast the moment I first spoke to him.

In the same good old times[9], if any one had an enemy and had also a Sfakian friend, he used to avail himself of the latter, in order to get the other put out of the way. It was simply necessary to intimate his wish, and to make at the same time a suitable present, and the Sfakian would at once watch for his opportunity, and soon give the desired proof of his friendship[10].

Krustoghérako in Sélino, and some villages in the immediate neighbourhood of Láki, were the scenes of atrocities, while Crete belonged to the Most Serene Republic, such as in all probability have never been perpetrated by any Pashá in any part of the Turkish empire. The following account of the proceedings of Venetian nobles, and of the public representatives of Venice in the island, is drawn from the manuscript account of a Venetian writer, who plainly approves of the atrocities which he describes[11].

[9] Singularly enough the Greeks almost always say, in speaking of the period before the insurrection, *εἰς τὸν καλὸν καιρόν*.

[10] Maniás admitted the truth of the Lakióte's relation, and defended the conduct of his countrymen: "for after all it is nothing when is is done for the sake of a friend"—*καὶ πάντα, πάντα, διὰ ἕνα φίρον δὲν εἶναι τίποτες*.

[11] This manuscript is in the Raccolta Correr, and is numbered 766. Its title is "Racconto di varie cose, successe nel regno di Candia, dall' anno 1182 che si sono rubellati dalla devotione all' Imperio Greco, sino l'anno 1669 che restò al poter dell' Imperio Ottomano. Formato dal Sign^r. Trivan Pub^co. nodaro Ducale."

From the time of the great revolt in the year 1363[12], the island remained tranquil, under the Venetian government, till the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time, however, the Greeks of Sélino, Sfakiá, and the Rhíza, including some villages situated almost on the very plain of Khaniá, united together and refused to obey the representatives of Venice. Their leaders were George Gadhanole, a native of Krustoghérako, the Paterópuli of Sfakiá, and some other families of the Archontópuli, as they were called. Gadhanole was elected Rector (Rettore, Ῥετούρης) of these provinces. Each department of the new administration was filled by its proper officers, all appointed by the Rector. Thus duties and taxes were now paid, not to the Venetian, but to the Greek authorities; and two independent powers coexisted for some time in the island. At length the Greek Rector suddenly presented himself at the country house of Francesco Molini, a Venetian noble, in the neighbourhood of Khaniá, and asked his daughter in marriage for Petro, "the most beautiful and the bravest of all his sons[13];" and in whose favour the Rector declared his intention of resigning his office, on the celebration of the marriage. The alliance was agreed on; the "Rettore" gave his son a massive gold ring, and the betrothal at once took place. The youth kissed his future bride, and placed the ring on her finger[14]: the wedding was to be solemnized the next Sunday week, at the Venetian's country house, a few miles out of Khaniá. Molini was merely to send for a notary and a few friends[15], and Gadhanole, with his son, was to be accompanied by a train not exceeding five hundred men. The Greeks left the country-house

[12] See above, p. 53.

[13] Trivan, l. c. fol. 29. "E il più bello e bravo di tutti li altri miei figliuoli."

[14] "La baciò, e gli mise l' anelo in dito, baciandola pure anco il vecchio suo padre."

[15] "Tre o quattro gentilhuomini."

of the Venetian gentleman without for an instant suspecting that he meditated any foul play[16].

The following morning Molini visited the Governor of Khaniá, and obtained his promise of co-operation in an attempt to obtain, for the supposed indignity, a satisfaction "which might serve as an example to posterity[17]." In order, however, to prevent any suspicion of his good faith, Molini despatched tailors to his country-house, to prepare new dresses for the wedding, and also sent presents of fine cloth to his future son-in-law. During the next few days, the Governor of Khaniá assembled about a hundred and fifty horsemen, and seventeen hundred foot-soldiers, within the city.

On the day before the wedding, Molini went from Khaniá to his house at Alikianó, accompanied by about fifty of his friends, to be present at the marriage on the morrow. He gave orders for roasting a hundred sheep and oxen, and for making all due preparations to celebrate the nuptials with becoming splendour. The Greek Rector arrived, accompanied by about three hundred and fifty men and one hundred women, on the Sunday morning, and was delighted at all that he witnessed. He was received by Molini with every demonstration of kindness and affection. After the marriage ceremony, the day was naturally spent in festivity and rejoicing. The Greeks eat and drank, and danced and sang. The Venetian sedulously plied his guests with wine, and the intoxication which was pretended by the Venetian nobles present, all of whom were parties to the plot, really overcame the whole host of the unfortunate and too confiding Greeks. Some time after sun-set, a rocket thrown up at Khaniá gave notice, to the Venetians, of the approach of the troops to consummate their design. The Greeks, overpowered by wine and sleep, were all dispersed about the palace.

[16] "Spensierati d' ogni altro sospetto."

[17] "Che servirebbe d' esempio a' posteri."

As soon as the military force arrived, most of the destined victims were at once bound hand and foot, but were suffered to sleep on till near sun-rise. At day-break Molini and the Public Representative of the Most Serene Republic hung the Greek Rector, the unfortunate bridegroom, and one of his younger brothers. Of the family of the Musúri three were shot, and the rest hanged on trees. Of the Kondí, sixteen were present, eight of whom the Venetians hung, and sent the others to the galleys in chains. All the rest of the ill-fated prisoners were divided into four parties: not, however, with any intention, on the part of their ferocious and treacherous foes, of mitigating the penalty to be exacted from them, for an equally merciless fate awaited them all. The Venetians hung the first division of them at the gate of Khaniá, the second at Krustoghérako, which village, the birth-place of Gadhanole, was also razed to the ground; the third at the castle of Apokórona, and the fourth on the mountains between Láki and Thériso, above Mesklá, to which village Gadhanole had removed from Krustoghérako.

"Thus," says the Venetian Chronicler, who proves himself a worthy reciter of such barbarities of his countrymen, "they were annihilated, and all men who were faithful and devoted to God and their Prince were solaced and consoled[18]."

The Senate at Venice, however, did not think the consolation it thus received sufficient; but elected one Cavalli as Proveditor, giving him the fullest authorities for extirpating the seditious Greeks[19]. In executing these instructions he marched out of Khaniá a little before midnight, and surprised the village of Fotigniacó, near Murniés, and about four miles from Khaniá, accompanied by all his troops. They surrounded the place, and dragged all its inhabitants, men, women and children,

[18] "Et li huomini fideli et divoti di Dio e del loro Prencipe solevati et consolati."

[19] "Per l' estirpazione degli huomini seditiosi."

out of their houses. They then set on fire every dwelling in the village[20], and, at day-break, the orders of the Venetian Senate began to be fully accomplished. Twelve of the Greek Primates[21] were hanged, and, "to cause still greater fear," Capelli sought out the pregnant wives of four of the principal persons of the place, and "cutting open their bodies with large knives," tore forth their unborn children; "an act which truly inspired very great terror throughout the whole district[22]." This was the deliberate proceeding of a high public functionary of the Venetian Senate! "It is true," adds the Chronicler, "their crimes merited a severer punishment, and such also followed[23]." For all the captives were conducted into the city, with their families, and great numbers of them were there put to death[24]: the rest "were transported from Crete to 'the three islands[25],' so that the wicked race was thus eradicated." Five or six individuals alone escaped, at the moment when Cavalli arrived, like a midnight murderer, and found refuge in the villages of Murniés and Kertomádhes[26].

Cavalli, after so satisfactory a commencement, pressed onward in his course, and next required all the Greeks of Kástel-Fránko, Apokórona, Sfakiá, Sélino, and Kísamos, "to appear in the city, and make their sub-

[20] It contained four hundred inhabitants. During the following days the Venetians compelled the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages to remove every stone from the place, so that not a vestige of it was left.

[21] "Dodici dei più primati."

[22] "Per maggior spavento fece ritrovar quatro donne gravide, moglie de' Capurioni, le quali *con cortellazzi fece aprire il loro ventre, et cavatoli fuori i bambini—questo atto veramente fece grandissimo terore a tutto il contado.*"

[23] "Meritavano peggiò castigo, et tanto anco seguì."

[24] "Fece prima decapitar et appiccar una quantità di loro."

[25] "Nelle tre isole."

[26] I suppose these proceedings of Cavalli are alluded to by GIULIO DE' GARZONI, in his Report to the Senate, (see above, Vol. I. p. 31.) when he says, speaking of the Sfakians, "Si sono quelle genti alle volte mostrate disobedienti alla Serenità V., et hanno convenuto li magistrati *darli sacco et tagliarne a pezzi molti, et altri levare dalle proprie habitazioni*, come fece l'Eccellentissimo Cavalli, con giusta causa nota alla Serenità V."

mission." Some of them ventured to do so, but the leading families, and the mountaineers, could not trust themselves to the word or mercy of persons, by whom all ordinary principles of justice and humanity were so wholly disregarded. Their property was therefore declared confiscated, their lives forfeited, and a price was set on their heads. The life of any inhabitant of the several proscribed districts could only be redeemed on a condition, which is perhaps more revolting to the common feelings of mankind, than any other savage act of these unchristian rulers. Pardon was promised to any one of the proscribed, on condition that he produced, in Khaniá, "*the head of his father, or brother, or cousin, or nephew.*" This generous humanity was extended even further: each additional head which one man might bring into the city, would entitle him to demand from the governor the forfeited life of another relation. It is painful to learn, that the lives of many of the unfortunate objects of this barbarous and inhuman persecution, were thus redeemed by the deaths of their dearest relatives[27].

At length a priest, of the family of the Patéri-Zapa, entered the city, accompanied by his two sons, and by two of his brothers, each individual of the mournful party carrying in his hand a human head. We know, from the terms of the Venetian law, how near and dear those who had thus heroically died, must have been to the five survivors, whose lives could only be rendered secure by this dreadful sacrifice[28]. The wretched men placed their bleeding offerings before the Signor Cavalli, and the other representatives of Venice, and with the bitterest tears stated whose heads they were[29]. The facts

[27] "In tal modo furono seguiti diversi accommodamenti, et non in altro modo."

[28] Of the five heads, the first belonged to a son of the priest, the second to one of his brothers, the third to his son-in-law, and the fourth and fifth to sons of one of his brothers.

[29] "Le gittò alla presenza del S^r. Cavallì, et delli altri Rappresentanti, et con amarissime lacrime rappresentava a quali fussero esse teste."

were duly established by witnesses: even the governor, who had been sent to Crete, in order "to extirpate" the seditious Greeks, was moved: and the law was at length abolished.

The sketch engraved at the head of this chapter suggests a good idea of Láki; the house of my host is near the little church, on the ridge on which part of the village stands.

Close as we are to the Sfakian frontier, which is only six or seven miles off, above Omalos, I do not find in the conversation of these Lakiótes the slightest trace of those peculiarities of dialect which characterize the Sfakians. The Lakiótes also differ from the inhabitants of the loftier mountains in their bodily appearance, for though perhaps as active looking as any men in the world, yet they approach not in the least the lofty stature and commanding aspect of the Sfakians.

Thériso, which is about as celebrated as Láki in the history of the early events of the insurrection, is four miles to the east. Láki and Thériso are the principal places of what is called the Rhíza[30]. The whole of the district containing the lower slopes of the White Mountains, and lying to the south of the more level parts of Apokórona and the district of Khaniá, is called by this name. Now there was an ancient Cretan city, Rhizenia, which is mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium[31]. In a mountainous country like Crete, there are many places for which Rhiza or Rhizenia would be an appropriate name, and it is impossible to assign, with any confidence, the precise situation of this ancient city. At all events it may have been somewhere on this Rhíza, along the whole of which we find indications of the existence of only two cities, Lappa and Polichna.

[30] See above, Vol. I. p. 18.

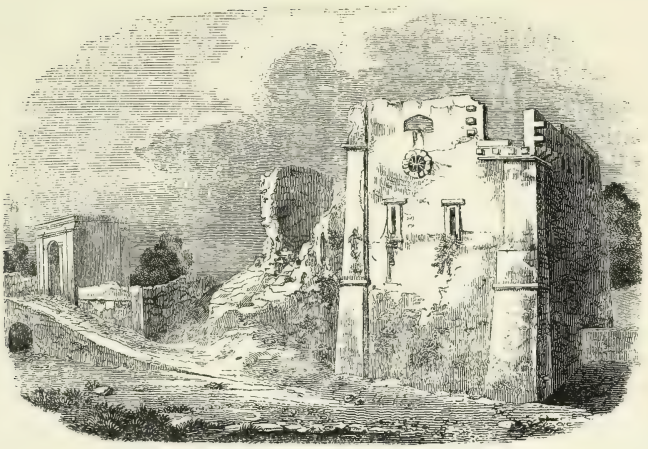
[31] STEPHANUS BYZANT. Ῥιζηνία, πόλις Κρήτης. ὁ πολίτης Ῥιζηνιάτης.

The eparkhía of Rhizó-kastron probably derived its name from the fact of its "Castello" being near the western foot of the mountains, which spread over a great part of its extent. The Rhíza of these mountains and the Kástron of the district were in the same neighbourhood, and Rhizó-kastron thus became the name, first of the fortress, and next of the eparkhía. I do not, however, feel disposed to place Rhizenia in the district of Rhizó-kastron, for the sites of Pyranthos and Asterusia, of Priansos and Inatos, sufficiently occupy the ground in that part of the island.

We find the Greeks of Láki already beginning to prepare for the festivities of Easter Sunday, which, with them, after so long and so severe a fast, is welcomed with feelings to which Protestant and even Catholic Christians are strangers. The severities of the endless Sarakosté or Lent have been very frequently endured by us, especially when it was rather late before we arrived at our resting-place for the night; and these privations, added to the fatigue of moving early every morning, and of being actively employed ten, twelve and sometimes fourteen hours daily, have at length made my companion so weak and unwell, that it seems prudent for him not to venture into the Sfakian mountains, where illness would be a very serious matter, since medical aid could be obtained only from Khaniá. It is therefore decided that he shall return to the city, leaving me to prosecute my journey, and to explore the unknown regions of the Sfakian mountains without him, but still accompanied by the faithful and talkative Maniás.

Wishing much to enter Sfakiá by Xylóskalo, I again make inquiries as to the practicability of the descent; and am assured by the villagers, that even mules ought to be habituated to such a road in order to be depended on. Not long since a Lakióte went with his mule for the first time: the poor beast started back on seeing the precipice, and, losing its footing, was precipitated

to the bottom. Now, anxious as I was to see the wild scenery of this pass, I had no wish to meet with any such accident, and therefore, at last, determined to go round by the plain of Apokórona, and to enter the White Mountains by the common defile of Askýfo.



ALIDHAKI'S TOWER AT PROSNERO.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

DEPARTURE FROM LAKI. MESKLA, THERISO, DHRAKONA. EVENTS AT KERAMIA IN JUNE 1821. KAMPI. THE PASCHAL LAMB. RHAMNE, FRE, AND IPO. OLIVE-TREES OF APOKORONA. THE COMMON RETURN FOR THE INVESTMENT OF CAPITAL IN CRETE. EASTER-SUNDAY, WITH ITS FESTIVITIES, SALUTATIONS AND SUPERSTITIONS. SONG ON THE CAPTURE OF ADRIANOPLE BY THE MOHAMMEDANS. PYRGO OF ALIDHAKI AT PROSNERO. DEFILE OF ASKYFO. GREAT ROUT AND SLAUGHTER OF MOHAMMEDANS IN AUGUST, 1821. PLAIN OF ASKYFO. ARRIVAL AT ONE OF THE HAMLETS OF ASKYFO. PROCEEDINGS OF THE EGYPTIANS IN 1833.

*May* 3.

I LEAVE Láki at half past six, and, after a rugged descent, performed chiefly on foot, to Meskla, cross the rapid stream, which here, as well as nearer the shore, before passing Plataniá, is shaded by lofty plane-trees, almost all with vines twining round them. I now begin

an ascent which lasts for near an hour, when I arrive at the village of Thériso. The number of olive-trees about these villages of the Rhíza is not great; neither is there much arable land near them: the flocks of the district are however numerous. I pass through the straggling and well-shaded village of Thériso; and, continuing my course nearly due eastward, for upwards of an hour, arrive at Dhrakóna, one of the villages classed together under the common name of Kerámia.

It was in a village of this district of Kerámia, that blood was first shed in June 1821, when the Sfakians, and as many Rhizítes as possessed arms, raised the standard of the Cross. The súbashi of Kerámia is said to have been shot by the Christians, on the 17th (29th) of June. The following morning the Mohammedans issued out of Khaniá, one division of them going to Kerámia, and the other to Alikianó-Vatólako, a little below Láki. The Mohammedans carried off the head of a single Christian from the scene of their conflict at Kerámia, but had the worse of the engagement at both places. The Christians were always victorious, while the Khanióte-Mohammedans were without aid from the other cities. Hence the Austrian Consul, writing on the 15th of August 1821, says, "Les Turcs ont fait plusieures sorties et ont toujours été repoussés avec perte:" and thus the correligionaries of these unwarlike Moslems sang, as they approached Khaniá,

Ἐλᾶτ' ὑσεῖς οἱ Καστρινοί,
κ' ἡμεῖς οἱ Ῥιθυμνιώταις,
νὰ πάμε, νὰ γλυτώσωμεν
τζὴ κλέφταις τζὴ Χανιώταις.

Press onward, all ye Kastrians,
With us Rhithymniótes,
That we may go and save from death
The cowardly Khaniótes.

Dhrakóna contains about thirty-eight houses: all its inhabitants are Christians, as is the case with nearly every village of the Rhíza. I remain here about half an hour. Soon after eleven o'clock we have before us Kendros, Mount Ida, the hills beyond the plain of Mylopótamo, and the bay of Rhíthymnos. Kendros now retains a mere sprinkling of snow, and the High Mountain himself, Pselorítes, as Ida is emphatically called by the modern Cretans, although for at least a thousand feet from his highest peak he had on a thick covering of snow only a fortnight ago, now shows strips of his rocky surface almost to his very summit. I pass Kámpi, the last village in the district of Khaniá, at half past eleven. Its Christian population is assembled at the church. Every one, of both sexes, is dressed in his or her gayest apparel. All are gladly bidding adieu to the last day of their Lent. I have seen many lambs this morning: some already slaughtered for to-morrow's feast: others tethered and destined to live only a few hours.

> Pleased to the last each crops his flowery food,
> And licks the hand just raised to shed his blood.

We are reminded of the Jewish paschal lamb, both by the Lampré or Easter-Sunday of the Greeks, and by the Kurbán-bairám or Feast of Sacrifice of the Mohammedans. Every true believer, whose means enable him to incur such an expense, is expected to kill a sheep on that occasion: its flesh, however, is not consumed in merry-making, but is, I am told, ordinarily distributed among the poor. As I noticed this morning the tethered lambs, on passing the cottages of Christians, so, for a few days before the Kurbán-bairám[1], I saw fine fat sheep tied up in half the shops of the bazár of Khaniá.

At a few minutes after one I arrive at Rhamné, and obtain some refreshment in the house of my former host[2].

[1] See above, p. 21. [2] See Vol. I. p. 65.

At two o'clock I leave Rhamné, and, in about an hour and a quarter, arrive at Pemónia: in descending towards this village, I had a fine view of the plain of Apokórona, bounded by the Sfakian mountains on the right and by the gulf of Armyró before us, Mount Ida of course remaining in sight. Fré, one of the most considerable villages of Apokórona, is only about a mile distant from Pemónia: olive-trees cover the plain between the two places. At Fré I remained about an hour with the priest of the village: he was one of the deputies sent to Murniés last autumn, and also one of the delegates who carried petitions to the Consuls. It is said that his name was included in the list of the proscribed, but that remonstrances were made to the Pashá by some of those about his person, respecting the disgrace of suffering the execution of a man in whose house he had so often eaten bread and drank water. The Papás's house was for some time the Pashá's head-quarters, when the Arab troops were cantoned in the different villages of Apokórona. I leave Fré at half past five, and, after passing the village of Dzidzifé, I arrive at 'Ipos at a quarter before seven: I lodge in the house of a gossip of my Sfakian guide.

The corn-land in the plain of Apokórona usually gives a return of from fifteen to twenty fold the quantity of seed. I am assured that, not long ago, three measures of barley, produced a crop of nearly ninety measures. The olive-trees of Apokórona are generally small: they are very unlike the magnificent trees of Sélino: it is said, that for a thousand mistata no less than four thousand roots are here required. A wealthy Turk, who was sent into exile last winter, after the affair of Murniés, in which the government thought proper to suppose him implicated, possesses about sixteen thousand roots of olives, and their mean produce is not much above three thousand mistata. The villagers put the weekly consumption of oil, in each family, at four okes and a half. Each olive-tree sells here for from

fifteen to twenty piastres: some may fetch thirty: a tree here and there, if unusually large and fruitful, may occasionally sell for more than double the latter sum; but of this last class there are few in Apokórona. If the arable field in which the olives stand is good, it will also be worth a hundred piastres the measure[3]. A calculation of the return made for the investment of capital at these prices, will give about thirty or even thirty-five per cent. as its annual amount: and this is not more than is really obtained. About three years' purchase is the ordinary price of land: I have met with cases where it has been obtained for a good deal less. The most ample security can be had for money, on mortgage of land and property far exceeding in value the sum borrowed: and, for a loan thus obtained, the rate of interest is sometimes as low as fifteen per cent.; in the case of a monastery it may be even less; but, for a private individual, it commonly amounts to nearer thirty. This is all quite natural; for the country is very fertile, and money, wherever it is applied to cultivate the soil and develope its dormant powers, produces so large a return, that the borrower can well afford to pay twenty and even thirty per cent. for the use of it.

Maniás and his gossip sit down this evening to a dish of snails[4], a luxury in which the Greek is allowed to indulge even on his most rigorous fasts. The snails of Crete are highly prized in the Levant; and they are one of the regular exports of the island. The Christian populations of Constantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria all enjoy this delicacy during the fasts of the Oriental church.

'Ipo produces good wine, and I obtained some this evening: I also found wine last night at Láki: I did not once obtain it during the days which I have lately spent in the province of Sélino[5].

[3] Τὸ μισούρι.
[4] Κοχλιούς.
[5] See above, p. 147.

*May* 4.

This is the Easter-Sunday[6] of the Greeks: I arise, as usual, with the dawn, but find that Maniás and his gossip have been absent from the house near two hours: the ceremonies of the Greek church begin at as early an hour, especially on her great festivals, as did those of our own Roman Catholic ancestors in Old England.

> At midnight then, with carefull mind, they up to mattens ries,
> The clarke doth come, and, after him, the priest with staring eies[7].

The pious Greeks did not return till some time after sunrise, since they remained to assist at the ceremony of the resurrection[8], and at the burning of Judas. Each house of the village contributes a portion of the wood, of which a huge fire is made, and then, while the priest reads or chants the liturgy, a rude painting of Judas is thrown into the flames.

The modern Greek delights in representations of the suffering, burial and resurrection of Christ[9]. It was easier to transfer the ceremonies of paganism to a new object than wholly to abandon them. We have already seen, that the ancient Cretan used annually to commemorate the marriage of the two Supreme Deities

[6] Ἡ Λαμπρή.

[7] BARNABE GOOGE, The Popish Kingdom, fol. 52. quoted in BRAND'S Popular Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 138.

[8] Ἡ Ἀνάστασις.

[9] CHANDLER, Travels in Asia Minor, c. XLVII. "The Greeks now celebrated Easter. A small bier, prettily decked with orange and citron buds, jasmine, flowers, and boughs, was placed in the church, with a Christ crucified, rudely painted on the board, for the body. We saw it in the evening; and before day-break were suddenly awakened by the blaze and crackling of a large bonfire, with singing and shouting in honour of the resurrection." HUGHES, Travels in Greece and Albania, Vol. I. p. 405. "It was Easter Sunday—a solemn piece of mummery is this day peformed; when a wooden image, representing Christ's body, which had been buried in a kind of sepulchre, on the preceding Good Friday, with mournful lamentations, is now raised up and shewn by the papas to the people, who view it with every demonstration of joy, and salute it with long-continued exclamations of Χριστὸς ἀνέστη."

of Heaven, Zeus and Here, by a mimetic exhibition[10]. Thus the festival of Adonis was celebrated at Alexandria; and thus also at Cyprus a part of the religious ceremonies, by which Ariadne-Aphrodite was annually honoured, consisted in the imitation, by a young man reclining on a sofa, of a woman or goddess suffering the pangs of parturition[11].

As the Cretan Christian addressed his Mohammedan friend, a fortnight ago[12], with the words "Good Bairám, gossip[13]," so the Mohammedan now returns the compliment by a "Good Easter[14]," when he meets a Christian of his acquaintance. The ordinary Christian salutation, of the Oriental church, at this season, "Christ is risen[15]," with the uniform reply, "Truly he is risen[16]," cannot, of course, be exchanged between Christians and Mohammedans.

A little song, which I have heard sung by Maniás, mentions this "Christ is risen," as the peculiar characteristic of Easter-day, and is, on other accounts, interesting enough to deserve being recorded.

Each nightingale of Vlakiá,
And, in the west, each bird,
At eve, and morn, and at mid-day,
With plaintive note is heard,

Bewailing Adrianopolis,
And her disastrous fate!
Since now no more the three great feasts
She dares to celebrate.

[10] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 72. and above, Vol. I. p. 204.

[11] PLUTARCH, Theseus, XX. p. 41. Reisk. Ἐν δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ, τοῦ Γορπιαίου μηνὸς ἰσταμένου δευτέρᾳ, κατακλινόμενόν τινα τῶν νεανίσκων φθέγγεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν ἅπερ ὠδίνουσαι γυναῖκες· καλεῖν δὲ τὸ ἄλσος Ἀμαθουσίους, ἐν ᾧ τὸν τάφον δεικνύουσιν, Ἀριάδνης Ἀφροδίτης.

[12] See above, p. 21. and Vol. I. p. 11.

[13] Καλὸ Μπαϊράμι κουμπάρη.

[14] Καλὴ Λαμπρή.

[15] Χριστὸς ἀνέστη.

[16] Ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη.

No more are tapers lighted up
On the birth-day of our Lord:
Nor, henceforth, will a single branch
The day of palms afford.

No more, on Easter-day, each voice
Of greeting in her streets,
"Our Christ is risen:" "True he's risen:"
Those blessed words, repeats[17].

It is evident that the event deplored in this ditty is the capture of Adrianople, by Amurath the First, and its conversion into the chief seat of his government and religion in Europe[18]. I suppose the Greek verses to be of nearly the same date as the event which gave rise to them: they have thus been orally preserved for between four and five hundred years.

Maniás and our host sit down to an early meal of roast lamb: an agreeable contrast to the privations of

[17] Κλαίγουν τ' ἀηδόνια τῆς Βλακιάς,
καὶ τὰ πουλιά στὴν δύσιν,
κλαίγουν ἀργά, κλαίγουν ταχεά,
κλαίγουν τὸ μεσημέρι·
κλαίγουν τὴν Ἀδριανούπολιν,
τὴν βαρεά κρουσμένην,
ἀποῦ τὴν ἐκρουσέψανι
τζὴ τρεῖς ὀρταὶς τοῦ χρόνου.
τοῦ Χριστουγέννου γιὰ κηρί,
καὶ τοῦ βαΐου γιὰ βάϊα,
καὶ τῆς Λαμπρῆς τὴν κυριακήν
γιὰ τὸ, "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη."

[18] GIBBON, Decline and Fall, c. LXIV. HAMMER, Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, Vol. I. Book V. p. 164. (ed. Pest, 1827.) gives the year 763 of the Mohammedan era, or 1361 of our own, as the date of the capture: in this date the great majority of the oriental authorities are agreed.

their long fast. At Easter[19], and on the arrival of other festivals which succeed to fasts, "the Greeks fail not to make compensation for extreme temperance by the opposite license. Thus their life is passed in an alternation of extravagancies, and the priest who enforces the one excess does little to repress the other[20]."

The sun shines brightly this morning, although he gives none of those "signs of gratulation" which an old English superstition attributes to him on this day. Sir Thomas Browne writes very gravely[21], "We shall not, I hope, disparage the resurrection of our Redeemer, if we say the sun doth not dance on Easter-day. And though we would willingly assent to any sympathetical exultation[22], yet cannot conceive therein any more than a tropical expression."

[19] LEAKE, Travels in the Morèa, Vol. III. p. 209. "At Patra I saw the boatmen, on Easter Sunday, ranged in parties along the beach; each boat's crew seated on the ground in the hot sun, round a great fire, roasting lambs, and waiting with impatience after the forty days' fast, till they were dressed. By nine or ten o'clock in the forenoon, most of the families in the town had dined, and were already half drunk and dancing."

[20] WADDINGTON, Present Condition and Prospects of the Greek Church, p. 57. RICAUT, The present State of the Greek Church, p. 136. "The severity of their Lents is more easily supported by the expected enjoyment of the following festival; at which time they run into such excesses of mirth and riot, agreeable to the light and vain humour of the people, that they seem to be revenged of their late sobriety, and to make compensation to the Devil for their late temperance and mortification towards God."

[21] Sir T. BROWNE, Works, p. 221. ed. 1686. Vulgar Errors, Book v. §. 17. The notion is alluded to in an old ballad quoted by BRAND, Popular Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 137.

> But, Dick, she dances such a way,
> No sun upon an Easter-day
> Is half so fine a sight.

On the next page, of the same work, is quoted, from the "British Apollo,"

> Old wives, Phoebus, say,
> That on Easter-day
> To the music o' th' spheres you do caper:
> If the fact, sir, be true
> Pray let's the cause know,
> When you have any room in your paper.

[22] Thus SOPHOCLES calls Dionysos ἄστρων χοραγόν, and EURIPIDES says, that, during the celebration of an ancient religious festival,

> ἀνεχόρευσεν αἰθήρ,
> χορεύει δὲ σελάνα·

see LOBECK, Aglaophamus, Vol. I. p. 218.

Here, however, we are celebrating the festival of Easter more than a month after its anniversary in all Roman Catholic and Protestant countries, so that, even if we believed, with our superstitious countrymen of former days, that the sun dances for us in March or April, still we could hardly expect him to do the same thing again, in the month of May, for the Oriental church.

Miraculous phenomena, supposed to have taken place on the anniversary of Easter, have been referred to in the great controversy on the proper time of celebrating that festival. Had the English superstition, respecting the sun's dancing on Easter-day, prevailed in this part of the world, it might have served as an additional argument. The oriental Christian appealed to the annual descent from heaven of the sacred flame, which served to illumine the holy sepulchre, on his Easter-Sunday, and thought this occurrence an unanswerable argument against the practice of the western heretics.

Phenomena, still more extraordinary than that of the holy flame, were also said to happen in Egypt, during the forty days which follow the paschal festival of the eastern church. Graves opened and bodies of dead men arose, during the whole of that period. When once the orientals adopted the observance of the western church, the graves no longer opened in Egypt, and the sacred flame no longer shewed itself in Jerusalem: but, on their return to their own ancient usage, "the holy flame again descended, and the earth again gave up its dead[23]," yearly, as it had been in the habit of doing previously[24].

[23] This feature of the legend was manifestly suggested by the narrative of MATTHEW, XXVII. 52.

[24] CHRISTOPHORUS ANGELUS, de vit. et mor. recent. Graec. c. XLII. (in LEO ALLATIUS, de quorund. Graecor. opinat. p. 181.) Ἄρχεται ἡ γῆ ἐκείνη ἀναπέμπειν τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα, ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης πέμπτης, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ᾗ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐποίησε τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ μυστικόν, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκβάλλει τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως—τοῦτο δὲ τὸ θαῦμα Τοῦρκοι καὶ Ἕλληνες διηγοῦνται, οἵτινες πρὸς ἐκείνους

I leave Ἴπο at a few minutes before nine: in three quarters of an hour I cross the river which flows from the Sfakian mountains and falls into the sea below Armyró: its stream is rapid, and its water is here deliciously cold. At ten o'clock we arrive at the village of Prósnero, the last before the Sfakian frontier.

At Prósnero is seen the ruined pýrgo, or tower of Alidhákes, a Mohammedan who defended himself for some time, from within his little castle, against the Christian insurgents, at the outbreaking of the Greek revolution. When the Sfakians first arose, a division of about two hundred and fifty of them marched down to attack this tower. The father of Alidhákes had been killed by the Sfakians in the war which took place in Crete seventy years ago, (after the attempt of Russia on the Moréa,) and Alidhákes was now prepared to make a vigorous resistance, having with him, within the tower, about eighty picked men. Although the Sfakians transported some old cannon, which they found in the fort at Armyró, to this spot, they did not succeed in carrying the pýrgo; and, after losing some time in the attempt, at last left a smaller party to blockade it. When afterwards abandoned, it was dismantled by the Christian insurgents.

The ascent becomes steeper after leaving Prósnero: at half-past ten I stop and repose for twenty minutes under the shade of a tree. At a quarter past eleven we reach a small plain, called Krápi, where the Rhíza or Rhízoma ends: here therefore we enter the higher ranges which are called Sfakiá. There are many ilexes[25] and some wild-pear-trees[26] on this little plain of Krápi.

On leaving the plain we begin to enter the gorge or pass which is to conduct us to Askýfo. The moun-

ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους πορεύονται. ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ προσκυνηταὶ πορεύονται ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἕως ἐκείνου τοῦ τόπου ἰδεῖν τὸ θαῦμα——ἐδοκίμασαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ποτὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἴκοσι ἔτη πρότερον ποιῆσαι τὸ πάσχα κατὰ τὸν νέον ἀριθμόν, ἀλλ' οὐδαμῶς ἐξήρχετο τὰ νεκρὰ κατὰ τὸν νέον ἀριθμόν, &c. &c. &c.

[25] Πρῖνοι. [26] Ἀχλάδαις.

tains on either side are lofty, and generally present a stony and barren appearance: ilexes, however, are spread over the greater part of them.

As we passed along, Maniás described to me, at great length, the disastrous flight of the Mohammedans through this pass, at the very outbreaking of the revolution: he even pointed out spots where individuals, of whom he spoke, had fallen: and the whitening human bones, which were still seen in some of the places, were a painful proof of the faithfulness of his story. I heard the same facts described by many other persons before I left the island, and the following is the sum and substance of what I learnt.

The Pashá determined, in August 1821, on penetrating into Sfakiá, and accompanied by an immense host of Cretan Mohammedans, made good his passage to Askýfo. All attempts to withstand the advance of the enemy were vain, and the Sfakians were obliged to retire to the loftier mountains to the west.

The Mohammedans encamped in the plain of Askýfo, expecting to receive, ere long, the submission of the rebels. The Greeks, however, in no wise dispirited by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, employed diligently that evening, and the ensuing night, in summoning aid from all the neighbouring villages, and, most of all, in sending intelligence of what had happened to Maláxa, an important post, where nearly a hundred Askyfiótes were stationed, along with other Greeks. Thus, by daybreak, the Christian force assembled at Xerókampos[27], about two miles west of Askýfo, was between four and five hundred strong.

On advancing towards the plain, they saw that it was covered by the Turkish tents and troops, which, since a breathless calm prevailed, were more than half concealed from their view by the smoke of their villages, which were already sacked and in flames. Rússos, ac-

[27] Ξηρόκαμπος.

companied by a small party, approached his own house, the highest on the side of the mountain, though little more than a musket-shot from the edge of the plain: on entering it he found that a large earthen vessel of wine had escaped the notice of the Mohammedans. This was soon distributed among his followers, who, descending a little nearer the plain, opened their fire from behind some low walls; and many other Sfakians, who had already occupied the villages of Pétres, and Stavrórakhi, situated a little to the south of the station of Rússos, and on the same western slope, began their attack at the same time. These simultaneous volleys caused no little astonishment and rage among the Mohammedans, who, on seeing the Greeks approach, supposed them to be coming to submit[28], and that they should have no more trouble in putting down what they called the Sfakian revolt.

The action thus commenced soon after sunrise: for full seven hours the Mohammedans constantly kept up a heavy fire of musquetry, and directed, as well as they were able, against the redoubts[29] of the Greeks, three field-pieces, which they had brought with them. During this time also considerable execution was done in the Turkish ranks by the less noisy fire which was directed against them, with a far surer aim, by the Greeks. By about two hours after mid-day, the Sfakians, were nearly nine hundred strong, numerous reinforcements of small parties having arrived during the morning. A considerable body of the mountaineers now took possession of the wood immediately above Karés[30], at the north-western extremity of the plain, and opened a destructive fire on the Turkish column which was already engaged at that village. The Mohammedans, engaged there, on finding themselves exposed to this unexpected attack, wavered for a moment, and then commenced a precipitate retreat. The flight of this division immediately caused a panic

[28] νὰ προσκυνήσωσιν. [29] τὰ ταμπούρια. [30] Καραίς.

throughout their whole host, and the rout became general. The Greeks pursued their enemies across the plain, and harassed their rear as they retreated along the path which conducts to the district of Apokórona.

As soon as the Mohammedans reached the very commencement of the descent, where the glen begins to contract in width, the Greeks detached from their main body a party, who, making a rapid circuit over the hills on the north-west, arrived on the left flank of their fleeing foes at the narrowest part of the gorge, about three hundred paces from its opening, and when the foremost of the fugitives were only just passing the spot. This party of Sfakians immediately opened, on the dense retreating column, a deadly fire, of which every shot told. The Mohammedans, with more courage than prudence, attempted for a moment to make a stand; but soon found, that the fearful advantages possessed by an enemy, who was almost entirely concealed from their view, left them no chance of safety, except in a rapid flight. Many of the horsemen at once abandoned their steeds, which, when they had to traverse the rugged paths of Sfakiá, only impeded their escape, and betook themselves to the mountains on the eastern side of the defile.

Before the last of the fugitives emerged from the glen, heaps of dead bodies lay on the road all the way from this narrow pass to the entrance above Krápi: and those who have experienced the intolerable stench produced, under the burning summer-sun of this latitude, by the decomposition of a single dead body, lying exposed to its putrefying beams, will readily believe the Sfakian who says that for weeks afterwards they were unable to pass even near the spot.

Tal puzzo n'usciva
Qual suole uscir dalle marcite membre.

The traveller who visits Sfakiá, as I do, thirteen years after the event, still sees by the roadside the bleached

bones of many of those who fell: memorials of mortal strife, which, in these regions, are but too frequently met with.

When the main body of the Mohammedans had at length passed out, and found themselves on the open barren mountains about Krápi, the rear continued to be harassed by a steady pursuit, to avoid which numerous parties made their escape to the mountains. The Sfakians pursued the flying enemy as far as Armyró, near twelve miles from Askýfo, harassing his rear, and cutting off every one who was not active enough to keep up with the main body in their disorderly flight. At Armyró sunset and the shades of night gave the Turks that protection which they might have found in their own numbers, had their leaders been but once able to rally them when they had reached the plain.

But, though the main body of the Turks was thus unmolested by any further pursuit, their numerous stragglers had other and greater horrors to endure. Those of them who were wounded were unable long to continue their flight; and, with no friend to aid them, sunk down and died. Even the strongest and most vigorous were scarcely better able to escape; for most of them lost their way in the mountains, or were intercepted by parties of Sfakians, who, for the next two or three days, according to their own accounts, hunted these unhappy stragglers "like so many wild-goats." Corpses not stript of their arms, when occasionally found by Sfakian shepherds for months afterwards, sufficiently indicated that others had died from absolute want and exhaustion. Some, after skulking under the trees in the day-time, and vainly endeavouring to find their way towards Rhíthymnos by night, unable to withstand the stern behests of those imperious tyrants, Hunger and Thirst, at length, as their only chance of preserving life, entered a village, and, throwing themselves at the feet of the first Greek they found, implored mercy and a draught of water. Perhaps the reader may suppose

that such a prayer would be granted: if he does, he knows not the Sfakian, whose hatred of the very name of Mohammedan makes him even proud of recounting such atrocities as these massacres of unresisting and helpless suppliants[31].

A word more, and the history of this disastrous flight will be concluded. As if it had been destined, that all modes of escape should prove equally unavailing, many parties of Mohammedans, who fled in bodies of from five or six to eighteen or twenty men, were intercepted by the mountaineers: one was thus destroyed at Límni, and another at Gonía, between Kalikráti and Pólis: a third, more numerous than the other two, had got right across the mountains to Skaloté, when at length they were observed, were attacked by a superior force of the active and warlike mountaineers, and were cut off to a man.

The Mohammedans are said to have lost, on the occasion, nearly nine hundred men, as well as many mules laden with military stores, and their three field-pieces. The loss of the Christians was quite insignificant.

It may easily be imagined how so signal a victory would elate the spirits of those who had already a strong religious feeling on the subject of the war: who now believed themselves to be under the especial guardianship of the Deity, to whom they wholly ascribed their success: who were fighting "for the body and blood

[31] A solitary Mohammedan entered a Sfakian village at mid-day: all its male inhabitants happened to be absent: the women (who were unarmed, while he had arms) at first treated him kindly; but only till they found an opportunity of dispatching him. When I visited Nípro, my host said, that, two or three days after their great victory, "a Mohammedan came here, and fell on his knees a few paces from my door, imploring a draught of water." And what did you do? "I took my tufék—and shot him." We must make some allowance, in estimating the morality of such conduct, for the provocation received by the Christians of Crete, during more than a whole century; and, most of all, for the feelings so recently excited by the butchery of the Patriarch at Constantinople; of the Bishop of Kísamos at Khaniá; of the Metropolitan and five other Christian Prelates at Megálo-Kástron, and of nearly *a thousand* unarmed Greeks in various parts of this island. See, on this subject, the Additional Note at the end of the Chapter.

of the Lord Christ:" whose every banner was accompanied by a priest, often one of the bravest combatants: who celebrated, with an unheard of frequency, the most solemn ordinances of their religion: and who were thus raised to so exalted a pitch of religious fervour and enthusiasm, that, in their zeal for God's honour and service, they could, one and all, subdue even their dearest affections, when they believed that, by indulging them, they would be rendered unworthy champions of the holy cause which they had espoused[32].

An ascent of about forty minutes from Krápi, brings us to the highest point of the path, and, in a few minutes more, we see the plain of Askýfo, spread out before and below us. We are rather more than a quarter of an hour in descending to it. The villages classed together under the common name of Askýfo, are situated in a plain of about three to four miles in circumference, so surrounded by lofty mountain-summits, that it has somewhat the appearance of a large amphitheatre[33].

Maniás being still unmarried, his mother keeps house for him: we find, however, that the door of his dwelling at Askýfo is closed, the old lady not having yet come up into Sfakiá, from their winter residence at Dhrámia[34]. I therefore lodge with a neighbour and nephew of Maniás. My host's wife is extremely beautiful: she was born at Anópolis, and never left her native place until she married, three years ago: since that event she has not stirred out of Askýfo, except once to visit her mother at Anópolis.

The difference in temperature between the plain of Apokórona this morning at ten, and these lofty summits

[32] The Christian husbands of Crete, on thus becoming soldiers of the Cross, shrunk from the caresses of their wives, as from a pollution, which would most probably be punished by their falling in the next engagement. This singular piece of religious self-denial lasted, with most of them, for the greater part of the first year. I believe this feature is one of several peculiar to the war *in Crete*. The religious principle was certainly stronger here than elsewhere: see above, Vol. I. pp. 66–67.

[33] See the engraving below, at p. 188. [34] See above, Vol. I. p. 73.

even at two in the afternoon, is very considerable. There is always an agreeable breeze here in the hot weather, and the evenings and mornings are delightfully cool, even in the months of July and August.

I suppose Askýfo to be more than fifteen hundred, perhaps nearly two thousand feet, below the highest summits of the Sfakian chain of mountains, and to be somewhere between four and five thousand feet above the sea-level.

The different hamlets spread round the edges of this plain, and denoted by the common name of Askýfo, are called respectively Goní, where I have taken up my quarters, Péra-Goní, Pétres, Mudhári, Kóstos, Stavrórakhi, and Karés.

The present number of families at Askýfo is about one hundred and sixty. They are Christians, without a single exception, as is the case throughout Sfakiá.

The town of Sfakiá[35] is the chief winter residence of the Askyfiótes: many families, however, not having any dwelling except at Askýfo, make the necessary provision for remaining here through the winter, and are ordinarily confined to their houses, for several weeks, by the snow[36].

Soon after arriving at my present quarters I asked for a glass of water. My host, instead of saying "Your health[37]," to me, in the usual way, after I had swallowed it, exclaimed, "Christ is risen," to which I, of course, replied, "Truly he is risen." This Easter salutation is now *alone* used. Even when a man sneezes, "Christ is risen," are the words by which he is addressed.

Several of the villagers come to my host's house to see and talk with me. One of them is an uncle of Maniás, and brother of Búzo-Márko, who fell at Grabúsa. Of the seven Sfakians who were executed by the Pashás last December, four were of Askýfo, and

[35] Ἡ χώρα τῶν Σφακιῶν.

[36] See Vol. I. p. 73.

[37] Μὲ ὑγεία σας.

only one of them had been present in the assembly at Murniés. The other three of the seven were of Nípros, Komitádhes and Hághios Ioánnes: two of the Askyfiótes, and the other three Sfakians, were arrested and executed in this village in the following manner.

When the Pashás had established their head-quarters at Fré, and their army was dispersed through the villages of 'Ipos, Prósnero, Alíkampo and other places in the plain of Apokórona, they at length sent to Askýfo Alí-efféndi, the Turkish President of the Council of Sfakiá, accompanied by a bímbashi, (colonel), with a battalion of regular troops and about one hundred and fifty Arnauts. On their arrival the President and the Colonel professed to be the bearers of letters[38], both from the Pashás in the plain below, and from the Viceroy, Mehmét-Alí-pashá, to the inhabitants of Sfakiá. They therefore despatched messengers to each of the villages of the whole Sfakian district, requesting that two or three of the principal persons of every place would come to Askýfo, in order to be present at the reading of these letters. The wary Sfakians suspected some treachery, and came but slowly; so slowly that the Turks waited no less than six days before they executed their real intention. They never read any letters from the Viceroy or Pashás, but, on the evening of the sixth or seventh day of their stay, about two hours before sunset, they arrested five of their destined victims, and immediately wrote to the Pashá, telling him the names of those whom they had secured.

The sensation produced in the village may be easily conceived. These hardy mountaineers, who had maintained a contest with the Turks, with but little intermission, for a period of ten years; and who, however closely pressed by superiority of numbers, had always found a refuge in the fastnesses or on the summits of their native mountains, were not likely to stand tamely

[38] Γράμματα.

by, and see their innocent fellow-villagers and relations arrested and conducted down to the head-quarters at Fré, probably to be executed in cold blood by these Egyptians, whom every one hated as bitterly as the old Turks.

Now the villagers of Askýfo and Nípros, not an hour distant, would supply a body of full two hundred men: they would also be able to obtain a reinforcement from Asfénto, so that probably they would muster about three hundred, nearly all of whom could arm themselves in an instant[39]. The leading men among them held a secret deliberation, and felt satisfied that daybreak would see their fellow-villagers marched off under a strong escort, of perhaps a hundred men, to the Pashás. They therefore determined to go in two parties so as suddenly to inclose them as they passed the narrowest part of the defile. "We will then demand their prisoners, and we will have them either dead or alive[40]." Happily, however, for the tranquillity of Crete, and, perhaps, for the Sfakians themselves, the messenger sent to the Pashás returned in the silence and darkness of night, and communicated his orders to the President and Colonel. When the Sfakians were on the look out, at the very earliest dawn, to see what the Turks were on the point of doing, the first sight that met their eyes was the five bodies of the unfortunate prisoners, one or two of whom had been despatched by the bowstring, and the rest had been bayonneted by the Arabs, in the house where they were guarded.

The Askyfiótes around me, three of whom, in their height and muscular strength, are such men as one sees only in these mountains, sigh as they repeat the tale, and point out to me, in the group which surrounds me,

[39] Although the whole of Crete was nominally disarmed, when the Egyptians had the country given to them by England, France, and Russia, yet the Sfakians nearly all of them still have concealed arms, and could at any time rise equipped for their old pursuits of war and plunder.

[40] Ἢ ἀποθαμένους ἢ ζωντανούς.

a young woman, drest in the garb of mourning, who lost her father during the war, and whose brother was one of the victims thus recently sacrificed. His orphan, a child of four years old, is standing by her. The Sfakians doubt whether they did not do wrong, in thus remaining quiet, and think that their best course[41] would have been to have taken their arms, and once more occupying the most inaccessible of their mountains, thence to have waged and suffered a war of extermination with their foe.

I inquire whether any Askyfióte remembers the events of the Russian invasion of the Moréa in 1769, when nearly a thousand Sfakians left their homes to fight against the Turks, and when the Cretan Turks, taking advantage of their absence, exacted a heavy penalty from those whom they had left behind them, for the part they took. I am told that, among the five men seized and massacred here, there was an old man, Andhrúlios Papadhákes, who was one of Lambro's Capitanéi, and still possessed, at the time of his death, Lambro's pistols and some of his clothes. He was mentioned in the Greek song which celebrated Lambro's exploits[42]. The poor old man, whose extreme age, for he had lived nearly a whole century, might alone have protected him, even if he had taken some part in an assembly where thousands met together, had never been present at Murniés. But he was distinguished from olden times, and even among the inhabitants of these mountains, for his hatred of the Turkish rulers of his country; and the reputation which he thus acquired was probably the cause of his death, and certainly entitles him to be regarded as one of the patriots, who were celebrated by our poet before the outbreaking of the Greek revolution.

[41] Τὸ καλλιώτερον: the common modern Greek form is καλλίτερον: examples of both forms are given in Du Cange: on καλλιώτερον see Phrynichus, p. 136. and Lobeck.

[42] Τὸ ὁποῖον εἴχασι βγαλμένο διὰ τὸν Ῥαμπρό.

And some to higher thoughts aspire,
The last of Lambro's patriots there
Anticipated freedom share;
And oft around the cavern fire
On visionary schemes debate
To snatch the Rayahs from their fate.

The schemes of the Cretan patriots have indeed proved visionary! notwithstanding the sacrifices they made, and the heroism they shewed in their long and obstinate contest.

To complete the tale of the seven Sfakians executed, two remain to be spoken of. They were seized and put to death at Rhíthymnos, where they were busied in traffic: one of them had just returned from Constantinople. The cruelty and treachery of the Egyptian authorities in thus punishing the innocent in order to strike terror into all, need no comment.

# ADDITIONAL NOTE

TO

# CHAPTER XXXIV.

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THE following extracts, from the Archives of the French Consulate, at Khaniá, will alone exhibit a tolerably clear outline of the condition in which the Christians of Crete found themselves for many years before the outbreaking of the Greek revolution.

I will give a single passage, of ancient date, to shew how soon the Khanióte Mohammedans acquired the character which they so long maintained. In the year 1726, a Frenchman was assassinated in the town of Khaniá. The French Consul says, at a "délibération," with "the nation," as the resident French merchants call themselves, "Nous connaissons la mechanceté des habitans de cette ville, naturellement portés à la rebellion, et appuyant toujours leurs compatriotes, à tort ou à raison, *menaçant s'il arrive le moindre mal à l'auteur du meurtre, de mettre en pièces tous les français: ceux mêmes, avec les quels nous faisons du negoce, n'en parlent pas autrement.*"

I will now pass on to the few years preceding the Greek revolution. "*Le* 30 *Avril*, 1816. Les peuples de ces contrées ne ressemblent en rien aux autres peuplades de la Turquie. Le Turc habitué, envers le Grec, à un génre de vie despotique, y est vain, insubordonné, inclin à la révolte," &c.

"*Le* 15 *Juin*, 1819. Les 8, 9, et 10 du courant, des Turcs excitèrent une insurrection, en parcourant les villages circonvoisins, et en forçant les habitans des campagnes de se joindre à eux pour marcher sur la Canée.

"Le 11 une vingtaine d'hommes s'introduisirent dans la ville. Le 12 au matin, 400 des mêmes y entrèrent par bandes, et se portèrent sur les remparts, où ils convoquèrent une assemblée, dans un des kiosques qui s'y trouvent, et forçant toutes les classes de la population à s'y rendre, et notamment les principaux du pays.

"Cette assemblée commença ses délibérations par prononcer la destitution du Pacha, et procéder à la nomination d'un nouveau Musselim pour gouverner la ville dans la personne du Janissaire-Aga : elle prononça la peine de mort contre les grands du pays qui iraient voir le Pacha, ou qui auraient la moindre intelligence avec lui.

"En rapprochant toutes les circonstances des données que j'ai procurées, il parait que le principal motif de cette révolte vient de ce que le Pacha, après avoir contraint, dit-on injustément, les Grecs et les Juifs—à donner des huiles pour Constantinople, voulût y contraindre également les Agas, pour compléter un chargement. Ceux-ci, *habitués à faire supporter toutes les charges aux Rayas*, ont provoqué la révolte, dans l'espoir d'intimider le Pacha."

"*Le* 28 *Août*, 1819. Le 24 courant Ibraim Pacha arriva en ce port pour lui succéder. La presence du gouverneur, et la réputation qu'on lui donne en assurant qu'il a fait étrangler beaucoup de monde, pendant qu'il occupait la place de Janissaire-Aga à Constantinople, *ont frappé de terreur les grands assassins de cette province*, et leur ont fait prendre la fuite."

"*Le* 18 *Decembre*, 1819. La soldatesque de cette ville vient de se permettre comme à son ordinaire, un acte d'insubordination des plus marquans, en refusant de se soumettre aux volontés du Grand Seigneur, contenues dans deux firmans emanés du Gouvernement de Sa Hautesse.

"Ces firmans portaient en substance, la peine d'exil des 4e et 22e corps de Janissaires en garnison à la Canée." (Here follow details of their refusal to embark.)

"Dès lors, (l'arrivée du nouveau Pacha,) les mauvais sujets qui font tous partie des corps de Janissaires, et à qui on donne le surnom de Palikári (braves) parcequ'ils ont été des assassins, ont craint, en se soumettant à l'exil, de se voir forcés de suivre la marmite, ou de s'exposer, en restant, à être sans appui et à la merci du Pacha, qui leur ferait un mauvais parti. Les Agas de leur côté voyaient avec inquiétude le départ des satellites dont ils se servent pour intimider au besoin les Pachas, et pour maintenir leur morgue envers le reste de la population. Ce qu'il y a de certain c'est que, *si de tems à autre le gouverneur turc ne fait pas tomber quelques têtes en cette ville, on n'y jouira jamais de la tranquillité.*

"*Le* 15 *Mars*, 1820. Le Pacha fatigué de la resistance, que lui opposent les autorités locales, paraît se relâcher de ses prétentions, pour se livrer lui-même à des avanies contre les rayas. Ce changement de conduite du Pacha a enhardi les mauvais sujets, et les assassinats ont recommencé."

"*Le* 22 *Novembre*, 1820. En rendant compte à V. E. du résultat des instances que j'ai faites auprès de l'Autorité locale pour obtenir justice et réparation d'un pareil attentat, je crois devoir lui faire connaître le genre de gouvernement de ce pays, et l'influence plus ou moins forte de chaque autorité qui le composent, afin de lui donner une idée de l'impossibilité qu'il y a d'obtenir en ce pays des satisfactions suffisantes pour en imposer aux malveillants, et faire cesser cet état de crainte, où l'on est continuellement, d'être assailli et assassiné.

"Pendant l'intervalle de tems que les Pachas mettent pour se remplacer, la ville est gouvernée par un Musselim choisi parmi les Agas en charge, qui, pour ne point être contrarié dans l'exercice de ses fonctions, et pour maintenir l'esprit de corps avec ses collégues et principalement avec les chefs des régimens de Janissaires, se laisse influencer par eux.

"Les Agas possèdent toutes les terres seigneuriales du Grand Seigneur, moyennant une rétribution à vie, qu'ils renouvellent de père en fils, et sont par conséquent les plus riches propriétaires du pays, et les seuls qui approchent le plus des Pachas.

"Le corps des Janissaires est composé d'hommes du pays, de tout état, et sans solde, les quels sont en général méchans et cruels. Ceux qui ont commis le plus d'assassinats sont recherchés par les régimens, et jouissent de la protection entière de leurs Chefs, et des Agas, qui s'en servent au besoin, soit pour assommer à coups de bâton, ou faire assassiner ceux qui leur déplaisent, soit pour susciter des révoltes contre les officiers superieurs de la Porte, tels que Pachas, Janissaire-Agas, Mufti et Cadi, qu'ils suspendent de leurs fonctions, ou embarquent ignominieusement.

"Ces violences et la crainte d'être privé, par l'astuce et l'impudence des Agas, et des Chefs de régimens, des avantages attachés aux charges qui s'achètent en Turquie, obligent les Janissaire-Agas, Muftis, Cadis et autres officiers de la Porte d'avoir beaucoup de ménagemens pour eux, et de céder à leur volonté: *de manière que l'autorité du Pacha est, pour ainsi dire, nulle en ce pays, les Agas et les Chefs de régimens font les avanies qu'ils veulent sans que personne n'ose s'en plaindre: les malfaiteurs de chaque corps se livrent à toute sorte d'excès, et se permettent même d'entrer d'autorité dans les maisons des Rayas, et d'en disposer entièrement à leur grè*[1].

[1] The *details*, exemplifying the concluding assertion of this sentence, with which I became acquainted during my stay in Crete, would fill a volume. Many of them, however, are such

"Avant l'arrivée d'Osman Pacha ils se sont même permis d'envoyer des balles de pistolet pliées dans des morceaux de papier portant indication d'une somme à payer, *et si ceux à qui ces sortes de billets étaient adressés ne les acquittaient pas, ils étaient incontinent assassinés*[2]. Ces hommes pervers ont été jusqu'à se faire un jeu de tirer des coups de fusil, chargé à balle, de dessus les remparts de la porte de la ville, sur les individus qui s'y présentaient pour y entrer, *et de parier entr'eux que la victime tomberait de tel ou tel côté*[3]."

At Megálo-Kástron the position of the Christians was much the same as in Khaniá. The following are extracts from the correspondence of M. Boze, the French Consular Agent at the former city, with M. Roussel, then French Consul at Khaniá.

"*Le* 4 *Août*, 1806. Il regne ici un désordre redoutable. Les scélérats commettent toutes sortes de crimes. On n'entend parler que de massacres et d'injustices."

"*Le* 27 *Mars*, 1807. Aujourd'hui des scélérats Turcs ont encore assassiné, à coup de sabre, un bel homme Grec, dans le temps qu'il labourait à sa vigne à Stavrakia, à deux lieues d'ici. Ce meurtre a encore resté impuni comme tous les autres."

"*Le* 30 *Mars*, 1807. Les scélérats viennent encore de tuer deux pauvres Grecs à un village près de la ville. Le Pacha a envoyé un bairak pour démolir les maisons des assassins, et confisquer leurs biens."

"*Le* 18 *Juin*, 1807. On ne cesse ici, de même qu'aux villages, d'estropier, blesser et assassiner."

"*Le* 9 *Fevrier*, 1812. Assan Effendi, Tefterdar, a confié dernièrement à mon fils, qu'il avait expédié un de ses gens à Constantinople, pour y porter ses plaintes contre les Caniotes Turcs, au sujet *des grands massacres qu'ils font journellement aux pauvres Rayas*, qui se sont tous dispersés."

The French Vice-Consul writes as follows, at Megálo Kástron, on the 16th October, 1817. "Une incendie éclata avant hier sur les trois heures

such obscenities and horrors, as I could not attempt to describe: such fearful combinations of lust and cruelty, as one could hardly have believed human nature, in its most savage and degraded state, capable even of imagining.

[2] This was a *very common* occurrence: there were few parts of the island in which I did not hear of it.

[3] A wager, not unfrequently made by these *Mohammedans*, on taking this diversion at the expense of any ill-fated Christian who might happen to be passing, was an oke of *wine!*

après-midi, par l'explosion de quelques barils de poudre emmagazinés chez des Grecs. Plusieurs Turcs ont été victimes de l'explosion; et d'autres, au premier moment, *voulaient immoler tous les Grecs des environs.* Le Pacha fit mettre ces Grecs en prison, pour les sauver.

"Hier soir un Turc, qui en avait tué un autre, devait subir la peine de son crime. Le peuple s'amassa, se porta à la prison du Grand Château, et le délivra. Fier de son succès, il demanda que les Grecs, prisonniers pour le fait des poudres, leur fussent livrés pour être pendus, et immolés aux manes des Turcs, que l'explosion avait tués. *Le Pacha resista:* le palais (that is the serai of the Pashá) fut investi: le peuple repoussé: à neuf heures, tout semblait appaisé. A dix heures le tumulte recommença plus fort qu'auparavant, et dura jusqu'à minuit. *Le Pacha convint qu'il leur livrerait les Grecs à l'aube du jour.* A trois heures du matin on se porta de nouveau au palais: *les prisons furent forcées, trois Grecs en furent retirés, et pendus à leurs boutiques.*

"Depuis lors on dit que les mutins demandent encore 4 ou 5 Grecs: que de son côté le Pacha redemande le meurtrier que les mutins ont délivré hier soir. A défaut de le satisfaire il se prépare à partir."

A few extracts from the Correspondence of the Austrian Consul with the Internuncio at Constantinople, will partly shew what had been done by the Turkish authorities, and by the Mohammedan populace of Khaniá, during the months of May, June, and July, 1821:

"*A La Canée, le* 14 *Mai*, 1821. Les Turcs ont enfermé l'Evêque de Kissamos, le rendant garant de ce que pourroient faire les Grecs de son arrondissement." "*Le* 4 *Juin*, 1821. L'Evêque de Kissamos—a été livré à la fureur du peuple—qui sans égard pour son caractère l'a trainé dans toute la ville, à demi-nud, par la barbe, et l'a cruellement pendu sur le chemin de son arrondissement. Je ne saurais dépeindre la joie feroce du peuple, et encore moins le dépit des bourreaux, qui, malgré leurs cruautés n'ont pu faire pâlir le malheureux Evêque, digne d'un meilleur sort. Les Turcs ont demandé au Pacha la permission de massacrer impitoyablement les Grecs."

"*A La Canée le* 6 *Juillet*, 1821. Le peuple de la Canée a enfin obtenu du Pacha la malheureuse autorisation de massacrer tous les Grecs: on a même lû dans les mosquées un Fefta pour enhardir les moins feroces. C'est le 30 Juin, dernier jour du Ramazan, que le peuple a assouvi sa rage sur les malheureux Grecs restés dans la ville sous la protection de divers Agas leurs maîtres. Le nombre des victimes est evalué à trente environ."

"*A la Canée, le* 15 *Août*, 1821. Dans la nuit du 30 Juin au 1er Juillet la populace est sortie de la ville, poursuivant toujours les Grecs; on les noyait, on les étranglait, on les brûlait, révoltés ou non, tumultueux ou paisibles. On courût partout sur eux, comme sur des monstres dont il fallait purger l'île. On incendia une vingtaine de villages. Chaque jour on voyait au marché (et ceci dure encore), des jeunes femmes, qui étaient redevables de leur vie à leur beauté, mise à prix par leurs ravisseurs. Ce n'est que quelques jours après, que les Sfakiotes sont accourus, eux seuls qui avaient refusé de livrer leurs armes. Ils ont de suite établi un cordon de troupes sur les montagnes qui dominent la ville, se sont emparés des gorges d'Armiro qui mènent à Rettimo, et ont arboré leurs enseignes à deux milles de la Canée."

It would be easy to multiply these authorities, to shew how fearfully great was the provocation given by the Mohammedans to the unfortunate Christians of the island, both in the whole of the last century, and more especially during the few years which preceded the commencement of the Greek revolution. I will however content myself with citing here, in order to confirm the account of M. D'Herculez, by the testimony of another eye-witness, the words of the French Consul's official communication to his Government respecting the proceedings of the Khanióte Mohammedans in May, June, and July, 1821:

"*A la Canée, le* 24 *Juillet*, 1821. Le mois de Juin, époque du Ramazan, se passa jusq'au 28, sans autre meurtre que celui de l'infortuné Evêque de Kissamos, et du précepteur de l'enseignement mutuel. Le 29 la population turque fut armée avec les armes prises dans les arsenaux, et les enseignes de guerre furent arborées et promenées, dans tous les quartiers de la ville, par quatre bandes armées, qui donnèrent le signal du carnage medité depuis plus d'un mois. Un paisible forgeron Grec fut assassiné dans son atelier par la population armée: le 30 le drogman de la Porte fut aussi assassiné chez lui, un prêtre grec le fut aussi, et il suivit le pillage entier des vases sacrés, de l'argenterie, et de tous les ornemens sacerdotaux de l'église épiscopale grécque.

"Tous les Grecs trouvés dans leurs maisons, ou rencontrés dans les rues ou dans la campagne, furent immolés à la fureur des Turcs, sans distinction d'age et de sexe: leurs têtes furent coupées, et jettées dans les places publiques, et devant les casernes des régimens, où elles ont éte mutilées par la populace turque.

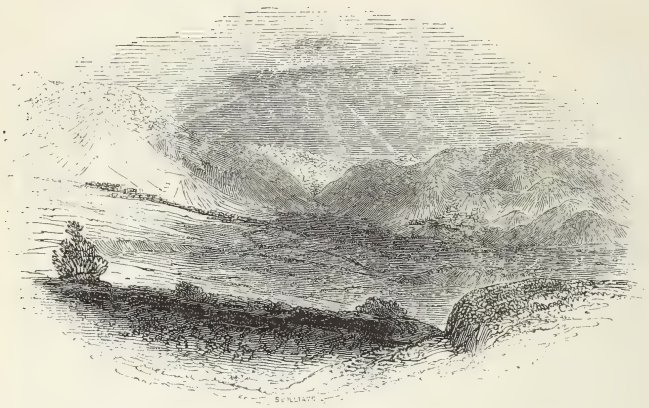
"*Les jours suivans les maisons grecques des villages circonvoisins, et plusieurs monastères, ont été incendiés et pillés; beaucoup de femmes et filles violées, et vendues ensuite, au bazar, comme esclaves. D'autres ont été assassinées, aussi que des enfans et des vieillards—Ceux qui ont été pris isolément*

*ont été empalés ou pendus en ville—quoique ils eussent été pris sans armes. Enfin chaque jour du mois de Juillet a été marqué par des scènes d'horreur, et la campagne n'offre plus que le spectacle de la destruction et de la terreur.*"

Within the walls of Megálo-Kástron the carnage was far greater than at Khaniá. The venerable Metropolitan, five Bishops, four Priests, and more than seventy other individuals, had sought for refuge at the altar of the cathedral; but the brutal and infuriated populace rushed in upon them, and they were all sacrificed on the spot. The whole number of unarmed and innocent Christians massacred, within Megálo-Kástron, during the next few hours, was nearly six hundred: and, on the following day, an equal number were slaughtered in the districts of Malevízi, Pedhiádha, and Témenos[4].

Thus the Greeks had seen the most venerable and dignified ministers of their religion butchered at the very altar, or ignominiously dragged through the streets, and then hanged by the road-side: they had seen their fellow Christians, their relations and their friends, murdered while peaceable and unarmed: they had seen their wives and daughters violated, and then sold as slaves: and when, after all this, any unfortunate Mohammedan fell into the hands of the insurgents, we shall hardly wonder that his hours were numbered.

[4] As to what happened on this occasion at Veneráto, see above, Vol. I. p. 233.



ASKYFO.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

WINE OF ASKYFO. SFAKIAN CHEESE-CAKES. CRETAN OATHS, ANCIENT AND MODERN. EUPHEMISM. DEPARTURE FROM ASKYFO. TREES OF THE SFAKIAN MOUNTAINS. ARRIVAL AT ANOPOLIS. DIALECTIC PECULIARITIES OF THE SFAKIANS. CRETANS AT ODESSA ON THE OUTBREAKING OF THE GREEK REVOLUTION.

*May* 5.

Several of the principal villagers beg of me to visit them, which I do soon after sunrise, accompanied by my guide Maniás. Roast lamb and excellent wine[1]

[1] This is the highest elevation at which the ground is cultivated in Crete, and the wine is most excellent. Theognis, v. 875. speaks of wine produced on the summit of Taygetos:

Πῖν' οἶνον, τὸν ἐμοὶ κορυφῆς ἄπο Τηϋγέτοιο,
ἄμπελοι ἤνεγκαν.

are every where produced, and Maniás seems both willing and able to make up for the privations of Lent, by the quantity which he eats and drinks now. After this round of visits, my host would not hear of our departing without breakfasting with him, as if nothing had happenned elsewhere. Our fourth or fifth breakfast consisted of lamb, and fried cakes filled with a kind of cream-cheese, and which are a very general article of feast-day-food in Sfakiá. They are about three times as thick as a common English pancake, and of nearly the same superficial size. The Sfakians call them misethróftes[2], almost literally cheese-cakes. I do not remember to have seen them out of Crete. This kind of cake, whether peculiar to the Cretans or not, reminds me, that in ancient times there was a particular name for the thin cheeses made by the Cretans, and that they used to be offered in certain sacrifices[3].

On a subsequent occasion, when dining at Askýfo, in the house of the celebrated Christian leader Rússos, I was much struck with the variety and singularity of the oaths which he used: I greatly regret that I did not note them all down at the time. One was "by the bread which I am eating[4]," another "by my father's bones[5]." In these singularly varied oaths the name of the Deity was always avoided: and, even in the very common Cretan expression *μὰ τὸν ἐς*, which has been already explained[6], a similar feeling may be traced.

It appears quite clear that the same peculiarity was observed in the oaths of the ancient Cretans: the difference between their oaths and those of the other Greeks, was remarkable enough to give rise to a legend, that Rhadamanthus had especially charged the Cretans,

[2] *Μισηθρόφταις.*

[3] ATHENAEUS, XIV. p. 658. d. (= p. 1465. ed. Dind.) *Τοὺς δὲ λεπτοὺς τῶν τυρῶν καὶ πλατεῖς Κρῆτες θηλείας καλοῦσιν, ὥς φησι Σέλευκος· οὓς ἐν θυσίαις τισὶν ἐναγίζουσιν.*

[4] *Μὰ τὸ ψωμὶ ἀποῦ τρώγω.*

[5] *Μὰ τὰ κόκκαλα τοῦ κύρού μου.*

[6] Above, Vol. I. p. 249.

"that they might avoid naming the Deity on every occasion, to swear by the goose, and the dog, and the ram[7]." Every one will remember the custom of Socrates.

Another euphemism attracted my attention, at Askýfo, in an expression of my hostess. She used a word, which I had never before heard, to denote the Devil, while she avoided pronouncing his ordinary name[8].

We do not leave Askýfo till half-past eight: after crossing the plain we begin an ascent, which continues, with but little intermission, till twenty minutes before ten, when I find snow, of which my horse eats greedily, lying three feet thick on the side of the road. After a slight descent, which is succeeded by an ascent, I begin, at half-past ten, to follow the windings of a very bad road along the south side of this great chain of the White Mountains, and not very far from their snow-clad summits. Soon after eleven the road improves, and changes its direction to the south-west, the African sea and the island of Gávdha being in sight.

At half-past eleven we arrive at a fountain of deliciously cold water, at which is a solitary fig-tree. Trees grow on all these rocky mountains, except quite on the summits of the highest ranges. The commonest tree is the prínos, or ilex, and, near the fountain, are also a great many cypresses. We are less than two miles to the north-north-west of the village of Murí. At half-past twelve we emerge from a valley, which we have been following for some time, and see Gávdha and

[7] EUSTATHIUS, on Odyss. T. p. 1871. 3. Ῥαδάμανθυς δέ, φασιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ Θεὸν ὀνομάζειν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκέλευσέ, φασι, κατὰ χηνός, καὶ κυνός, καὶ κριοῦ ὀμνύναι. See also SUIDAS under Ῥαδαμάνθυος ὅρκος, and Porphyry, Zenobius, and Apostolius, all quoted by MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 195.

[8] Ὁ τόπιος, which I suppose must mean "He who lives in *the* place," κατ' ἐξοχήν. She said, "You should say so, θὰ μὴ βλασφημήξῃς—θὰ 'πῇς καρὰ τὸ ὄνομά του—τοῦ διαβόλου." To give another instance or two of the Sfakian change of λ into ρ, I may quote a few more words from the pretty mouth of my hostess. "When a man gets married, σκραβώνεται," (for σκλαβώνεται). In speaking to her child, she says, ἔρα, ἔρα! instead of ἔλα, ἔλα! The καθέκλα is changed into καθέκρα.

Ghávdha-púla, as well as the Paximádhia islands, and the projecting point of Mesará: as I look back, both Psylorítes and Kendros are now in sight. Murí is about a mile to our south-east and Anópolis is four miles to the south-west. From this point we continually descend along the side of the mountains, by a very bad road, towards the plain of Anópolis, and we reach its northern edge at half-past one.

The villages designated by the common name Anópolis, are Limnaéa, Skála, Marianá, Gýros, Kámpos, Hághio Dhemétrios, Kampiá, and Rhíza, at the last of which we arrive after crossing the plain. Rhíza is situated on the slope of a rocky elevation on the south side of the plain, which, small as it is, is not entirely cultivated. On entering this hamlet we found a cluster of Greeks, many of whom were, as might have been expected, friends of Captain Maniás. They were all idling away the day in honour of its being Easter Monday, and the salutation "Christ is risen," with its appropriate reply, and the subsequent embrace, has to take place a score times, between Maniás and his friends, before we reach our quarters, the house of an Anopolítan whom I had met near Askýfo, to which place he was going, and who warmly pressed me to lodge with him, and to accept of such hospitality as he could shew me. My host returned to his home before nightfall. As I hear his wife talk, I cannot help again noticing the marked peculiarities of dialect which characterize all the Sfakians, especially the women, and some of which may undoubtedly be considered as traces of the old Cretan-doric.

My discovery of these peculiarities in the language of the Sfakians has given me great pleasure. No one, either traveller or resident in the cities, seems to have been aware of their existence. The Sfakians were described to me at Khaniá as ferocious savages, who spoke a still more corrupt dialect than the other Cretans; while the fact is, that they speak a language which is almost purity, when compared with the jargon of a

Smyrniote[9], or of the inhabitant of any considerable maritime town, except Constantinople, throughout the whole of the Turkish empire.

The frequent substitution of ρ for λ, and the formation with ξ of a greater number of aorists than is found elsewhere, are the most striking of these peculiarities[10], and are likewise the most interesting, since they are obviously derived from the old language of the island: and this is perhaps the only district inhabited by Greeks where such clear traces of an ancient *dialect* are discernible[11]. I am, however, told by Prince Mavrokordáto, that he has observed vestiges of the ancient Doric in the language of Icaria, an island which has had but little intercourse with any other place.

These remarkable archaisms are most conspicuous, as I have said, in the language of the Sfakian women, and thus call to mind the words of Cicero: "Facilius mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conservant, quod multorum sermonis expertes, ea semper tenent quae prima didicerunt[12]."

My hostess tells me that the ancient remains, of which I had first heard when in the eparkhía of Sélino, are at the top of the rocks, near the foot of which this village is situated, and from which it derives its name. She says that the sea[13] is visible from them.

In ancient times, as I learn from the villagers, the city below at Lutró[14], was in alliance with this above,

[9] To mention a few words out of scores which might be adduced, the Sfakian peasant would say, στρατεύματα or δυνάμεις, διαφορά, παραθύρι, while the Smyrniote merchant would use the Italian words τρούππαις, or σολδάταις, διφφερέντζα, φινέστρα, &c.

[10] Others will be observed, such as the frequent addition of a final ι at the end of past tenses, and words which are used by the Sfakians alone.

[11] As to the Dorisms of the modern Tzakonic dialect, the reader may consult Colonel LEAKE's Travels in the Morea, Vol. II. pp. 505—508. and his Researches in Greece, p. 66. and p. 197. foll.

[12] CICERO, De Orat. III. 12. where Ursinus quotes from the Cratylus: Γυναῖκες μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχαίαν φωνὴν σώζουσι. See also the book de Claris Oratoribus, c. 58. and HARRIS's Philosophical Inquiries, p. 458.

[13] Ἡ θάρασσα.

[14] Εἰς τὸ Ῥουτρό.

and was called Katópolis, as this is called Anópolis. "The two possessed between them no less than seventy-two thousand troops[15]." This modern village is a most healthy place: "no one is ever known to be ill here." My hostess's father died last year at eighty-five. "He knew all about Lambro's[16] expedition, and understood more than other men." No one would have believed him to have been so old. Four years before his death he became blind[17]. During the revolution she fled with her two children, her husband remaining always in Crete, first to Gávdha, then to Pholékandhros, and then to Mélos[18].

I am assured, that an ancient stone, such as is sometimes found in a ring, whether engraved or not, performs the office of a propitious Ilithyia to women in labour[19].

One of the inhabitants of the village, who accompanied me to examine the ancient remains which are found near it, was at Odessa, at the outbreaking of the revolution, with about a hundred and forty other Greeks, ten of whom were Cretans and three Sfakians. They were all sailors, on board different vessels then in the port of Odessa, and knowing that their lives would be forfeited if they attempted to pass Constantinople on their return to Greece, they went by land to Marseilles, where they embarked for Hýdhra. The policy of Prince Metternich refused to allow a soul of them to enter the Austrian dominions, and they therefore had to traverse Russia, Poland, Northern Germany, and Switzerland, to Lyons and Marseilles. When at Warsaw they had an interview with the Grand Duke, who spoke Greek quite fluently, and, having heard that there were some Sfakians among them, asked which they were, and addressed his

[15] Ἑβδομῆντα δύω χιλιάδες ἀσχέρι.

[16] Lambro was called Ῥάμπρο by all of them.

[17] Ἐτυφλώθη καὶ δὲν ἔβλεπε were her words.

[18] Εἰς τὴν Μήρου.

[19] If after childbirth the woman is able to nurse her own infant, the stone has another valuable property, καταβάζει τὸ γάρα. (τὸ γάλα.)

conversation particularly to my informant and his fellow Sfakians. The Russian government paid all their travelling expenses, and even supplied them with money. So did most of the governments in the other countries through which they passed.

CRETAN FEMALE PEASANT.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

COSTUME OF THE CRETAN WOMEN SOMEWHAT CHANGED SINCE TOURNEFORT'S TIME. THE KATAKHANAS, VURVULAKAS, OR VAMPIRE. A WELL-ATTESTED CRETAN VAMPIRE-STORY. THE VAMPIRE FEEDS ON THE HUMAN LIVER. THE PRIESTHOOD SUPPOSED TO HAVE THE POWER OF EXORCISING A VAMPIRE. THE POPULAR NOTIONS NOW ENTERTAINED, RESPECTING VAMPIRES, IN GREECE, DALMATIA, AND ELSEWHERE, WERE FORMERLY PREVALENT IN ENGLAND. ETYMOLOGIES OF THE WORDS VURVULAKAS AND

KATAKHANAS. A BELIEF IN VAMPIRES ENTERTAINED BY THE JEWS AND ARABS; AND ALSO FOUND IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE. SIMILAR NOTIONS OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS. THE NEREIDHES, OR "BEAUTIFUL LADIES," OF MODERN GREECE, RESEMBLE BOTH THE NEREIDS OF ANCIENT GREECE, AND THE FAIRIES OF OLD ENGLAND. OTHER LEGENDS. A MID-DAY DEMON OF THE MOUNTAINS. THE POWER OF WITCHCRAFT SUPPOSED TO BE POSSESSED BY THE CLERGY. DIFFERENT POSITION OF THE CLERGY IN GREECE AND ENGLAND WITH RESPECT TO WITCHCRAFT. ADDITIONAL NOTES ON VAMPIRISM, AND ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH CUSTOM OF DRIVING A STAKE THROUGH THE BODIES OF SUICIDES. SPECIMENS OF THE SFAKIAN DIALECT.

THE costume of the women in Crete has undergone some little alteration since the time of Tournefort. The trowsers which they now wear in every part of the island, were nowhere seen by him. "Les dames de l'Archipel portent des caleçons: les Candiotes n'ont que la chemise sous leur jupe."

The French naturalist seems to have admired the rarities of the inanimate more than those of the animate creation, in Crete. He says, "A l'égard des dames nous en avons veû d'assez jolies à Girapetra: ailleurs elles sont laides." He thus describes their dress: "Cet habit est très simple: C'est une jupe de drap rouge tirant sur le grisdelin, fort plissée, suspendue sur les épaules par deux gros cordons, et qui leur laisse le sein tout découvert."

When at Askýfo I had asked about the Vampires, or Katakhanádhes as the Cretans call them, of whom I had heard from Maniás and others of his fellow-countrymen, and whose existence and ill-deeds form a general article of popular belief throughout the island. Of course this belief is very strong in the mountains. If any one ventures to doubt it, undeniable facts are brought forward to silence the incredulous. At Anópolis I am on ground which has long been haunted by them, and is celebrated in numerous stories, some of which are amusing enough, in which their exploits are recorded.

I subjoin[1] one of these stories in the very words in which it was communicated to me. The account is peculiarly worthy of credit, since I heard it in many places, and all the relations given to me agreed in every material point. The following is a translation, and, even without comparing it with the original, the reader will see, from its very style, that it is a close, though somewhat condensed, version of the words of the Sfakian peasants.

"Once on a time the village of Kalikráti, in the district of Sfakiá, was haunted by a Katakhanás, and people did not know what man he was or from what part. This Katakhanás destroyed both children and many full-grown men; and desolated both that village and many others. They had buried him at the church of Saint George at Kalikráti, and in those times he was a man of note, and they had built an arch over his grave. Now a certain shepherd, his mutual Sýnteknos[2],

[1] See the original Sfakian Greek in Note A, at the end of the Chapter.

[2] I believe I first heard this word in Crete: it is always used to denote the relation of a person to his god-child's father. The one is the spiritual, the other the natural father of the same child: hence they are well called Σύντεκνοι. Here as in many other instances the simple word (τέκνον) has gone out of use, although the compound is still retained. See Vol. I. p. 63. Sýnteknos is more common, among the Cretans, than *compare* (κουμπάρης), the word generally used elsewhere to express this relation. On *compater* and *commater* see DU CANGE, Glossarium med. et inf. Lat. under *Commater*, *Commaternitas*, *Compater*, *Compaternitas*, and *Compateratus*. The mother of a man's god-child is also his σύντεκνος or κουμπάρισσα (the diminutive of which latter word is κουμπαρισσάκι). Our Cretan word ΣΥΝΤΕΚΝΟΣ occurs, in its present sense, in a sepulchral inscription which was dug up near the Savoy in London, three or four years ago, and seems to have belonged to the collection formed by the Earl of Arundel, in the early part of the seventeenth century. See the TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE, Vol. II. Part II. Appendix I. pp. 463–4. The expression, mutual Sýnteknos, is used, as my Sfakian companion explained it, for persons ἀποῦ εἶχε παιδὶ ὁ γῆς τοῦ ἄῤῥου βαπτισμένου, where ἀποῦ stands for ὁ ὁποῖος, ὁ γῆς for ὁ ἕνας, and ἄῤῥου for ἄλλου. On this gossipred, see Vol. I. pp. 10–11. where I promised to recur to the subject. The relation is considered, in the Greek Church, as complete a bar to marriage as the closest consanguinity. A man could never wed a widow, if he had been sponsor for any of her children at the baptismal font; and a Greek would almost as soon think of marrying the daughter of his own father as the daughter of his godfather.

was tending his sheep and goats near the church, and, on being caught by a shower, he went to the sepulchre, that he might be shaded from the rain. Afterwards he determined to sleep, and to pass the night there, and, after taking off his arms[3], he placed them by the stone which served him as his pillow, crosswise. And people might say, that it is on this account[4] that the Katakhanás was not permitted to leave his tomb. During the night, then, as he wished to go out again, that he might destroy men, he said to the shepherd: "Gossip, get up hence, for I have some business that requires me to come out." The shepherd answered him not, either the first time, or the second, or the third; for thus[5] he knew that the man had become a Katakhanás, and that it was he who had done all those evil deeds. On this account he said to him, on the fourth time of his speaking, "I shall not get up hence, gossip, for I fear that you are no better than you should be, and may do me some mischief: but, if I must get up, swear to me by your winding-sheet, that you will not hurt me, and on this I will get up." And he did not pronounce the proposed words[6], but said other things: nevertheless, when the shepherd did not suffer him to get up, he swore to him as he wished. On this he got up, and, taking his arms, removed them away from the monument, and the Katakhanás came

father. HARTLEY, Researches in Greece, p. 79. "A young man of Ithaca informed me, that it was difficult to obtain a wife in his native island; for the principal families had become connected with each other, to such an extent, by *marriages* and *baptisms*, that it was almost necessary to resort to Cephalonia or elsewhere, in order to effect a marriage."

[3] Arms were part of every Sfakian's dress, and were never laid aside by him except for the hours during which he slept.

[4] The readers must not suppose that the Vampire feared the mortal weapons: no, they were placed *crosswise*, and, therefore, the form of the cross, and not the cold steel, repelled him. Some people say that the cross made by the handle of the sword produced this effect: others believe it was owing to one of the pistols having been laid across the other.

[5] That is, by the Vampire's words, which betrayed his inability to come forth so long as his pious friend and his crossed arms were lying upon him.

[6] That is, he did not pronounce the words of the only oath which binds a Katakhanás: *μὰ τὸ ἀναβόλι μοῦ*. "By my winding-sheet."

forth, and, after greeting the shepherd, said to him, "Gossip, you must not go away, but sit down here; for I have some business which I must go after; but I shall return within the hour, for I have something to say to you." So the shepherd waited for him.

And the Katakhanás went a distance of about ten miles, where there was a couple recently married, and he destroyed them. On his return, his gossip saw that he was carrying some liver, his hands being moistened with blood: and, as he carried it, he blew into it, just as the butcher does, to increase the size of the liver. And he shewed his gossip that it was cooked, as if it had been done on the fire[7]. After this he said, "Let us sit down, gossip, that we may eat." And the shepherd pretended to eat it, but only swallowed dry bread, and kept dropping the liver into his bosom. Therefore, when the hour for their separation arrived, the Katakhanás said to the shepherd, "Gossip, this which you have seen, you must not mention, for, if you do, my twenty nails will be fixed in your children and yourself[8]." Yet the shepherd lost no time, but gave information to priests, and others, and they went to the tomb, and there they found the Katakhanás, just as he had been buried. And all people became satisfied that it was he who had done all the evil deeds. On this account they collected a great deal of wood, and they cast him on it, and burnt him. His gossip was not present, but, when the Katakhanás was already half consumed, he too came forward in order that he might enjoy the ceremony. And the Katakhanás cast, as it were, a single spet of blood, and it fell on his foot, which wasted away, as if it had been roasted on a fire. On this account they sifted even the

[7] GUILIELMUS ALVERNUS, p. 1066. quoted by J. GRIMM, Deutsche Mythologie, p. 596. "Idem, et eodem modo sentiendum est tibi de aliis malignis spiritibus, quos vulgus *stryges* et *lamias* vocat, et *apparent de nocte in domibus* in quibus parvuli nutriuntur, eosque de cunabulis raptos, laniare vel *igne assare* videntur."

[8] Meaning, I suppose, that he should destroy them, and carry off their liver, in the same manner as he had done that of the newly-married couple.

ashes, and found the little finger-nail of the Katakhanás unburnt, and burnt it too[9]".

This supposed Vampire's habit of feeding on the human liver, may perhaps account for an exclamation of a Cretan mother, recorded in the travels of Tavernier: "I will sooner eat the liver of my child[10]."

The Vampire, or Katakhanás, as he is called in Crete, is denominated Vurvúlakas, or Vrukólakas, in the islands of the Archipelago, where the belief is generally prevalent, that if a man has committed a great crime, or dies excommunicated[11] by a priest or bishop, the earth will not receive him when he dies, and he therefore rambles about all night, spending only the day time in his tomb. Many believe that, even in the day time,

[9] I hear other Katakhanádhes spoken of at Anópolis as having made terrible ravages: Καὶ προτήτερος ἄρρος ἔνας—καὶ ὅσους κἂν ἀποθάνασι τζὴ ἐπέρνα. καὶ ἐγυρίσασι (ἄρροι Καταχανάδες) καὶ ἐπηράσασι ποῤῥοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

[10] TAVERNIER, Six Voyages, Liv. III. Ch. VIII. p. 310. ed. Paris, 1676. "La femme, n'y voulant consentir, luy dit *qu'elle mangeroit plû-tost le foye de son enfant*, que de satisfaire à son infame désir." I find a similar expression in the poem of KHADGI SERET: LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. I. p. 492.

Ἀλῆ-πασιᾶς ἐγύρισε
καὶ ἐχαΐδευσε τὸ Φώτη,
καὶ τήραξε, τοῦ εἶπε, καλά,
τὶ ἐγώ σου καίω τὸ σκότι.

Ali-pashá Fóto caressed
As then he round did turn,
And "Look well to it," he exclaimed,
"*Lest I thy liver burn.*"

[11] Γίνεται ἀφορισμένος ἀπὸ τὴν πίστιν του. Several forms of excommunication, in which the offender is condemned to remain μετὰ θάνατον ἄλυτος αἰωνίως ὡς αἱ πέτραι καὶ τὰ σίδηρα, are given by CHRISTOPHORUS ANGELUS, RICAUT, and GOAR, (on the Greek Euchology, p. 688.) all cited by J. M. HEINECCIUS, de absolutione mortuorum excommunicatorum seu tympanicorum in Ecclesia Graeca, (Helmstad. 1709.) pp. 10—13. The ministers of religion, who claimed the power of thus preventing a body from returning to dust, naturally held, that when *they* absolve the dead offender, it ought at once to become decomposed. It is said that this used always to be the case. A remarkable instance of the exercise of this power is quoted, (of which Mohammed the Second is said to have been a witness,) by CRUSIUS, Turco-Graecia, II. pp. 27–28. GOAR, Eucholog. Graec. p. 689. ALLATIUS, l. c. BZOVIUS, in the year 1481, n. 19. and other authors cited in J. M. HEINECCIUS, De absolutione, &c. p. 16.

it is only once a week, on the Saturday, that he is allowed to occupy his burial-place. When it is discovered that such a Vurvúlakas is about, the people go, on a Saturday, and open his tomb, where they always find his body just as it was buried, and entirely undecomposed. The priest by whom they are accompanied reads certain parts of the ritual, supposed to be of peculiar efficacy for putting a stop to every restless Vampire's wanderings, and sometimes this course suffices to restore the neighbourhood to peace and quiet. But cases happen in which the priest is not a sufficiently powerful exorcist, thus easily to stop the nocturnal rambles and misdeeds of the undying one, who, like Shakspeare's ghost, is doomed to walk the night, as a punishment for the foul crimes done in his days of nature. Whenever, then, this ordinary religious ceremony, to which recourse is first had, is found inefficacious, the people of the neighbourhood go to the tomb on a Saturday, take out the body, and consume it with fire; an operation which nothing but extreme necessity would ever make Greeks consent to perform, on account of their religious horror of burning a body on which the holy oil has been poured by the priest when performing the last rite of his religion over the dying man.

Even the rough Hydhraeans[12], whose seafaring life and intercourse with other countries, might have been supposed likely to have diminished the prevalence of such notions among them, are generally believers in these Vurvúlaki. As in Sfakiá, so also at Hýdhra,

> Both well attested, and as well believ'd,
> Heard solemn, goes the *Vampire*-story round;
> Till superstitious horrour creeps o'er all.

Many Hydhraeans have assured me there used to be a great number of Vampires in Hýdhra, and that

[12] Οἱ Ὑδραῖοι, who are commonly called Hydhriotes by European writers: I have adopted the name by which they are known to all who speak Greek.

their present freedom from them is to be attributed solely to the exertions of their bishop, who has laid them all in Santoréne, where, on the desert isle, they now exist in great numbers, and wander about, rolling stones down the slopes towards the sea, "as may be heard by any one who passes near, in a kaík, during the night".

The Sfakians also generally believe that the ravages committed by these night-wanderers, used, in former times, to be far more frequent than they are at the present day; and that they are become comparatively rare, solely in consequence of the increased zeal and skill possessed by the members of the sacerdotal order!

Similar exertions of holy priests are said, by our poet Chaucer, to have put a stop to the pastimes of the English fairies[13]. Thus also Dryden:

> Lo in the walks where wicked elves have been,
> The learning of the parish now is seen—
> From fiends and imps he sets the village free,
> There haunts not any incubus but he:
> The maids and women need no danger fear
> To walk by night, and sanctity so near.

[13] After telling us that,

> In olden dayes of the king Artour,
> All was this land fulfilled of faerie,

he adds,

> But now can no man see non elves mo,
> For now the grete charitee and prayeres
> Of limitoures, and other holy freres
> That serchen every land, and every streme,
> As thicke as motes in the sonne beme;
> This maketh that there ben no faeries.

A later bard, the author of "The Fairies' Farewell," attributes their disappearance to the Reformation:

> By which we note the fairies
> Were of the old profession;
> Their songs were Ave Maries,
> Their dances were procession.
>
> But now, alas! they all are dead,
> Or gone beyond the seas;
> Or farther for religion fled,
> Or else they take their ease.

See SCOTT's edition of Dryden's Works, Vol. XI. p. 378.

This popular belief in Vampires is not confined to Crete and Greece[14]; but, as most of my readers will be aware, is very widely spread: they are found in Dalmatia[15], Hungary, Moravia, and other countries[16].

During the middle ages, a belief in ravages committed by similar monsters, was not confined to poets, in our own island, but formed an article of generally prevalent superstition among the people, and, like the equally absurd belief in witchcraft of more recent times, was shared with them by the clergy.

William of Newbury, who flourished in the twelfth century, relates that, in Buckinghamshire, a man appeared several times to his wife, after he had been buried. The aid of the church was called in, as is still done on similar occasions by the Greeks. The archdeacon and clergy thought it right to apply to the bishop (of Lincoln), who learnt that such events were of frequent occurrence in England, and that the only known remedy was to burn the body[17], which, on opening the grave, was found in the same state as on the day of its inter-

[14] Tournefort has given a long account of the proceedings of one of these blood-sucking nocturnal monsters, at Mýkonos, during the time of his stay in that island: TOURNEFORT, Voyage du Levant, Tom. I. Lettre III. pp. 131—136. He calls it a *Vroucolakas*.

[15] FORTIS, Travels into Dalmatia, l. c.

[16] See DOM CALMET, Dissertations sur les Apparitions des Anges, des Démons, et des Esprits, et sur les Revenans et Vampires de Hongrie, de Bohème, de Moravie et de Silesie, Paris, 1746, pp. 261—303. HORST's Zauberbibliothek I have not been able to see.

[17] GUILIELMUS NEUBRIGENSIS, Chronica rerum Anglicarum, Lib. v. c. XXII. p. 569. ed. Hearn. Oxon. 1719. "Talia saepius in Anglia contigisse, et crebris clarere exemplis, quietem populo dari non posse, nisi miserrimi hominis corpore *effosso et concremato*." As to the burning, even Turks have had recourse to this remedy to put at rest a Christian vampire. CRUSIUS, Turco-Graecia, VII. p. 490. "In sabbato pentecostes Turcae combusserunt Graecum, biennio ante defunctum: quod vulgo crederetur noctu sepulcro egredi, hominesque occidere. Alii autem veram causam perhibent, quod quindecim pluresve homines spectrum ejus videntes mortui sint. Sepulcro extractus, consumpta carne cutem ossibus adhaerentem integram habuit." Compare HEINECCIUS, l. c. p. 20.

ment[18]. The same author mentions a similar story, the locality of which was the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, where the body was cut in pieces and burnt[19]. Another Vampire was burnt at Melrose Abbey. He had been a very worldly priest[20], and so fond of hunting that he was commonly called *Hundeprest*. A still worse case occurred at a castle in the north of England, where the Vampire so frightened all the people, that no one ever ventured out of doors between sunset and sunrise, "Ne forte oberranti monstro sugillandus occurreret." The sons of one of his supposed victims at length opened his grave, and pierced his body, from which a great quantity of blood immediately flowed, and plainly proved how many persons had been his victims[21].

[18] "Aperto ergo sepulcro, corpus ita inventum est, sicut ibidem fuerat collocatum." Our ancestors in the reign of Henry III. learnt how a bishop's excommunication could thus preserve a dead body from dissolution; but the inflexible sternness of the prelate's character, and the heavy price at which he rated his forgiveness, prevented the exhibition of the effects of episcopal absolution: see MATTHEW PARIS, Hist. Anglic. p. 666. and J. M. HEINECCIUS, De absolutione, &c. pp. 26–27.

[19] "Conduxerunt decem juvenes audacia insignes, qui corpus infandum effoderent, et membratim exectum redigerent in combustionem."

[20] "Supra modum secularis extiterat."

[21] "Vulnus exanimi corpori intulerunt: ex quo tantus continuo sanguis effluxit, ut intelligeretur sanguisuga fuisse multorum." These blood-suckers or incubuses were commonly supposed, in England, to be the Devil or some of his chief ministers. MILTON calls Belial (P. R. II. 150.)

> The sensuallest, and after Asmodaï
> The fleshliest Incubus.

SHAKSPEARE, Tempest, Act I. Sc. II. gives Caliban the same Arch-Incubus as his sire. We find that in order to seduce English *men* the demons used to assume the form of *women*, and were called *succubuses*, or *succubae*. In THOMAS MIDDLETON, A mad world my masters, Act IV. (in Dodsley's Old Plays, Vol. V. p. 329.) the virtuous country gentleman is addressed by a Succubus:

> Have I this season wrought with cunning,
> Which, when I come, I find thee shunning?
> When was place and season sweeter?
> Thy bliss in sight, and dar'st not meet her?

And in Todd's Johnson's Dictionary, there are quotations, in which are mentioned, an ancient grandame, who

> Though seeming in shape a woman natural,
> Was a fiend of the kind that succubae some call;

and

With these narrations, especially the last, the Hungarian legends collected by Dom Calmet[22], should be compared.

The enlightenment of the episcopal order in some parts of Turkey, at the present day, would seem, from the following story, to be greater than that of our own English Bishops seven hundred years ago. About the commencement of the present century, the Metropolitan of Larissa received advice of a papás having disinterred two bodies, and thrown them into the Haliacmon, on pretence of their being Vrukólakas. "Upon being summoned before the bishop, the priest confessed the fact, and asserted in justification, that a report prevailed of a large animal having been seen to issue, accompanied with flames, out of the grave in which the two bodies had been buried. The bishop began by obliging the priest to pay him two hundred and fifty piastres; (his holiness did not add that he made over the money to the poor.)—By then publishing throughout the diocese, that any similar offence would be punished with double the fine and certain loss of station, the bishop effectually quieted all the vampires of his episcopal province[23]."

and "a church-yard carcass, raised and set a strutting by the inflation of some hellish succubus within." The entrance of a demon into the dead body is also mentioned, as a part of the modern Greek superstition, by Leo Allatius, Ricaut, and other authors.

[22] CALMET, Dissertation etc. p. 275. foll. One is mentioned at p. xx. of the Introduction to the Vampyre, a tale, London, 1819, from the London Journal for March, 1732. See also the story told in RICAUT, (State of the Greek Church, p. 278. foll.) which is highly illustrative of the superstition. The Morlacchians seem to have found the burning or boiling described by Calmet and Ricaut unnecessary: "When a man dies suspected of becoming a Vampire or Vukodlak, as they call it, they cut his hams, and *prick his whole body with pins*, pretending that, after this operation, he cannot walk about. There are even instances of Morlacchi, who, imagining that they may possibly thirst for childrens' blood after death, intreat their heirs, and sometimes oblige them to promise, to treat them as vampires when they die." FORTIS, l. c. See some further researches, connected with this subject, in the Note B, at the end of the Chapter.

[23] LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. IV. p. 216.

In the greater part of civilized Europe, these vampire-stories are now found only in the language of poetry. A "vampire corse" is introduced by Southey, in "Thalaba the Destroyer[24]," and Byron has alluded to the superstition in his Giaour:

> But first on earth as vampire sent
> Thy corse shall from its tomb be rent:
> Then ghastly haunt thy native place,
> And suck the blood of all thy race.

In Goethe's Bride of Corinth[25], a young Athenian visits a friend of his father's, to whose daughter he had been betrothed, and is disturbed at midnight by the appearance of the vampire spectre of her whom death had prevented from becoming his bride. She addresses him:

> Aus dem Grabe werd' ich ausgetrieben,
> Noch zu suchen das vermisste Gut,
> Noch den schon verlohrnen Mann zu lieben,
> Und zu saugen seines Herzens Blut.

A legend, related in the second volume of the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, has also served as the groundwork of a poem, "The Vampire Bride," in which at last the vampire's grave is opened, and

> When they thrust a dart through its swollen heart
> It convulsively shivered and screamed[26].

Traditions of this kind have also been made the foundation of a horrible story, called "The Vampyre, a Tale," published at London, in 1819.

The vampire in all these cases, and in most of the popular legends, is described as a blood-sucking monster, not unlike the insatiable wolf of Dante, which

> Ha natura si malvagia e ria,
> Che mai non empie la bramosa voglia.

[24] See SOUTHEY's Thalaba, VIII. note at p. 108. ed. of 1814.

[25] GOETHE, Die Braut von Corinth, among his "Balladen," Werke, I. Bd. pp. 221—228. ed. Stuttg. und Tuebing. 1827.

[26] LIDDELL's Vampire Bride, p. 52. ed. Edin. and Lond. 1833.

We must now return to the Vurvúlakas of the Egean, and to the Katakhanás of Crete.

Koray supposes the word Vurvúlakas to be derived from the ancient Greek[27]. I find, however, that the Morlacchians[28], the inhabitants of Montenegro[29], the Bohemians, and the Arnauts, both of Hýdhra and Albania[30], call these vampires by the same name Vurvúlakas, or by one evidently springing from a common source with it; and I should therefore suppose the word to be of Slavonian rather than of Hellenic origin. This supposition is confirmed by our finding, that in Crete, where Slavonian influence has not been felt, as it has in the Moréa and in some islands of the Egean[31], the vampire is known by the totally different name of Katakhanás, a word which, though it may originally have meant simply

[27] KORAY, on Heliodorus, Tom. II. p. 5. and p. 199. and ATAKTA, Vol. II. p. 84. On the ancient *μορμολύκη* (from which Koray derives *βουρβούλακας*), and similar words, see HEMSTERHUIS, on Pollux, x. 167. p. 1353. RUHNKEN, on the Lexicon of Timaeus, p. 130. 31. ALBERTI, on Hesychius, Vol. II. p. 620. 21. Attempts which have been made to deduce *βουρκόλακας* from a Hellenic source, will be found in Note B, at the end of this Chapter.

[28] ALBERTO FORTIS, Travels into Dalmatia, Eng. tr. Lond. 1778. p. 61. He writes the word Vukodlak.

[29] VIALLA DE SOMMIERES, Voyage au Montenegro, Vol. I. ch. XXI. p. 279. Rien n'égale la terreur que leur inspirent les *brucolaques*, c'est-à-dire les cadavres des individus frappés d'excommunication, etc.

[30] I conversed more than once with Hydhraeans on this subject: as to the Epirotes, I find the word written *βουρκόλακας* in KHADJI SERET's Alí-pashá, (already quoted at p. 200.) a MS. poem in the possession of Col. Leake, who has given an account of it, interspersed with many extracts: see LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. I. pp. 463—497. At p. 492. we read,

*εἶχε ἁμαρτιάς ὁ πικρός*
*ἀπὸ τὰ γονικά του,*
*καὶ καίγουνταν βουρκόλακας*
*στὰ γεροντάματά του.*

For, on his head, full many a sin
Descended from his sire,
And therefore he, when old, was burnt
Like Vurkolak in fire.

The allusion is, I think, manifestly to the monk Samuel's death at Kughni, where he was blown up: see FAURIEL, Chants populaires de la Grèce moderne, Tom. I. p. 274. and LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. I. p. 240.

[31] See above, p. 82.

a destroyer[32], yet seems to have its peculiar Cretan signification even in the very poem where it occurs in the more general and earlier sense[33].

A belief in the existence of similar night-wandering blood-sucking monsters prevailed even in ancient times, and seems to have been one of the superstitions of the Jews. The *lilith*, mentioned in Isaiah, is agreed to be a nocturnal spectre: Michaelis supposes that it may mean a kind of incubus: and the Arabic version translates the word by "*algol*," the man-devouring demon of the waste, known by the name Goule to the English reader of the Arabian Nights. Some persons have supposed, but, seemingly, without any good reason, that the expression in the Psalms, "Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness[34]," denotes a similar monster[35].

I have also been taught, by a communication recently received from a learned friend, Professor Von Bohlen

[32] EMMANUEL GEORGILLAS, in his poem entitled τὸ θανατικὸν τῆς Ῥόδου, quoted by KORAY, ATAKTA, Vol. II. p. 186.

νὰ πολεμίζουν δυνατὰ καὶ νάπαντοῦν τὸν σκύλον
τὸν Τοῦρκον τὸν Καταχανάν, τῆς ἀνομίας τὸν φίλον.

The same poet, in his lament of Constantinople, (Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως,) in KORAY, Vol. II. p. 113.

Τὸν Τοῦρκον τὸν Καταχανὰν αὐτὸν τὸν χονικιάρην.

On which passage Koray explains the word as follows: Σημαίνει τὸν ἐξολοθρευτὴν ἀπὸ τὸ Καταχάνω, ἤγουν Καταχαόνω, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἁπλοῦν καὶ σύνηθες Χάνω εἶναι, ὡς ἐσημειώθη—see ATAKTA, Vol. I. p. 267.

[33] GEORGILLAS in his Θρῆνος, as quoted by DUCANGE, Append. ad Glossarium. med. et inf. Graecit. p. 185. v. Τζακαρόλος, and by KORAY, ATAKTA, Vol. II. p. 185.

καὶ δένειν ἡ κακὴ ἀρχὴ αὐτὸς ὁ τζακαρόλος
καὶ γίνεται Καταχανὰς καὶ ἀπέκει κάγην ὅλος.

In which passage KORAY writes δένεν and γίνετο. He conjectures that τζακαρόλος may be the Italian *tangherello*, and rightly explains κάγην as ἐκάη. He seems to have had no idea whatever of the meaning which the Cretan usage of the word shews to be contained in the passage.

[34] PSALM, XCI. 5, 6.

[35] BOCHART, Hierozoicon, P. II. L. VI. c. IX. p. 829. ed. Lips. 1796. Compare VAN DALE de Orig. et Prog. Idol. Diss. I. cap. VI. p. 131. On the absurd Rabbinical traditions concerning demons, and especially on the lady Lilith, the reader may also consult ALLEN, Modern Judaism, pp. 162—168.

of Koenigsberg, that vestiges of the same superstition are found in Sanskrit literature[36].

This belief, that a dead body delights in the blood of a human victim, is likewise met with in ancient Greek authors. The phantasm of Achilles is represented, by Euripides, as shewing itself, in golden armour, on his tomb[37], and as appeased by the sacrifice of a young virgin,

[36] I will not attempt to abridge Mr V. BOHLEN's learned and interesting account: "In India are found many demoniacal beings, which may be compared with vampires: among them are *Vetâlâs* (वेताला), evil spirits which dwell in dead bodies, and are also called nightwanderers, flesh-eaters, blood-drinkers, and, by an euphemism, the pure people (punyajanas), somewhat as the Eumenides were in this way propitiated. Farther, to say nothing of the *Rakshasas* (रचसस्) or the *Pisâchâs* (पिशाबा), literally flesh-eaters, who dwell in the deserts, which word Sir WILLIAM JONES (Laws of Menu, I. 37.) translates by *blood-thirsty savages*, but DELONGCHAMPS actually by Vampires. Among the Hebrews the *Lilith*, לילית, ISAIAH, XXXIV. 14. is first to be observed, a female night-spectre, which prostitutes herself to men, and destroys children, resembling the Lamia and Strix, which pursue little boys: and, 'carpere dicuntur lactentia viscera rostris, et plenum poto sanguine guttur habent.' (OVID, Fast. VI. 136.) But the *Aluka* (of PROVERBS, XXX. 15.) comes still nearer as a bloodsucking insatiable monster: the name is derived from עלק (علق in Arabic) and the Kamûs explains the same word العلوقة actually by *algûl*, الغول, the well-known demon of the desert of the Arabian popular stories, which devours men, شيطان ياكل الناس. The notices of vampirism which I find in HORST's Zauberbibliothek are of little importance. A case of vampirism, which occurred at Madvegÿa in Servia, in 1725, became the subject of a judicial investigation, and gave rise to many different publications within the next few years. Among others were STOCKII Dissert. Physica de cadaveribus sanguisugis, Jena 1732. ZOPF, de Vampiris Serviensibus, Halae 1733. POHL, de hominibus post mortem sanguisugis, Lips. 1742. According to Horst there is nothing new in any of them. In the popular songs of Servia, I have only found one passage, which was in my mind during our conversation on this subject: it is in a song, called the Vampire-bride, in the little work LA GUZLA (from which KEIGHTLEY, Fairy Mythology, Vol. II. pp. 322—4. quotes, "the fine Illyrian ballad of Lord Mercury") founded on an event which happened in 1816: but the original is wanting, and one cannot well trust that Guzla. The Servian name of vampire is *Wukodlak*, in Bohemian *Wlkodlak*, that is wolf-hairy; so that at first it must have been considered as a mere incubus."

[37] EURIPIDES, Hec. 109.

whose blood he drank[38]. Oedipus also, in Sophocles, when foretelling a defeat, which the Thebans were to sustain near his tomb, exclaims, that his cold dead body will drink their warm blood[39]. Human victims are offered at the funeral pyre of Patroclus, in the Iliad[40]; and although they are not sacrificed in the Odyssey, yet the blood of the slaughtered sheep is eagerly lapped up by the shades whom Odysseus consults[41]. A sheep used also to be sacrificed at the tombs of mortals, and its blood was supposed to be an offering acceptable to the dead body[42].

[38] EURIPIDES, Hec. 533.

Δέξαι χοάς μοι τάσδε κληδηρίους
νεκρῶν ἀγωγούς· ἐλθὲ δ' ὡς πίῃς μέλαν
κόρης ἀκραιφνὲς αἷμ' ὃ σοι δωρούμεθα.

[39] SOPHOCLES, Oed. Col. 621.

Ἵν' οὐμὸς εὕδων καὶ κεκρυμμένος νέκυς
ψυχρός ποτ' αὐτῶν θερμὸν αἷμα πίεται.

[40] On the human victims sacrificed by many nations of antiquity, see above, Vol. I. p. 133. [41] ODYSSEY, XI. 45. 48. 95. 96. 153. &c.

[42] EURIPIDES, El. 513.

Πυρᾶς δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς οἶν μελάγχιμον πόκῳ
σφάγιον ἑσεῖδον, αἷμά τ' οὐ πάλαι χυθέν.

Alcest. 860. Θάνατον φυλάξω· καί νιν εὑρήσειν δοκῶ
πίνοντα τύμβου πλησίον προσφαγμάτων.

and v. 866. —— καὶ μὴ μολῇ
πρὸς αἱματηρὸν πέλανον.

All these passages of the tragic writers seem to have escaped from the memory of Bishop BLOMFIELD while he wrote his note on μειλικτήριος; (Gloss. in Aeschyl. Pers. 616.) as well as when he was reviewing Mr Elmsley's edition of the Heraclidae: (QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1813. Vol. IX. p. 365.) "The only libations to the dead mentioned by *Greek* authors, consisted of wine, milk, honey, and water. We think therefore that for μήθ' αἷμ' ἐάσῃς should be read μὴ ῥεῦμ' ἐάσῃς." What is, perhaps, still more remarkable, a recent editor of the Alcestis quotes, with approbation, Dr Blomfield's account of these bloodless offerings, on the very passage where the προσφάγματα are mentioned: see MONK, Alc. p. 96. There was even a peculiar word, ἐναγίζειν, appropriated to denote the sacrifice of such προσφάγματα to men below: see VALCKENAER, on Schol. Eurip. Phoeniss. 281. (p. 645.) RUHNKEN, on Tim. Lex. Platon. p. 101. BOISSONADE, on Philostrat. Heroic. p. 518. and KOENIUS, on Gregorius, de dialect. Ion. §. 109. According to the superstition of the Arabs, the Saint Harun (Aaron) is thus propitiated at the present day: see BURCKHARDT, Syria and the Holy Land, pp. 419. 430. Similar offerings are also made to Moses, near the summit of Djebel Músa: BURCKHARDT, l. c. p. 566.

The imaginary beings of many ancient legends resemble still more closely than the phantom of Achilles, the vampire of the present day. At Corinth, Medea's children are said, after their death, to have been in the habit of destroying infants[43]; and only ceased from thus infesting the city, when the Corinthians complied with the injunctions of an oracle, by establishing yearly sacrifices in their honour, and by erecting a statue, in the shape of a hideous woman, over their tomb[44].

According to a story related in the life of Apollonius of Tyana, the long intercourse which took place between a female spectre and the Corinthian Menippus, was a mere prelude to the feast of flesh and blood, in which she meant to revel after their marriage[45].

Strabo[46], Pausanias[47] and other authors[48], record a legend, the scene of which is laid at Temesa in Italy, and which furnishes another example of ancient vampirism. The "demon" of one of Odysseus's companions, who had been stoned to death at Temesa, was believed to infest the place, and equally to attack persons of every age[49]. At length the people prepared to abandon their native land, in order to escape from the calamities

[43] PAUSANIAS, II. p. 118. *Τὰ τέκνα Κορινθίων τὰ νήπια ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐφθείρετο.*

[44] PAUSANIAS, l. c. and C. O. MUELLER's Aeschylos Eumeniden, p. 141.

[45] PHILOSTRATUS, Life of Apollonius of Tyana, IV. 25. p. 165. *Ἡ χρηστὴ νύμφη μία τῶν Ἐμπουσῶν ἐστιν, ἃς Λαμίας τε καὶ Μορμολυκίας οἱ πολλοὶ ἡγοῦνται· ἐρῶσι δ' αὗται οὐκ ἀφροδισίων μέν, σαρκῶν δέ· καὶ μάλιστα ἀνθρωπείων ἐρῶσιν.* The story ends by the spectre's confession to Apollonius, p. 166. *Ἐμπουσά τε εἶναι, ἔφη, καὶ πιαίνειν ἡδοναῖς τὸν Μένιππον ἐς βρῶσιν τοῦ σώματος· τὰ γὰρ καλὰ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ νέα σιτεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζεν, ἐπειδὴ ἀκραιφνὲς αὐτοῖς τὸ αἷμα.* Since the passage in the text was written, I have found that the story has been already told to the English reader, by Mr GODWIN, Lives of the Necromancers, pp. 159—160.

[46] STRABO, VI. p. 255.

[47] PAUSANIAS, VI. p. 467.

[48] AELIAN, V. H. VIII. 18. and SUIDAS, under *Εὔθυμος.*

[49] PAUSANIAS, l. c. *Τοῦ καταλευσθέντος δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὸν δαίμονα οὐδένα ἀνιέναι καιρὸν ἀποκτείνοντα τε ὁμοίως τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τεμέσῃ, καὶ ἐπεξερχόμενον ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν.*

which thus befel them; but were told, by the Pythian oracle, that the demon might be propitiated. With this object they were to build a temple, and to offer "to the hero," once a year, the most beautiful virgin of their city. The temple was accordingly raised; access to its sacred inclosure was prohibited to all except the priests[50]; and, thus, it is easy to imagine at what shrine the young and beautiful maiden was annually sacrificed. As soon as a human champion, Euthymus, presented himself on behalf of one of these victims, of lust on the one side and of credulity on the other, the supposed demon fled out of the country[51].

A story, similar to the last in some of its features, is told of a female monster, Sybaris, whose abode was in a cavern on the south side of Mount Parnassus[52]. Eurybatus destroyed the Lamia, and saved Alcyoneus, her destined victim, from his fate.

According to a local superstition of the Lesbians, the unquiet ghost of the virgin Gello used to haunt their island, and was supposed to cause the deaths of young children[53].

We can hardly compare with the vampires of Pausanias and Philostratus, other empusas or spectres, which

[50] AELIAN, l. c. Τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ ἄβατον ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς. MINUCIUS FELIX, Octav. XXIV. p. 225. ed. 1672. Quaedam fana semel anno adire permittunt: quaedam in totum nefas videre. Many examples, of both classes, are mentioned by Prof. LOBECK, Aglaoph. p. 279. The penalty of entering an ἄβατον ἱερὸν was death: ERATOSTHENES, Catast. I.

[51] That the priest acted the demon's part was seen by Perizonius: "ego tamen illum, cum quo pugnavit Euthymus, validum fuisse sacerdotem auguror potius, quam daemonem." An engraving of this "evil genius that infested Temesa," is given by BEAUMONT, in his Treatise of Spirits, and the story is told at p. 18. of the same work. (ed. Lond. 1705.) The engraving and legend are also found in the less common work of CARTARI, Le Immagini degli Dei degli Antichi, and in his French translator, DU VERDIER, Les Images des Dieux des Anciens, p. 531. foll. ed. Lyon. 1581.

[52] ANTONINUS LIBERALIS, c. VIII. Θηρίον μέγα καὶ ὑπερφυές, καὶ αὐτὸ Λαμίαν, οἱ δὲ Σύβαριν ὠνόμαζον.

[53] ZENOBIUS, and HESYCHIUS: MEURSIUS, Lectiones Atticae, III. 17. and ALMELOVEEN, Amoenitates, p. 154.

were objects of terror in many different places; but of whose blood-sucking, flesh-eating or life-destroying propensities nothing is recorded[54]. Thus the ill-fated Io is represented, in the Prometheus of Aeschylus, as pursued by the spectral form of the earth-born Argus[55],

> Who, e'en when dead, remains not in his grave[56].

This phantasm is described as solely discerned by the heated imagination of Io; just as our Shakspeare, in one of the scenes of Hamlet, makes the ghost of the murdered king visible only to his son[57]. The ghost of Actaeon used thus also to terrify the Orchomenians[58]: and we know that the unquiet spectre of Atymnos, the brother of Europa, was believed to haunt the scene of his sister's dishonour, and to appear in the dim twilight, or through the shades of night, to the inhabitants of Gortyna[59].

We also find traces of a principle similar to that in which the modern superstition had its rise, in Plato: he speaks, in the Phaedo, of certain obscure phantasms belonging to impure souls, which had been unable wholly to free themselves from their fleshly prison-house, and which haunted tombs. Plato, however, assigns no such

[54] See TZETZES, on Lycophron, 1030. CONON, c. XXVI. and LOBECK, Aglaophamus, p. 302.

[55] AESCHYLUS, Prom. 567.

> Χρίει τις αὖ με τὰν τάλαιναν οἶστρος,
> εἴδωλον Ἄργου γηγενοῦς.

[56] AESCHYLUS, l. c. 571.

> Ὃν οὐδὲ κατθανόντα γαῖα κεύθει.

[57] When the king's ghost is *visible* it may be compared with the εἴδωλον of Darius, in the Persae, as has been long since observed.

[58] PAUSANIAS, IX. p. 787.

[59] SOLINUS, c. XI. Idem Gortynii et Atymnum colunt, Europae fratrem: ita enim memorant. Videtur hic, et occurrit, sed die jam vesperato augustiori se facie visendum offerens. The dim hour of twilight was naturally that

> When angel forms athwart the solemn dusk
> Tremendous swept, or seem'd to sweep along;
> And voices more than human, through the void
> Deep-sounding, seiz'd th' enthusiastic ear.

On Atymnos see WELCKER, Ueber eine Kretische Kolonie in Theben, p. 8.

blood-sucking propensities to these phantasms, as are attributed to the modern Vampire[60].

It is impossible to leave the subject without regretting our loss of the works of Damascius, among which there was one book "respecting the souls which appear after death." His writings seem, by the admission of the Patriarch Photius, to have possessed considerable literary merit, and would doubtless have made a great addition to what is known of the demonology of the ancients[61].

An unpublished work of Michael Psellus, "on the opinions of the Greeks respecting demons," will probably soon be presented to the Republic of Letters by Mr Hase[62].

In the previous volume[63] I have endeavoured to trace some modern superstitions to their origin, the belief in

> Those demons that are found
> In fire, air, flood and under ground,
> Whose power hath a true consent
> With planet, or with *element*.

Other supernatural beings, besides the Holy Virgins and the Vampires, of whom I have heard in Crete, are the Nereídhes[64]: they are said to shew themselves to very few persons, although they constantly frequent the mountains, caves near the sea-shore, and other desert

[60] PLATO, Phaed. §. 69. p. 81. *Περὶ τὰ μνήματά τε καὶ τοὺς τάφους κυλινδουμένη, περὶ ἃ δὴ καὶ ὤφθη ἄττα ψυχῶν σκοτοειδῆ φάσματα, οἷα παρέχονται αἱ τοιαῦται ψυχαὶ εἴδωλα, αἱ μὴ καθαρῶς ἀπολυθεῖσαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὁρατοῦ μετέχουσαι.* The same notion was prevalent among the Jews: see LIGHTFOOT, on JOHN, XI. 39. ELSNER, Obs. Sacr. p. 47. (compare MATTHEW, VIII. 28. MARK, v. 1. LUKE, VIII. 26.)

[61] On Damascius and his writings, see PHOTIUS, Biblioth. cod. 130. We might perhaps have found more details, respecting the prototype of the modern Katakhanás, in the work, *Περὶ τῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἐπιφαινομένων ψυχῶν παραδόξων διηγημάτων κεφάλαια ξγ'.*

[62] HASE, on Leo Diaconus, Lib. VI. p. 464. "Michaelis Pselli libellus Graece nondum editus de opinionibus Graec. circa daemones, (quem volumini proximo historiae eiusdem Pselli fortasse subiiciam.)"

[63] Vol. I. pp. 89—93.

[64] *Νερηΐδες.*

spots: they are of the female sex, are very beautiful, and always pass their nights in dancing[65].

Thus it appears that the Nereid nymphs of antiquity[66] have preserved their sex, and personal beauty, and even their ancient attachment to the dance[67], along with their watery habitations in dripping caverns near the sea. The title of an unpublished treatise, contained among the manuscripts of the Vienna Library is, "concerning the nymphs whom the common people call Nereids[68]." Another epithet, "the beautiful ladies,"

[65] A modern traveller in Crete when at Goniés, on the north-eastern slopes of Mount Ida, seems, although wholly ignorant of the language of the island, to have found some slight traces of this belief: see SIEBER, Reise, Vol. I. p. 432.

[66] To whom a sacred inclosure was dedicated, near Cardamyle in Laconia: PAUSANIAS, III. p. 278. and who were represented on several works of ancient sculpture: PAUSANIAS, II. p. 112. and V. p. 426. and are also frequently found on coins and gems, MUELLER, Handbuch der Archaeologie, 402. 3. (p. 615. 2d. ed.)

[67] EURIPIDES, Ion, v. 1081.

Καὶ πεντήκοντα κόραι
Νηρέος, αἱ κατὰ πόντου
ἀενναόων τε ποταμῶν
δίνας χορευόμεναι—

Compare Iphig. Taur. 427. Iphig. Aul. 1057. and AESCHYLUS, in the Scholia on Aristophanes, Acharn. 848. Their number varied: see PLATO, Critias, Tom. III. p. 116. e. and other passages indicated by MUSGRAVE, on Soph. Oed. C. 718, 9. It is hardly worth while to stop to consider, in this place, whether the daughters of Nereus ought to be distinguished from the sea-goddesses the Nereids: see EUSTATHIUS, p. 1954, 5. AMMONIUS, p. 97. and Valcken. Animadv. p. 161. It is deserving of notice that the proper form of the name, Νηρεΐδες, does not occur in any of the passages where they are mentioned by Attic writers: see F. ELLENDT, Lex. Sophocl. Vol. II. p. 160.

[68] NESSEL, Catalog. Biblioth. Vindob. P. V. p. 168. L. N. A′. The work is by Joannes Magister Canabutius, and is entitled Περὶ Νυμφῶν, τίνες εἰσί, καὶ πόσα γένη τούτων εἰσί, καὶ ὅτι γένη δαιμόνων εἰσίν, ἃ καλοῦσι βαρβαρίζοντες Νεραγίδας, quae vulgo vocantur Νεραΐδες: the γ may be inserted or not, as in many other modern Greek words, and makes hardly any perceptible difference in the sound. Thus παναγία has given way to παναΐα, in the text of Hesychius: see MEINEKE Quaest. Scen. II. 39. WELCKER, Sylloge Epigramm. Graec. p. 121. and thus also we have κλαίει and κλαίγει &c. &c. and the common word ἅγιος has nearly the same sound as ἅϊος. This title is quoted by Professor LOBECK, Aglaoph. p. 1204. KORAY, ATAKTA, Tom. II. p. 257. says, Νεράδες, θεαὶ θαλάσσιαι, τὰς ὁποίας

bestowed on these creatures of popular superstition[69], reminds us of the Eumenides of the ancients, and of other euphemisms used to propitiate the imaginary beings of our own fairy mythology.

The lofty mountains are the favourite haunt of the Nereids at the present day. Even among the ancients the same transfer of Water-Nymphs to the mountains was common. The huntress and mountain-goddess Artemis is attended, as we have seen, by Cretan River-Nymphs[70]; and Cyrene, in Virgil, invokes at once

> Oceanumque patrem rerum, Nymphasque sorores,
> Centum quae silvas, centum quae flumina servant.

These modern Nereids bear a closer resemblance to the fairies of Old England, than any other supernatural beings, of whom I have heard in the East. Our fairies principally inhabit mountains and caverns, and their chief nightly pastime is dancing[71].

The main intercourse of "the beautiful ladies" with mankind, is when they change one of their young Nereids[72] for the child of a woman, who has just become a mother. Their offspring, so left in exchange, is said never to live. The conduct of the Cretan Nereid re-

*ὁποίας πιστεύει ἀκόμη ὁ ὅχλος, χωρὶς ὅμως νὰ γνωρίζῃ καλὰ ποῦ κατοικοῦν*: the Cretans, however, think they know this full well, and told me, as I have mentioned in the text.

[69] KORAY, ATAKTA. Tom. 4. p. 211. *Πιθανὸν ὅτι εἶναι κατ' εὐφημισμόν, ὡς καὶ αἱ Νηρηΐδες, Ἑλλ. ὀνομάζονται κοινῶς, ὄχι μόνον Νεραΐδες* (Néréides), *ἀλλὰ καὶ Καλαὶ ἀρχόντισσαι* (belles dames).

[70] Above, Vol. I. p. 266. and SPANHEIM, on Callimachus, Hymn to Artemis, v. 13. HEYNE, on Virgil, Georg. IV. v. 343.

[71] KEIGHTLEY, Fairy Mythology, Vol. II. Chapter on Great Britain, p. 104. CROKER, Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland, Part III. p. 90. "Wherever the fairies hold a feast, they are accompanied by music: nor is it wanting in their large and festive processions: in this the traditions of all nations are unanimous." The same abode in the mountains, and fondness for dance and song, also characterize the Servian *Vila*: and all the mountain and water spirits of the popular belief of Northern Europe, equally delight in music and dancing: see J. GRIMM, Deutsche Mythologie, pp. 264. and 278.

[72] *Ένα Νεραϊδάκι.*

sembles, in this point also, the general practice of our fairy[73].

When larks 'gin sing
Away we fling,
And babes new born steal as we go,
And elfe in bed
We leave instead,
And wend us laughing: Ho! Ho! Ho![74].

I, however, find no trace, in Crete, of the belief in the diminutive stature of the Nereids, a peculiarity of our English fairies, which they have been supposed to have derived, with some of their unamiable qualities, from the Gothic elves[75].

The following Sfakian story[76] also has a resemblance to the legends of our northern mythology, with its

Fairy elves,
Whose midnight revels by a forest side,
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees,
Or dreams he sees, while over head the Moon
Sits arbitress—they on their mirth and dance
Intent, with jocund music charm his ear[77].

"Two men went, on a fine moonlight night, up the lofty mountains, intending to hunt the agrímia. They heard a great tumult, and at first supposed it to be caused by people coming to obtain snow, to take into the city: but, as they drew nearer, they heard the

[73] SCOTT, On the Fairies of popular superstition, in Vol. II. p. 167. foll. of the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border: CROKER's Researches in the South of Ireland, Chapter V.: and CROKER, Fairy Legends and Traditions, Vol. I. pp. 77—80. The belief is alluded to in SHAKSPEARE, Henry IV. Part I. Act I. Sc. I. and SPENSER, Faerie Queene, I. 10. 35. See BRAND's Popular Antiquities, Vol. II. p. 8. foll.

[74] See also DRAYTON, Nymphidia, Stanza X. The same opinion was entertained of an evil spirit as early as the time of MICHAEL PSELLUS: see his work de operat. daem. p. 78. (and WARTON, on Milton's L'Allegro.)

[75] SCOTT, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Vol. II. p. 178. No notice of this diminutive stature is found in Chaucer's account of them: see KEIGHTLEY, Fairy Mythology, Vol. II. p. 121.

[76] I wrote down the story in the very words of my Sfakian informant, as it is given in Note C, at the end of the Chapter. The text contains a condensed translation of it.

[77] MILTON, Paradise Lost, I. 781.

sound of musical instruments and varied sports. The men soon discovered that these were not mortals, but an assemblage of demoniacal beings[78]: all of whom were clothed in varied garments, and rode on horses, some of which were white, and others of different colours. It appeared that there were "both men and women, on foot and on horseback, a multitude of people: and the men were white as doves, and the women beautiful as the sunbeams:" it was also evident that they were carrying something like a bier. The mountaineers determined to shoot at the aerial host, as they passed on singing,

> We go, we go, to fetch the lady-bride
> From the steep rock, a solitary nymph.

As soon as the shot was fired, those who were last in the procession exclaimed, 'They've murdered our bridegroom—they've murdered our bridegroom:' and, as they made this exclamation, they wept, and shrieked, and fled."

Some passages in an account of the *fairy fowks rade*, shew an identity, both of fact and phrase, so curious as to make it well worth while to compare the whole story of the Cretan mountaineers, with that of an old woman of Nithsdale, as given in Mr Keightley's work[79].

As the idea that the unearthly beings were mere mortals, going to fetch snow, struck the Sfakians, so the Scot at first thought that "it was drunken fowk riding to the fair in the forenight." As the Sfakians had never before heard such sounds, so a young North-Briton when out, on a love affair, heard most delicious music, far surpassing the utterance of any mortal, "and advancing to the spot whence the sound appeared to proceed, suddenly found himself the spectator of a fairy-banquet[80]."

[78] The words were *δαιμονικὸ συνέδριον*.
[79] KEIGHTLEY, Fairy Mythology, Vol. II. p. 166.
[80] See KEIGHTLEY, l. c. p. 162.

My hostess here, at Anópolis, was once traversing the mountains, accompanied by one of her daughters, and, when about three miles from the village of Murí, they heard sounds as of voices singing[81], but it was impossible to distinguish what were the words uttered[82]. The demon, for such she supposed the unseen object of her alarm to be, then began to throw stones, which fell both before and behind them. Although she saw him not, yet she immediately pronounced aloud some holy texts, which are a never failing charm against any common demon[83]. When she found that the evil spirit continued to sing, and to cast stones at them, she knew that it must be a Katakhanás; and, therefore, crossing herself, and calling on the Holy Mother of God, she immediately repeated: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God[84]." This sentence she pronounced thrice, but it was all in vain: the Katakhanás kept rolling down the stones[85] as before. She next repeated a part of the Greek ritual[86], which produced no better effect: the Katakhanás continued to persecute and terrify her. At length, on seeing two women, as she approached the village, she summoned courage enough to address him in a bolder strain[87], and, on her doing so, he ceased to molest her.

An ancient Cretan, under the same circumstances, would probably have called on as many names as were invoked by the old lady. Instead of the Panaghía, the Lógos, and the Angels, he would have used the celebrated Ephesian words[88], or the names of the Idaean

[81] Ὡσὰν τραγοῦδι. [82] Ὅμως δὲν ἐκαθαρίσθη τὶ εἶπεν. [83] Δαίμονας.

[84] Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ ῥόγος, καὶ ὁ ῥόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ ῥόγος. [85] Ἐῤῥήκτει τζὴ πέτραις.

[86] She said it from the ἦχος of the Panaghía, and began thus: Ἄγγελος πρωτοστάτης οὐρανοῦ, &c.

[87] Her words were, Ἐξελθέ, διάβολε, ἀπὸ μᾶς, διατὶ θὰ σοῦ βάῤῥω τὸ ῥαβδί μου εἰς τὸ κώλο σου: as soon as she said this, ἔγενε ἄφαντος.

[88] Eustathius, on the Odyss. p. 1864, 14. Ἐφέσια γράμματα, ἐπῳδαί τινές, φασιν, ἐκεῖνα ἦσαν. See Clemens Alex. Strom. v. p. 568. and Potter's note, Hesychius, in v. Ἐφέσια γράμματα: Wetstein, on Acts

Dactyls, who were regarded as beings of a higher order, and powerful enough to avert, whenever they were invoked, any impending calamity from the race of men[89].

Similar malevolent demons, which used to molest men, and still more women, even in the daytime, existed in the superstition of ancient times. A Jewess, if well read in the Septuagint version of her Scriptures, would probably have taken the supposed supernatural being for "the mid-day demon," which is spoken of in the Psalms[90]: and a heathen ancestress of my hostess would have believed the persecuting phantasm to have been sent by Dictynna or Artemis[91].

The author of a book commonly attributed to Hippocrates[92], treats the belief in similar visions of hostile demons as a disease. He says, that such imaginary phantasms, supposed to be seen not only by night but by day, had caused many persons, especially women, to hang themselves; and subjoins, that on recovery from such a disorder, it was usual for the women to make expensive offerings to Artemis, at the instigation of the priests, who, as usual, profited by their credulity[93].

Acts, XIX. 19. MEINEKE, on Menander, p. 132. and, most of all, WYTTENBACH, on Plutarch, Tom. VI. Pars I. p. 605. and LOBECK, Aglaophamus, pp. 1163. and 1330—1333.

[89] PLUTARCH, de Sent. Profect. in Virtut. p. 85. 3. (p. 316. Reisk.) Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκμεμαθηκότες τὰ τῶν Ἰδαίων ὀνόματα Δακτύλων χρῶνται πρὸς τοὺς φόβους αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀλεξικάκοις, ἀτρέμα καταλέγοντες ἕκαστον.

[90] PSALMS, XCI. 6. Οὐ φοβηθήσῃ—ἀπὸ πράγματος διαπορευομένου ἐν σκότει, ἀπὸ συμπτώματος καὶ δαιμονίου μεσημβρινοῦ. See LE CLERC, Ars Critica, P. I. c. I. p. 52. foll.

[91] See LOBECK, Aglaophamus, p. 1092. who cites the Acta Symphoriani Ruinart. Act. Mart. p. 70. "Dianam *daemonium esse meridianum* sanctorum industria investigavit, quae per compita currens, *et silvarum secreta perlustrans*, hominum mentibus zizaniae tribulos disseminat."

[92] See KUEHN, Hist. Literar. Hippocrat. p. CXXXIV. 20.

[93] HIPPOCRATES, de Morb. Virg. p. 357. or Tom. II. p. 526. ed Kuehn. Περὶ τῶν δειμάτων ὁκόσα φοβεῦνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἰσχυρῶς, ὥστε παραφρονέειν καὶ ὀρῆν δοκέειν δαίμονας τινὰς ἐφ' ἑωυτῶν δυσμενέας, ὁκότε μὲν νυκτός, ὁκότε δὲ ἡμέρης—ἔπειτα ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ὄψιος πολλοὶ ἤδη ἀπηγχονίσθησαν, πλέονες δὲ γυναῖκες ἢ ἄνδρες. Again, p. 528. Φρονησάσης δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι αἱ γυναῖκες ἄλλα τε πολλά, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὰ πολυτελέστατα τῶν ἱματίων καθιεροῦσι τῶν γυναικείων, κελευόντων

Since the mid-day demon has thus brought us back to the Katakhanás, I will notice one other class of actions sometimes performed by that fearful being, and which are of a very different character from those already described. When he visits a wife, in the absence of her husband, she usually survives the interview[94]. Thus, as in other ages and countries, a mortal lover has at times been converted into a god[95], an angel[96], or a saint; so, in Crete, he has, doubtless not unfrequently, been believed to be a vampire.

During the long war between the Christians and Mohammedans of the island it became a matter of astonishment, that ravages caused by vampires were no

*κελευόντων τῶν μάντεων, ἐξαπατεώμεναι.* With this mention of Diana, Professor LOBECK, l. c. compares the words of HORACE, A. P. 453.

[94] *Ἔνας Καταχανᾶς ἐγύρισε εἰς τὴν Ἀνώπολιν, καὶ ἐπλάκωνε τζὴ ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἐγάστρωσε καὶ μίαν γυναῖκα. Ὁ ἄνδρας τζή εἶχε λείπει καὶ ἐπῆγεν ἕνας καταχανᾶς, καὶ αὐτὴ θάρρωντας ὅπως εἶναι ὁ ἄνδρας τζή— καὶ, τὸ πουρνό, δὲν ἠμπόρει· καὶ ἦλθε καὶ ὁ ἄνδρας τζὴ, καὶ λέγει τζή, "τί ἔχεις;" καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα λέγει "πολλὴν ὥραν με ἐπλάκωσες τὸ βράδυ, καὶ δὲν ἐμπορῶ·" καὶ ὁ ἄνδρας λέγει, "ἐγὼ δὲν ἦλθα." καὶ πάλιν ἡ γυναῖκα εἶπε, "ἐδά ὡσὰ δὲν ἦλθες ἐσύ, ἤτονι ὁ Καταχανᾶς,"* an explanation with which the husband was fully satisfied.—*ὑστερινὰ τὸν ἐξεχώσασι, καὶ ἐξορκίσανι τόνι καὶ ἔπεμψαν τὸν εἰς τὴν Σαντορίνην.* With the performance of this Katakhanás the exploit of BOCCACCIO's pallafreniere (Decamerone, Giornata III. Novella II.) deserves to be compared. Of the truth of the Sfakian story, and that the individual was a genuine Katakhanás, both my host and his wife were fully satisfied: compare WIERUS, de Praestigiis Daemonum, Basil, 1564. Lib. II. c. 39. and other parts. The title of c. 39. is "Incubi illusionem infestare quandoque probas etiam matronas, cum ridiculo exemplo adulterini congressus daemoniaci."

[95] See BAYLE, Dictionnaire Philosophique, v. Scamandre; WOOD, Essay on the original genius of Homer, p. 2. GIBBON, end of c. XXVIII. JOSEPHUS, A. J. XVIII. 3, 4. p. 799. Paulina sleeps, *καὶ ὁ Μοῦνδος, προεκέκρυπτο γὰρ τῇδε, οὐχ ἡμάρτανεν ὁμιλιῶν τῶν πρὸς αὐτήν· πανυχιόν τε αὐτῷ διεκονήσατο, ὑπειληφυῖα θεὸν εἶναι. καὶ—πρυὶ ὡς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐλθοῦσα, τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐκδιηγεῖται τοῦ Ἀνούβιδος,* just as the Sfakian lady told her husband of the Katakhanás.

[96] I need hardly name Boccaccio as an ample authority for this assertion. We are even told by grave Roman Catholics, to use the words of an English bishop, "that 'once Christ came, in company with St Dominic, to visit Teresa: Christ soon withdrew, and bade her recreate herself with his friend Dominic, who stayed with her two hours.' Such is the language and effect of *spiritual love* among the Popish fanatics." Dr LAVINGTON, (Bishop of Exeter,) The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared, Vol. I. p. 54. 3d. ed.

longer spoken of. How can it be when the number of deaths is so great, that none of those who die become Katakhanádhes? The answer given was, "No one ever becomes a Katakhanás[97], if he dies in time of war"!

Another superstitious belief, universally prevalent in the island, is, that if a Papás excommunicates, or even utters an imprecation against, any one[98], the man falls ill, and can only be restored to health by going to the very Papás who has caused his suffering, or to a bishop, to obtain the removal of the ban. If a Therisióte, Lakióte, or Sfakian, has a head-ache, fever, or rheumatism, it is at once the excommunication of a Papás which has done it[99].

Thus the clergy, availing themselves, to the fullest possible extent, of the ignorance and credulity of the people, have extended the bounds of their long recognized dominion over the soul, even to the body: and, more than this, not content with the power of rendering any one a restless vampire after death, they convince their flocks that the enjoyment even of bodily health, during life-time, wholly depends on the will of their spiritual rulers and guides!

The influence which such a popular superstition bestows on the clergy is sufficiently obvious: and the sincerity of the belief of these rude mountaineers, in the power of their priests over the body as well as the soul, has at times led to disagreeable, and, more than once, even to fatal results.

[97] Δὲν καταχανεύουνι.

[98] I was told that his calling a man θεοκατάρατος would suffice to produce results similar to those of the regular ἀφορισμός.

[99] This superstition was equally general in the sixteenth century. The Proveditor Foscarini, (in his Relatione, &c. foll. 115. date 1576.) says that the Cretans "alli loro papati portano grandissimo rispetto et riverentia, massime li contadini et gente bassa, che temono più la scomunica del Papá che non fanno tutto il male che potesse loro avenire: et se per accidente li occorre qualche disconzo, o di malattia o d'altro, quando possono dubitar di essere stati escomunicati, si riducono in disperatione, ne possono potersi mai liberar da quel male, se non sono dal medesimo Papá, con modi superstitiosi et quasi idolatri, rebenedetti."

Some years ago a Greek of Kerámia complained to the Pashá of Khaniá, that the Papás of his village had thus excommunicated or bewitched him; whereon the Pashá sent for the priest, threw him into prison, and only released him on his paying a fine of three hundred piastres.

During the war, a native of Thériso was taken ill: it is an ἀφορισμός, was the general cry: the Papás was reviled and threatened: still the man grew worse, and at last died. So firm was the belief of every one in the neighbourhood, that the ban had caused his death, that a few of his companions felt it a duty to avenge his fate, and immediately sought out and shot the poor Papás.

A story, which also serves in a still more striking manner to exemplify the crimes caused by these superstitious notions, is told of a bishop of some diocese in the Moréa, who was once robbed as he was passing through a part of the Maniáte territory. When the deed had been performed, the mountaineers called to mind that the bishop would, in all probability, excommunicate them, as soon as he reached a place of safety. They saw no means of averting this dreadful calamity, except by the death of the unfortunate prelate, whom they therefore pursued, overtook and shot.

Whether we sigh or smile at the narrative of such credulity and superstition, we must remember, that far greater atrocities were committed, as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in our own country; where they were even invested with the sanction of acts of parliament, and were uniformly approved by the clergy. In the age of Shakspeare, a pious bishop believed that he could see most evident and manifest marks of wickedness, of which the victims pined away even unto death: "Their colour fadeth," says Jewel, in a sermon preached before Elizabeth, "their flesh rotteth; their speech is benumbed; their senses bereft:" and, in the first year of her successor's reign, an act of parliament was passed,

which appointed "the pains of death" as the punishment of enchantments and witchcraft. Even Sir Paul Ricaut, when writing, near the end of the seventeenth century, of similar Greek superstitions, adds, that the instances mentioned were told "with as much variety as we do the tales of witches and enchantments, of which it is observed in conversation, that scarce one story is ended before another begins of like wonder[100]."

In Great Britain it is undoubted that not only hundreds but thousands of unhappy victims, of both sexes, suffered a cruel death for this imaginary crime. Unfortunately for the interests of humanity, the clergy were not supposed, with us, to be in exclusive possession of the art of witchcraft, as they are now in Greece: and, since they generally shared in the superstition of the day, they contributed, in no slight degree, to increase the popular violence and cruelty. For the imaginary power which, if wielded, as it is in Greece, by those who are expressly set apart for the service of heaven, would have been regarded as derived from God, became, when in lay hands, a gift of the Devil: and the well-known text, "thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," was of course, considered, in that age, both as a proof of the reality of the crime, and an incitement to exterminate all those whom the miserable wretches called witch-finders might accuse of having committed it[101]. The royal demonologist, James, expressly lays down,

[100] RICAUT, The present State of the Greek Church, p. 278.

[101] In Scotland, especially, the superstition of the clergy made them encourage the witch prosecutions, and approve of the invariable torture by which they were accompanied, and of the death by burning, in which they ordinarily ended: see Sir WALTER SCOTT, Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, Letter IX. p. 304. foll.: "These venerable persons entertained, with good faith, the general erroneous belief respecting witchcraft, regarding it indeed as a crime which affected their own order more nearly than others in the state, since, especially called to the service of Heaven, they were peculiarly bound to oppose the incursions of Satan." Sir Walter Scott observes, at p. 317, that the English sectarians in Cromwell's time beheld with horror and disgust "a practice so inconsistent with their own humane principles of universal toleration."

that "never so diffamed persons may serue for sufficient witnesses and proofes in such trialls:" and, as late as the year 1664, Sir Matthew Hale told a jury, that since the Scripture left no doubt that there was such a thing as witchcraft, "the only question to be considered by them was, 1st, whether certain children were really bewitched, and 2d, whether the witchcraft was sufficiently brought home to the prisoners at the bar;" two unfortunate women, who were found guilty by the jury, were sentenced by the judge[102], and were duly hanged by the executioner[103].

[102] "In conclusion the judge and all the court were fully satisfied with the verdict, and thereupon gave judgement against the witches that they should be hanged. They were much urged to confess, but would not. That morning we departed for Cambridge, but no reprieve was granted: and they were executed on Monday the seventeenth of March following, but they confessed nothing." A Tryall of Witches at the Assizes held at Bury St Edmond's, for the County of Suffolk; on the tenth day of March, 1664, before Sir Matthew Hale, Kt. &c." London, 1682. pp. 58–59.

[103] The last death in Scotland, for the same crime, was in the year 1722. Sir WALTER SCOTT, Demonology, Letter IX. p. 338. The statute of James was not repealed till just a hundred years ago (in 1736). In France Louis XIV. had forbidden all judicial investigation into alleged cases of sorcery more than half a century earlier, and only eight years after Sir Matthew Hale had pronounced his sentence of death on a similar charge. See VOLTAIRE, Siècle de Louis XIV. Ch. XXXI. GODWIN, Lives of the Necromancers, p. 464.

# ADDITIONAL NOTES

TO

# CHAPTER XXXVI.

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## NOTE A. (p. 197.)

ΕΙΣ ἕνα καιρὸν παλαιὸν στὸ χωριό Καλικράτι, τῆς ἐπαρχίας Σφακιά, ἐβγῆκεν ἕνας Καταχανᾶς, καὶ δὲν ἐξεύρασι τὶ ἄνθρωπος ἦτονι, ἢ ἀπὸ τὶ μέρος. Τοῦτος ὁ Καταχανᾶς ἐχάρασε παιδιὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους μεγάρους ποῤῥούς, καὶ ἐρήμνωξε καὶ τὸ χωριό ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἄῤῥα ποῤῥά. Καὶ τὸν εἴχασι θαμμένον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Γεώργιον, εἰς τὸ Καλικράτι, καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἦτον σημαντικὸς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τοῦ εἴχασι καμάραν καμομένην. Ἦτονι καὶ ἕνας βοσκὸς σύντεκνος τοῦ μεροτικός, καὶ ἔβοσκε ὠζὰ ἐκεῖ, κοντὰ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ὅμως τὸν ἐπίασε βροχή, καὶ ἐπῆγε στὸ μνῆμα, νὰ σκιασθῇ ἀπὸ τὴν βροχή. Μετ' αὐτὸ ἀποφάσισε διὰ νὰ κοιμηθῇ, καὶ νὰ ξωμείνῃ ἐκεῖ· καὶ βγάνει τὰ ἅρματά του, καὶ τὰ θέτει στὸ προσκεφάλι του, σταυροτά· (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἶχε νὰ 'πῇ ὁ κόσμος, ὅπως διὰ τοῦτο δὲν εἶχε τὴν ἄδειαν νὰ πορίσῃ ὁ Καταχανᾶς·) Τὴν νύκτα, λειπόν, αὐτός, ὅπως ἠθέλησε νὰ πορίσῃ πάλιν, διὰ νὰ πάγῃ νὰ χαράσῃ ἀνθρώπους, λέγει τοῦ βοσκοῦ· "Σήκωσε, σύντεκνε, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἔχω δουλιά διὰ νὰ πορίσω. Αὐτὸς δὲν τοῦ ἀποκρίθηκε, μήτε στὴν μία φοράν, μήτε τζὴ δύω, μήτε τζὴ τρεῖς· τοιούτως ἐγνώρισεν αὐτὸς ὅπως εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς καταχανημένος, καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸς ἀποῦ ἔκαμεν ἐκεῖνα τὰ κακά. Διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ ὠμίλησεν, τζὴ τέσσεραις ἀπάνω, καὶ τοῦ εἶπε· "Δὲν σηκώνομαι ἀπ' ἐδά, διατὶ φοβοῦμαι, σύντεκνε, μὴ μπὰ νὰ ἔχῃς ἀπὸ κακὸν αἰέρα πρᾶγμα παθομένο, καὶ με πειράξῃς, καὶ φοβοῦμαι· ὅμως, σὰ θέλεις νὰ σηκωθῶ, μνώξέ μου 'μὰ τὸ ἀναβόλι σου,' ὅπως δὲν με πειράζεις, καὶ ἔτσι σηκώνομαι." Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲν τοῦ τὸ ἔλεγε, παρὰ τοῦ ἔλεγεν ἄῤῥα· ὅμως σὰ δὲν τὸν ἄφινε

*νὰ σηκωθῇ, τοῦ ἔμνωξε ὡς καθῶς 'ποῦ ἤθελε· καὶ σηκώνεται ἀπ' ἐκεῖ, καὶ πέρνει τὰ ἅρματά του, καὶ τὰ βγάνει ἀπὸ τὸ μνῆμα ὄξω. Καὶ αὐτὸς, (ὁ καταχανᾶς,) ἐπόρισε, καὶ τὸν ἐχαιρετιχτήκασε, καὶ τοῦ λέγει, "Ομως σύντεκνε, μὴ μισέψῃς, ἀῤῥὰ κάθισε ἐδά, ἀποῦ ἔχω δουλιά διὰ νὰ πάγω, καὶ εἰς μίαν ὥραν θὲ νὰ γυρίσω· ἀποῦ ἔχω λόγον νὰ σου 'μιλήσω. Καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἐκαρτέρησε.*

*Καὶ ὁ Καταχανᾶς ἐπῆγεν ὡς δέκα μίλια δρόμου, ἀποῦ ἤτονι ἕνα ἀνδρόγυνον εὐλογισμένον, καὶ τοὺς ἐχάρασε καὶ γιαίρει ὀπίσω, καὶ τὸν εἶδεν ὁ σύντεκνός του ἀποῦ ἐβάστα τὸ σκότι, καὶ ἤτανι τὰ χέριά του ὀγρὰ ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀποῦ τὸ ἐβάστα τὸ ἐφύσηξεν, ὡς καθῶς ἀποῦ φυσᾷ ὁ χασάπις διὰ νὰ μεγαλώσῃ τὸ σκότι· καὶ τοῦ ἔδειξεν ὅπως ἤτον ψημμένον, ὡς καθῶς καὶ εἰς τὴν φωτιάν. Μετ' αὐτὰ τοῦ εἶπε, νὰ καθίσωμεν σύντεκνε, νὰ φάμε· καὶ αὐτός ἔκαμεν ὅπως ἔφαγε, ὅμως ἔτρωγε ξηρὸν ψωμί, καὶ ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνο δὲν ἔφαγε, ἀῤῥὰ τὸ ἔβαλλε στὸν κόρφον του. Διαταῦτος ἦλθεν ὥρα ὅπως νὰ ἀναχωρήσωσι, καὶ τοῦ εἶπεν ὅπως, "Σύντεκνε, τοῦτο ἀποῦ εἶδες, νὰ μὴ τὸ μαρτυρήσῃς, διατὶ τὰ εἴκοσι μου ἀνύχια εἰς τὰ παιδιά καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀπατόν σου θὰ εἶναι κρεμασμένα." Καὶ αὐτὸς ὅμως δὲν ἔχασε καιρόν, παρὰ ἔδωκεν τὴν εἴδησιν εἰς ἱερεῖς, καὶ εἰς ἐπιλοίπους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἐπήγασαν καὶ εὑρήκασάν τον εἰς τὸ μνῆμα, καὶ ἐγνωρίσασιν ὅροι ὅπως αὐτὸς εἶχε ὥρα τὰ κακὰ καμομένα· διαταῦτος ἐμαζέψασιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ξύρα ποῤῥά, καὶ τὸν ἐβάλασιν ἀπάνω, καὶ τὸν ἐκάψασιν· καὶ ὁ σύντεκνός του δὲν ἦτον εἰς τὸ εὔγορον, καὶ ὅταν ἤτονι μεσοκαιεμένος ἐπρόβαλε καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ νὰ κάμῃ χάσι, καὶ ἐπέταξεν ὁ Καταχανᾶς ὡς καθῶς μίαν ῥουχάλα μὲ αἷμα, καὶ τοῦ ἔδωκεν εἰς τὸ πόδι του, καὶ ἐλύθηκεν ὡς νὰ ἤτονι εἰς τὴν φωτιάν ψημμένον· διαταῦτος ἐκοσκινίσασι καὶ τὸν ἄθον, καὶ εὑρήκασι τὸ μικρὸ ἀνυχάκι τοῦ Καταχανᾶ ἄκαγον, καὶ τὸ ἔκαψαν καὶ ἐκεῖνο.*

## NOTE B.

Leo Allatius, in his Essay de Quorundam Graecorum Opinationibus, devotes many pages (pp. 142–158) to this subject. I extract the following passages:

P. 142. "Et haec ferenda videntur, si unum excipias Burculacam; alii Bulcolaccam, alii Buthrolacam vocant; quo sane in genus humanum nihil potest excogitari immanius aut perniciosius. Nomen est inditum a foeditate. *Βοῦρκα* limus est, non quilibet, sed qui jam putrescenti aqua maceratus, pessimam exhalat Mephitim, ut ita dicam. *Λάκκος* fossa, seu cavea, in qua similis limus fovetur. Est porro pessimi hominis, et facinorosi, saepeque etiam ab Antistite suo excommunicati cadaver, quod, non ut reliqua demortuorum corpora defossa dissolvuntur atque in pulverem abeunt, sed quasi ex

firmissima pelle constaret, per omnes sui partes intumescit, atque distenditur, ut vix flecti aliqua sui parte possit; sed cutis, tanquam tympanum, extensa, eundem, ac tympanum, si pulsatur, sonum edit; quare et τυμπανιαῖος dicitur. Corpus, sic deformatum, Daemon ingreditur, et miseris mortalibus infortunium parit. Saepe enim sub eo cadavere e sepulchro egressus, et per urbem et alia loca habitata circumiens, et noctu potissimum, ad quam sibi libuerit aedem, confertur, pulsatisque foribus, aliquem ex accolis aedis voce sonora compellat. Si responderit, actum jam est de eo: altero enim die mortem obit. Si non responderit, salvus est. Hinc in ea insula cives omnes, si noctu ab aliquo compellantur, nunquam prima vice respondent: nam, si secundo compellatus fuerit, jam, qui quaerit, Burcolacca non est, sed alius. Eamque pestem adeo exitiosam mortalibus esse dicunt, ut interdiu etiam, et meridie ipso, non intra aedes tantum, sed in agris, et viis mediis, et sepibus vinearum, praetereuntes aggrediatur, et aspectu solo ac visu conficiat, non verbis tantummodo et contactu enecet. Homines ipsi, qui viderunt, si alloquantur, spectrum disparet; qui locutus est, moritur. Quare cives, cum vident homines, nulla grassante infirmitate, in tanta copia emori; suspicati quod est, sepulchra, in quibus recens defunctus sepultus est, aperiunt; aliquando statim, aliquando etiam tardius, cadaver nondum corruptum, inflatumque, comperiunt; quod e sepulchro extractum, precibusque effusis a sacerdotibus, in rogum ardentem conjiciunt; et nondum completa supplicatione, cadaveris juncturae sensim dissolvuntur, et reliqua exusta in cineres convertuntur. Alii Daemonem esse, qui figuram demortui hominis induerit, opinantur, sub eaque homines, quos ipse vult, conficere. Hanc opinationem ex populi animis evellere conati sunt, non veteres modo, (neque enim nupera est, aut hodie nata in Grœcia, haec opinio,) sed etiam recentiores pii homines, qui Christianis a confessionibus sunt."

At p. 149. "Graeci, cum similia vident corpora, quae post obitum in coemeteriis indissoluta comperiuntur, et tympani more extensa cute tumescunt, excommunicatorum esse corpora fatentur, eaque post absolutionem statim dissolvi."

Again, p. 151. "Et stultissima ista de excommunicatorum cadaveribus indissolutis opinatio apud eam nationem adeo invaluit, ut jam nemo sit, si uspiam tale quid comperiatur, qui dubitet, cadaver illud esse excommunicati; quod extrahunt, et variis deprecationibus ac dicendi formulis absolvunt; ordinemque, in tali absolutione servandum, idem Nomocanon, cap. LXXXII. exactissime prosequitur; quibus exsolutis, asseveranter dicunt, cadaver subito in cineres converti. Ipse nihil tale uspiam in Graecia vidi. Audivi tamen saepius ab Athanasio, Imbri Metropolita, homine frugi, et qui rem factam

mendacio non contaminasset, cum Ihasi[1] moraretur in regione Theologi extra urbem in ecclesia sancti Georgii, exoratum a civibus, ut super cadavera, quae ibidem pleraque conspiciebantur indissoluta, excommunicationis absolutionem recitaret, morem gessisse, neque dum finita absolutione cadavera ea omnia in pulverem abiisse. Referebat idem, Constantini cujusdam cognomento Rezepii, qui ex Turca Christo nomina dederat, quod vitam viveret omnibus flagitiis inquinatam, excommunicati, corpus tumulatum fuisse in ecclesia sanctorum Petri et Pauli nationis Graecorum Neapoli, et per plures annos indissolutum mansisse; ab eodem postea, et aliis Metropolitis duobus, Athanasio Cypri, et Chrysantho Lacedaemonio, benedictione subactum, ut alia mortuorum cadavera, pulverem factum. Et quod admirabilius est, dum Raphaël in Patriarchatu praesideret, eodem asserente, qui alium excommunicaverat, postea, compulsu Daemonis, Christum ejurat, excommunicati licet Christiani demortui cadaver mansit indissolutum. De eo certior factus Patriarcha, accersitum Turcam, qui excommunicaverat, monet, ut absolutionem impertiatur. Primum ille renuere, factum detestari; nihil esse Turcis cum Christiana religione commune, dicere; quare Christiani Christianum absolverent: cum vero pertinacius exoraretur, obedit, et absolutionem super excommunicatum recitat; oculatum se testem fatetur, qui perhibet; prope finem absolutionis, cadaveris tumor cessat; et in cineres omnia convertuntur. Rei novitate Turca attonitus, ad magistratum ocius advolat, rem uti facta est narrat, edicit omnibus veram religionem Christianam, quam ipse per summum nefas deseruerat; eam se denuo amplecti, Mahumetanam detestari. Monetur a Turcis, ut sapiat, ne tormentis se objiciat. Ille, se Christianum velle mori, contendit. Quid plura? pertinacem condemnant: ducitur ad supplicium, et Christianam religionem praedicans, morti, summo supplicio mactatus, deditur.

"Plura de his excommunicatis narrat Christophorus Angelus, de vita et moribus recentiorum Graecorum cap. XXV. Non praeteribo vero, quod ille ex Cassiano Historico recitat. Ὁ δὲ νοῦς οὕτως ἔχει. Οὗτος ὁ Κασσιανὸς ἐστὶν Ἕλλην παλαιὸς ἱστορικός, καὶ γράφει ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐγένετο ποτὲ μερικὴ σύνοδος ἔν τινι τόπῳ ἑκατὸν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ πάντες ὀρθῶς ἔλεγον. εἷς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐναντιοῦτο πᾶσι. Τότε ἐκεῖνοι ἀναθεμάτισαν ἐκεῖνον, καὶ οὕτω τέθνηκεν ἀφωρισμένος. καὶ ἔμεινε τὸ σῶμα ἐκείνου ἑκατὸν ἔτη δεδεμένον, ὡς σίδηρον. μετὰ δὲ ἑκατὸν ἔτη ἐγένετο πάλιν σύνοδος μερικὴ ἐκεῖσε ἑκατὸν ἐπισκόπων. Τότε ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἐπίσκοποι εἶπον ἀλλήλοις, ὁ ἀναθεματισμένος ἐπίσκοπος ἐκεῖνος ἥμαρτεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀφώρισεν ἐκεῖνον ἡ ἐκκλησία. Τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκκλησία ἐσμέν, καὶ συγχωρήσωμεν ἐκεῖνον, ἐπειδὴ ἀνθρώπινόν ἐστι τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν· καὶ

[1] Qu. Thasi?

*συνεχώρησαν ἐκεῖνον, καὶ αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ἐστράφη εἰς κόνιν ὁ ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν ἄλυτος.*"

The story told in RICAUT, State of the Greek Church, (in 1678) p. 278. foll. is highly illustrative of the superstition. It is manifest that the operations mentioned above in note 22, p. 205. as performed on the dead body by the Morlacchians, are simply to prevent its becoming a vampire, and are not at all designed as an indignity. Still less was any indignity meant in such cases as the following. "Cum aliquis femina parere debet, et non potest, in ipso dolore si mortem obierit, in ipso sepulchro matrem cum infante *palo in terram transfigunt.*" BURCHARD OF WORMS, Samlung der Decrete, Colon. 1548. quoted by J. GRIMM, Deutsche Mythologie, p. XL. Doubtless this was done to prevent their becoming vampires. Again, in the same collection, p. 200. b. (in GRIMM, p. XXXIX.) "Fecisti quod quaedam mulieres instinctu diaboli facere solent, cum aliquis infans *sine baptismo* mortuus fuerit, tollunt cadaver parvuli, et ponunt in aliquo secreto loco, et *palo corpusculum transfigunt, dicentes, si sic non fecissent, quod infantulus surgeret et multos laedere posset.*" The stake therefore, in all probability, was driven through the bodies of such persons as could not be buried in consecrated ground, and were thus thought likely to become vampires.

Now suicide, though not expressly prohibited in Scripture, and though frequently practised by Christians of the early centuries[2], was considered by the Church, from the time of Augustine downwards, as a great crime; and different Councils decided, that no masses should be said for the souls of such as laid violent hands on themselves, and that the usual funeral service should not be read over their remains, which were no longer buried in consecrated ground.

I think this investigation affords a satisfactory explanation of the origin of the immemorial English custom of driving a stake through the bodies

[2] Not only by the Donatists, who considered suicide as a martyrdom, and made it, to use Augustine's words, their "daily sport," "ludus quotidianus;" but by a great many females, who thus aimed at acquiring the crown of virginity, "on which so high a value was set in the early ages of Christianity." "Eusebius and other ecclesiastical writers mention many Christian women who put themselves to death, by drowning, leaping from precipices, or other ways, when the confusion and trouble of the times threatened them with violation: concerning whose voluntary suicide some of the fathers speak with great tenderness, if not with a degree of approbation; and many of these virgin-suicides were admitted into the calendar of saints. 'She aimed,' (says Chrysostom of Pelagia,) 'both at the crown of martyrdom and the crown of virginity; but there being so great a hazard of losing the latter, she had *just cause* to prevent so great an injury to herself by a previous voluntary death.' Ambrose also bestows the highest encomiums on this action of Pelagia, and zealously commends the behaviour of those women who killed themselves to avoid the hazard of violation. Jerome likewise excepts the case of preserving chastity from his general censure of suicide." MOORE's Full Inquiry, Vol. I. pp. 293—295.

of such persons, which usage, however, never formed any part of the prescribed legal punishment of suicide, and was not mentioned in the coroner's warrant for an ignominious burial. In all likelihood it arose from a belief, similar to that with which the traveller in Dalmatia, and the collection of Burchard, make us acquainted; and was therefore not at all meant as an indignity, but simply as a precaution, which, in consequence of the general belief in vampires prevalent in England, must have been thought likely to contribute to the mutual benefit of both the dead man and his survivors, by ensuring, to the former, the quiet occupation of his tomb, and, to the latter, freedom from molestation by his nightly rambles.

The Commentator on the Laws of England (BLACKSTONE, Vol. IV. p. 189) seems to consider that our law "wisely and religiously" acted on both the reputation and fortune of the *felo de se*: "on the former, by an ignominious burial in the highway with a stake driven through his body; on the latter, by a forfeiture of all his goods and chattels to the king." The feelings of the nineteenth century have however made a change in what the law had so wisely contrived. By an act of Parliament, 4 Geo. IV. cap. 52. intitled "An act to alter and amend the law relating to the interment of the remains of any person found *Felo de se*," it is enacted, that the coroner or other officer "shall give directions for the private interment of the remains of such person *Felo de se*, without any stake being driven through the body of such person, in the churchyard," &c. It is nevertheless expressly provided, that nothing in the act "shall authorize the performing of any of the rites of Christian burial on the interment of the remains of any such person;" and the burial is only to take place between nine and twelve o'clock at night.

There is only one point left unexplained: why the place commonly chosen for the English suicide's burial was not simply by the way-side, but where four roads meet. I conceive that, in the superstitious times when the rite originated, such places were ordinarily regarded as *the most holy* that existed out of consecrated ground; and therefore the humanity of our ancestors, towards the unfortunate suicide, was as much shewn by the locality which they selected for his burial-place, as by the rites which they observed in interring him. It was especially at cross-roads that sepulchral monuments were erected, by the piety or superstition of our Roman Catholic forefathers, who thus secured the prayers of passers by in favour of the dead[3]. Moreover, "In early times crosses were erected at most places of public

[3] See BORLASE, Antiquities of Cornwall, B. IV. ch. XII. p. 362. where several examples of these sepulchral monuments are given, Compare also the ARCHAEOLOGIA, Vol. XIII. p. 216. They continued to be erected, in Scotland and Ireland, till the beginning of the last century.

concourse, or at the meeting of three or four roads or high-ways[4]:" and we know that every such place was thus rendered so holy as even to afford an asylum for criminals, equally with a church itself[5]. Thus a cross was probably generally standing at the place so kindly chosen for the suicide's interment, and would serve "to put devout people in mind to pray for the soul" of him who was buried there. At the present day, the Roman Catholic peasantry of the sister kingdom, when they go in procession with a dead body, still manifest a religious respect for the sanctity of cross-roads. See CROKER, Researches in the South of Ireland, p. 172. "At every cross-road, there is a general halt; the men uncover their heads, and a prayer is offered up for the soul of their departed chief." It would lead us too far from the subject of the Cretan superstition, if we were to endeavour to trace the origin of this modern Christian belief, which would perhaps be found to spring from a pagan source. Diana Trivia may, however, be mentioned; and, on the mystical Pythagorean letter, and the three-ways, of both the Heathen and the Christian Orcus, the reader may consult LOBECK, Aglaoph. pp. 1342—1344.

[4] ASTLE, on Stone Pillars, in the Archaeologia, Vol. XIII. p. 216.

[5] "Si quis ad aliquem crucem in via, persequentibus inimicis, confugerit, liber ac si in ipsa ecclesia, permaneat." DUCANGE, Gloss. med. et. inf. Lat. Tom. II. 1184. ARCHAEOLOGIA, Vol. VIII. p. 28.

## NOTE C.

The original Greek of the story told at pp. 217–218. is as follows.

*Μία φόλα*[1] *μου ἔκαμε νάκλι*[2] *ἕνας ἄνθρωπος ὅπως ἤσασι παγομένοι*[3] *δύω ἄνθρωποι στὰ ψηλότερα βουνά, ἀποῦ κατοίκουσιν ἀγρίμια*[4], *καὶ ἐκαθίσασι τὴν νύκτα μὲ τὸ φεγγάρι εἰς ἕνα διασέλι διὰ νὰ κυνηγήσουσι τὰ ἀγρίμια. καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀκούσασι τραβαίλιον*[5] *πολύ, καὶ ἐθαῤῥέψασιν ὅπως νὰ ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι*

[1] *Φόλα* i. e. *φορά*.

[2] *Νάκλι*, from the Turkish نقل *nâkl*, recital, narration, *διήγησις*.

[3] *Παγομένοι*, from *ὑπάγομαι*.

[4] *Ἀγρίμια*. The wild-goats are thus called. The word is used by an anonymous author, quoted by DUCANGE, Glossar. Graec. 19.

*Ἀγρίμια, λάφια, καὶ λαγούς, πλατόνια μουζομήτες*
*ἐπίαναν μετὰ δίκτυα, καὶ μὴ σκυλία οἱ τοπίτες.*

The word *ἀγριμαῖον*, in ancient Greek, was used to denote all kinds of game, or wild animals the object of the chase, as opposed to tame ones. KORAY, ΑΤΑΚΤΑ, Vol. II. p. 12. *Ἀγρίμι, ζῶον ἄγριον. ἀπὸ τὸ Ἀγρίμιον, καὶ τοῦτο πάλιν ἀπὸ τὸ Ἑλληνικ. Ἀγριμαῖον, κατὰ τροπὴν τῆς διφθόγγου αι εἰς ι, τροπὴν συνήθη καὶ εἰς ἄλλα πολλά. Εἰς τὸν Ἀθήναιον* (XII. p. 549. f.) *Ἀγριμαῖα λέγονται, τὰ ἀπὸ κυνηγέσιον ἀγρευμένα ἄγρια ζῶα* (venaison) *χρήσιμα εἰς τροφήν*. Compare Vol. III. under the words *Ἀγρίμιον* and *Πλατώνιον*.

[5] *Τραβαίλιον*, the Italian *travaglio*.

*διὰ νὰ φορτώσωσι χιόνι, διὰ νὰ τὸ πάγουσι στὰ Χανιά. Καὶ ἀπ' ἧς*[6] *ἐσιμώσασι*[7] *κοντήτερα γροικοῦσι*[8] *βιόλιαις, καὶ λύραις καὶ ῥογήσιμα*[9] *παιγνίδια, καὶ δὲν εἶχαν ποτὲ ἠκουσμένα τέτοια παιγνίδια· διὰ ταῦτος ἐγνώρισαν καὶ αὐτοί, ὅπως δὲν ἤσανι ἄνθρωποι, ἀῤῥὰ ἦσαν δαιμονικὸ συνέδριον· καὶ τοὺς θώρουσι, καὶ πέρνουσι ἀπὸ κοντὸ διάστημα ἀπὸ ἐκεῖ ἀποῦ ἐκάθοντο, μὲ ῥογιορογῆς·*[10] *φορέματα, καὶ ἄῤῥοι μὲ ψάρα ἄρογα, ἄῤῥοι μὲ ῥογήσιμα, καὶ τοὺς ἔδειξεν ὅπως ἤσασι καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες, πέζοι καὶ καβαλλάροι*[11]*, πλῆθος πρᾶμμα. καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἤσασιν ἄσπροι*[12] *ὡς τὰ περιστέρια, καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες*

[6] **Ἀπ' ἧς.** Koray does not seem to have been aware of the existence of this phrase instead of the common *ἀπῆν*. If his conjecture respecting the origin of the expression *ἀπῆν* is correct, and it seems to be so, we may consider this *ἀπ' ἧς* as the more ancient form. I write it as I heard it *ἀπ'ἧς* and not *ἀφ' ἧς*. The aspirate is never pronounced by the modern Greeks, (see Vol. I. p. 97.) and therefore the *π* naturally retains its place. Koray's words are: *τὸ Ἀπῆν (ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἀφοῦ,) ἐνδέχεται νὰ ἐφθάρῃ ἀπὸ τὸ, Ἀφ' ἧς, ἐλλειπτ· ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἀφ'ἧς ὥρας ἢ ἡμέρας (ὡς καὶ τὸ Ἀφ' οὗ, εἶναι Ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου,) τὸ ὁποῖον ἐμετεβάλθη ἔπειτα εἰς αἰτιατικήν, Ἀφ' ἣν, Ἀπὴν, διὰ τὴν ἐπικρατήσασαν συνήθη χρῆσιν τῆς πτώσεως ταύτης ἀντὶ τῆς γενικῆς.*

[7] **Ἐσιμώσασι.** The opposite to *σιμόνω* is *ἀποσιμόω*: THUCYDIDES, IV. 25. says, *ἀποσιμωσάντων ἐκείνων*, in this opposite sense. See the observations made by KORAY, ATAKTA, Vol. IV. pp. 498-9.

[8] **Γροικῶ** or **Δροικῶ**, for both forms are used, is a very common word in Crete, where its synonym *ἀκούω* is hardly ever heard. *δὲν δροικᾷς*, for instance, is always used instead of *δὲν ἀκούεις*. In other parts I believe the commoner form is *γροικῶ*. The etymology of the word is satisfactorily explained by KORAY: *Ἡ χυδαιότης, ἀκούουσα τὸ Ἀγροικίζομαι, ἐνόμισε τὸ ᾱ στερητικόν, καὶ ἀκολούθως ἐσυμπέρανε ὅτι τὸ χωρὶς τῆς στερήσεως* **Γροικίζω, Γροικίζομαι, Γροικῶ**, *ἔπρεπε νὰ σημαίνῃ, ἐναντίον τι τοῦ Ἀγροικίζομαι, ἤγουν νοῶ, καταλαμβάνω.* ATAKTA, Vol. II. p. 95.

[9] **Ῥογήσιμα**, and soon after *ἀῤῥά, ἀῤῥοί, ποῤῥά*, are all obtained by the substitution of *ρ* in the place of *λ*.

[10] **Ῥογιορογῆς.** In common Greek we have *μίας λογῆς, of one sort, πολλῶν λογιῶν, of many sorts*, and so on. The Sfakian word *ῥογιορογῆς* seems to be for *λογιολογῆς*, and to have nearly the same meaning as *πολλῶν λογιῶν*.

[11] **Καβαλλάρης**, a rider. On the usage of *καβάλλης* by the old Greek writers, see VOSSIUS and ALBERTI on Hesychius, who explains the word *καβάλλης* as meaning *ἐργάτης ἵππος*. KORAY, (ATAKTA, Vol. IV. p. 188. v. ΚΑΒΑ'ΛΑ,) quotes from Plutarch, "*Ὀνῳ τινὶ τῷ τυχόντι καὶ καβάλλῃ χρώμενος.*" The word became the *Caballus* of the Romans, (which is still *caballo* in many parts of Italy,) on which see KOENIG, on Persius, Prol. v. 1. I think I remember to have heard *καβάλλο* used in some island of the Archipelago: at all events it is not found in Crete, where the common *ἄλογον* and the peculiar *κτῆμα*, on which see Vol. I. p. 82. are alone used.

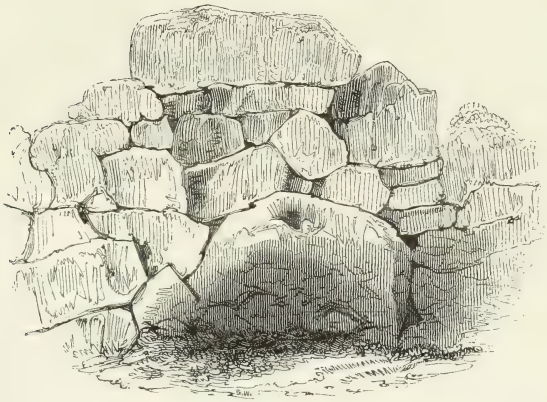
[12] **Ἄσπροι.** On the etymology of the word, see Vol. I. p. 52. This *ἀσπρότης*, or fairness of complexion, is esteemed as the greatest element of personal beauty by the Greeks of both sexes. Captain Maniás himself used to amuse me with his complaints of becoming *μαυρισμένος* by the sun, during my long rides throughout the day: and an Englishman who travels in Crete may often overhear such exclamations of wonder and admiration as *τὶ ἄσπρο πρόσωπον!* from some of the fair villagers, who every where flock around

πορρὰ ὡραίαις, ὡς αἱ ἀκτῖνες τοῦ ἡλίου· εἴδασι καὶ ἐβαστοῦσαν ἕνα πρᾶμμα ὡς καθῶς καὶ βαστοῦνι τὸν ἀπεθαμένον νεκρόν· μεταῦτος ἀποφάσισαν καὶ αὐτοὶ νὰ τοὺς βαρέσσουσι καμμίαν μπαρουτιά, ἀπ' ἧς ἐμπρὸς περάσανι· εἶχαν καὶ ἕνα τραγοῦδι ἀκουσμένο, καὶ ἐλέγασιν ὅπως

Νύμφην πά νὰ πάρωμε, νύφην κύραν,
ἀπὸ τὸ κρημνισμένο, νύφην μοναχήν·

καὶ ἀποφασίσασι καὶ τζὴ ἐπαίξασι μία μπαρουθιά· διὰ ταῦτος καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφωνάξασι, οἱ προσθινοὶ, μίᾳ φωνῇ, "τί εἶναι;" καὶ οἱ ὀπισινοὶ ἀποκριθήκανι, "Τὸν γαμπρόν μας ἐσκοτώσασι, τὸν γαμπρόν μας ἐσκοτώσασι"· καὶ ἔκλαιγαν, καὶ ἐφωνιάξασι καὶ ἐφύγασιν.

around him, on his dismounting for the evening, to learn what can have induced him to visit the valleys and mountains of Crete.



ANCIENT WALLS NEAR ANOPOLIS.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE APPEARANCE, IN SFAKIA, OF A SAINT AND PROPHET, WHO WORKED MIRACLES. THE MARRIAGE OF COUSINS NOT ALLOWED IN THE GREEK CHURCH. THE SAINT'S REPUTATION AND SUCCESS CONFINED TO THE MOUNTAINEERS. VESTIGES OF AN ANCIENT CITY: MASSIVE REMAINS OF POLYGONAL MASONRY. PRODUCE OF THE PLAIN AND MOUNTAINS OF ANOPOLIS. SELF-DESTRUCTION OF A CHRISTIAN MOTHER, WITH HER CHILD. A SFAKIAN WORTHY. SFAKIAN CUSTOMS. PUNISHMENT OF A WIFE IF SUPPOSED FAITHLESS. FEUDS PERPETUATED BETWEEN FAMILIES.

In a country where the belief in such supernatural occurrences, as have been described in the previous chapter, is not confined to old women and children, but prevails among the whole population, it is not surprising to learn how powerful an influence has occa-

sionally been exerted over the people by artful men, who have played on their simplicity and credulity, and have made the profession of a Saint and Prophet answer well their own base ends. The older Sfakians remember that not long after the devastation of their country in 1769, a saint, who was stone-blind and never tasted any food[1], came from one of the monasteries of the Holy Mountain[2] to preach and prophesy to the Sfakians. When surrounded by a numerous audience he would sometimes declare who were the sinners, and who the righteous men among his hearers. Once some Mohammedans joined his congregation, and scarcely had they entered the church before he exclaimed, that they would never learn any thing from him but must go to their prophet Mohammed. He declared that the wrath of God could only be averted from the land by their abandoning their unchristian and murderous practices: and the influence of his reputation and preaching among them was confessedly great enough to put a stop, for awhile, to the murders which from time immemorial were so common in Sfakiá. But the date of this worthy man's ministry is so remote, that we do not learn so much about him as we may of another saint, who is still living[3], and who made his appearance in Sfakiá

[1] My Sfakian informant, although he had been a leader in the whole war, and had lived in exile at Nauplia ever since his country was given up to Mehmét-Alí, was firmly persuaded that the ἅγιος γέρωντας never eat anything. Many examples "of wonderful fasting" are stated in JONSTONUS, An History of the Wonderful Things of Nature, Classis x. Ch. 2. §. 7. p. 315. ed. Lond. 1657. The periods vary from the modest length of forty days to that of forty years! "Hermolaus knew a priest who lived in health forty years, without any thing, but by sucking in the air." The goats of Cephallenia are said always to have satisfied their *thirst* in the same way: see the Book de Mirab. ausc. n. 9. p. 831. ed. Bekk. Αἱ ἐν Κεφαλληνίᾳ αἶγες οὐ πίνουσιν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὥσπερ καὶ τἆλλα τετράποδα, καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος ἀντία τὰ πρόσωπα ποιήσασαι χάσκουσιν εἰσδεχόμεναι τὰ πνεύματα.

[2] Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος, as Mount Athos is called by the Greeks.

[3] I saw him at Nauplia in 1834. He has long since abandoned his sacred profession spoken of in the text.

during the year 1811. His dress consisted of a single coarse garment, under which he wore an iron chain hung about his neck. He preached repentance and newness of life[4], exposing to the wild mountaineers, by whom he was surrounded, the wickedness of their ways, dwelling chiefly on the daily acts of violence, robbery and murder, which they were committing, and declaring to them, that the anger of Heaven was awakened, and would soon shew itself in earthquakes, pestilence and war, to the desolation of the whole land, unless they repented and changed their course of life. Every one went to hear him: his addresses were always vehement, and lasted several hours: he was regarded as a man sent by God, (he professed a divine mission,) and the impression he produced was very great. His fare was most simple, and abstemious almost to starvation: he ate no meat, eggs, fish, cheese or milk: a few herbs, simply boiled, and a crust of black barley-bread, formed his single daily repast[5]. He professed not to receive any money from his hearers: nevertheless, at the end of his discourse, he used to tell the people, that although his reward was not of this world, still he had left a poor monastery on the Holy Mountain, where six hundred

[4] The object of Venturius of Bergamo, in his preaching throughout Lombardy and Tuscany in 1334, was "*to bring sinners to repentance*; and so great was the success, and so visible were the fruits of his eloquence, that more than 10,000 Lombards, of whom many were of the higher ranks, set out to pass the season of Lent at Rome." WADDINGTON, History of the Church, Vol. III. p. 112. Note at the end of Ch. XXIII. Nearer home we had, about a hundred and sixty years ago, one John Exham, an early religious associate of William Penn, who was distinguished by the name of the Quaker-Prophet. "His enthusiasm was so great that he walked through the streets, his head covered with sackcloth and ashes, preaching repentance and amendment of life,—for which he suffered a long and severe imprisonment." CROKER, Researches in the South of Ireland, Ch. X. p. 198.

[5] It is said of one Athanasius, a contemporary of Nicephorus Phocas, who used to wear an iron collar round his neck, to which a wooden cross weighing six or eight pounds was fastened, that "he seldom ate above three or four times a week, and once lived seven days without meat or drink; and once nine days, excepting only that he ate and drank the Holy Sacrament twice in that time." RICAUT, Greek Church, p. 234.

kalógheri[6] were praying and fasting, daily and hourly, for the sins of a wicked world, interceding with the Deity to obtain a remission of the punishment which mankind merited, and therefore those who had many sheep might give one, or even two, for repairing this monastery. Now, almost every one in Sfakiá had *some* sheep, if not a whole flock, and thus the Prophet-saint obtained, perhaps, a much greater sum than, without such a suggestion, he would ever have raised by any voluntary contribution. The devastation committed among the Sfakian flocks, by this ravenous monster, as he prowled through the mountains, reminds me of the words of our poet[7]:

> Wolves shall succeed to teachers, grievous wolves,
> Who all the sacred mysteries of Heaven
> To their own vile advantages shall turn
> Of lucre and ambition[8].

So holy a heaven-sent messenger, as the saint was believed to be, did not remain long among this simple-minded people without their seeing *proofs* of his divine mission. The shepherd's wife, in a house where he lived, was once preparing some eggs for her family's meal: after breaking three, she went to the door for an instant, and, on her return to the fire, found four in the pan! "But how is this, holy priest? I only broke three." "I have blessed them," he replied[9],

[6] There is a very good account of the monasteries of Mount Athos in Col. LEAKE's Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. III. pp. 114—142.

[7] MILTON, Paradise Lost, XII. 508.

[8] With the Cretan saint's pecuniary success we may compare that of a more recent impostor, who, even amid the din of arms of the revolution, exhorted his auditors, among other things, "to use no other weapon than the sign of the cross." A reverend English missionary says of him, "I should myself have been rather disposed to consider the man as deceived, than a deceiver, were it not for the immense sums of money which he amassed, by means of his preaching. I have been assured that he collected no less than 700,000 piastres, the offerings of enthusiastic multitudes." HARTLEY, Researches in Greece, p. 357.

[9] Τὰ εὐλόγησα.

"and they are become four." Her husband soon returned, and remained incredulous, refusing all assent to his wife's opinion of the holy hermit's miraculous powers. Their guest left them before day-break, and, soon after his departure, his host missed a counterpane. "Ah, so this is your holy man! he has stolen our páploma." The Sfakian pursued their unfortunate guest, whom he thought a thief, while his wife and all the women regarded him as a saint. When within hearing, though still at a considerable distance from the object of his pursuit, the Sfakian called out, demanding restitution of the páploma. The holy man immediately stopped, detached the counterpane from his mule, and, when his late host overtook him, gave it up, declaring, however, that assuredly "God would not permit him ever to use it again, but would send fire from heaven and consume it." The hard-hearted mountaineer heeded not the threat, but took the counterpane, and had not proceeded half a mile with it on his shoulder, before there suddenly burst out from it a blaze of fire[10].

After traversing all the Sfakian mountains, the thavmatúrgos proceeded to preach on their lower slopes, and when he held forth at Thériso, the church was crowded even soon after midnight. At an hour and a half before daybreak[11], he entered, and, after waiting awhile, he asked his audience if they were all assembled: they exclaimed, all: even the shepherds had left their flocks unattended on the mountains: all were come, from far and near, to hear him. He now commenced his address[12], which had continued for near an hour, (its whole length being generally three to four hours,) when an unlucky wight entered the church. The holy man,

[10] Many such saints are now flourishing in Afghanistan, "and the ignorance of their countrymen ascribes to them the gift of prophetic dreams and visions, and the power of working miracles." See Mr ELPHINSTONE'S admirable work on the kingdom of Caubul, p. 220.

[11] See above, p. 164.

[12] Διδαχή.

immediately on seeing him, exclaimed, "Woe unto thee! art thou come to the house of God at this hour? I liken thee to the traitor Judas." Now this youth had committed the crime of having married his second cousin, and the authority of the church had been exercised to effect their disunion[13]; but they found themselves unable to live apart:

> Once again
> The persevering wedge of tyranny
> Achieved their separation;—and once more
> Were they united—to be yet again
> Disparted—pitiable lot!

They were ready to bear even that "immortality of ill," which, as they must have supposed, would follow their transgression of the ordinary custom of their country, and of the commands of those who spoke in the name and with the authority of religion. Strong, indeed, must have been the affections of the ill-starred couple, to enable them thus to turn a deaf ear to the denunciations of their priests:

> Quanti dolci pensier, quanto desio,
> Menò costoro al doloroso passo!

The unfortunate man in question was considered as a godless reprobate by all the villagers of his neighbourhood, and thus the pretended prophet's reputation for sanctity and omniscience, was greatly increased by the circumstance of this fortuitous address.

One remarkable consequence of the holy man's preaching in Sfakiá, was a degree of order which none of the inhabitants had ever known: scarcely ever was a murder heard of, and robberies became very rare: I am

[13] HARTLEY, Researches in Greece and the Levant, p. 79. "A story was recently current in the Archipelago, of two cousins who had formed a most sincere attachment for each other. By some means, probably by a considerable bribe, they had prevailed on a priest to solemnize matrimony between them. They had lived happy and united for two or three years; when, at length, the marriage was declared null and void by superior authority, and they were forcibly separated."

told that he thus saved the lives of at least a hundred souls during the next five or six years. This order[14] lasted till nearly the commencement of the revolution, when the bonds of Christian brotherhood and union against a common foe prevented the revival of old feuds: and thus, since 1812, such exactions of vengeance[15] as wiped out the offence in the blood of the offender, and as used previously to be of daily occurrence, have scarcely ever happened[16].

Our saint, after converting from their evil ways the Sfakians and Rhizítes, went into the city of Khaniá: but there his eloquence was powerless, and the inhabitants believed not. When the Sfakians and Rhizítes learnt this, they exclaimed, "Ah, so it was when Christ himself preached: the plain and simple peasants believed, but the great and the learned[17], the Pharisees, believed not."

*May* 6.

We must now leave the modern inhabitants of these mountains, to examine the remains left of a city built by their ancestors. An ascent of a few minutes up the rocky elevation at the foot of which the hamlet of Rhíza is built, brings us to the site of the ancient city, from which we see along the southern coast as far as the projecting point of Mesará. Fránko-kástello, the scene of Khadjí Mikháli's fatal contest, and of his death, is about twelve miles off: the white-washed church of the Panaghía, just by the castle, is a very distinct object:

[14] Εὐταξία. [15] Ἐκδικήσεις.

[16] Similar effects were produced in Italy, in 1399, by the preaching of the White Penitents. "Every one pardoned his neighbour, and dismissed the recollection of past offences. Enmities which no ordinary means could have reconciled were put asleep. It was a festivity of general reconciliation. Ambuscades, assassinations, and all other crimes were for the season suspended." See the note already referred to, and contained in the 3d vol. of the History of the Church, by my learned friend Mr WADDINGTON; to whom I am indebted for the indication of this interesting passage of his work.

[17] Οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ γραμματισμένοι.

below us is the port Lutró, and its little village, the winter residence of nearly all the Anopolítans: it seems to be about a mile off: I am, however, assured that following the road which leads to it, its distance is full three miles.

The whole circumference of this rocky elevation, occupied by the ancient city, is about a mile; perhaps hardly so much. To the south I observed no traces of walls: the rocks being nearly perpendicular on that side, it is very unlikely that walls should ever have been built there. The chief remains are on the west; where a considerable piece of ancient walling, of the very earliest style, still exists. Its length is about three hundred paces, and its width is generally about six feet. Its height varies from five to eleven feet. The chisel has been nowhere used on any of the stones. The sketch at the head of this chapter is, like those which have preceded it, a faithful representation of the part which it professes to exhibit[18]: if there is any difference between the rest of the walls and this specimen, it consists in the fact, that the proportion of small stones among the very large ones is somewhat greater in the wall generally, than it is in this portion of it.

The plain, on which are situated the hamlets comprehended under the common name of Anópolis, is covered with patches only of cultivation: its length is about a mile and a half, its breadth perhaps three quarters of a mile: to the south it is bounded by this rock, and to the north by the highest range of the Sfakian mountains.

One sees, on looking down on the hamlets of Anópolis, how much greater desolation has been caused here than at Askýfo by the war. The great number of these burnt and ruined houses, is partly owing to the fact, that a considerable portion, I am assured more than fifty families, of the surviving Anopolítans, expatriated themselves, on finding that, in spite of all the exertions

[18] And which is eleven feet nine inches in length, and nine feet six inches high.

of the Cretan Greeks, their country was still to remain subject to the Turks, and they are now scattered through the islands of the Archipelago. I myself saw several of them, at Mélos, in the autumn of 1833. I am assured that, before the revolution, there were not less than five hundred and eighty armed men of this village.

On this ancient site stones are gathered together in heaps, sufficiently great and numerous to serve for building a city: it would seem, that, before the revolution, the Sfakians suffered not an inch of arable land to remain uncultivated. Barley is still the main produce of the plain of Anópolis, in which there also were, before the arrival of Khuseín-bey's troops in 1824, upwards of two thousand olive-trees: he remained here seventeen days, with many thousand troops, in the month of March, and thus the greater part of the olive-trees were converted into firewood. Of the fig-trees also, which existed at that time, some have sprung up again, but the olives were all cut so low that none of them recovered.

The flocks of sheep and goats which browze on the mountains from April till October, and are taken down to the shore near Lutró, or elsewhere, for the rest of the year, supply the Anopolítans with milk, cheese and meat: the cultivated patches of their plain produce some corn and wine, though not enough for their consumption. They have also some mulberry-trees, and thus obtain a little silk: their oil is wholly imported: their principal export is cheese.

After examining the ancient remains, among which there are said to be many cisterns, the entrances to which are, however, blocked up, I return to my host's cottage, and hear some more stories from his talkative wife.

I learnt, elsewhere, an event which happened here during the war. When the Turkish force was at Murí, on its way to Anópolis, they captured, along with other persons, a young mother and her infant, whom she carried in her arms. She was beautiful enough to be an object of contention among those who laid claim to the

spoil; and, while her brutal captors, when at Anópolis, were quarrelling as to who should possess her, she went out, with her child in her arms, to one of the large open wells from which the villagers draw their water, and, plunging into it, escaped all the horrors of slavery by a voluntary death[19]. Such instances as this, give to the war, which was waged for so many years between the Christians and Mohammedans, its true character: as to the men, it was one of extermination; while, as to the women, it was even worse: and this poor Sfakian mother, like many other Christian women in different parts of Crete and elsewhere, shewed that she thought death a happier lot than that which was reserved for her by the enemies of her religion[20].

At half past twelve I set off, and, crossing the plain in a west-north-westerly direction, I soon arrive at the hamlet of Hághios Dhemétrios, where I found one of the Anopolítan exiles, who played an important part in the latter events of the war in Crete, and has returned from Nauplia, where he at present dwells, in order to

[19] Thus also twenty-two Suliote women threw themselves from the rocks, near Kamarína, in preference to falling into the hands of the enemy, and "several of the women, who had infants, were seen to throw them over, before they took the fatal leap:" LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. I. p. 246. Compare FAURIEL, Tom. I. p. 302.

Σκλάβαις Τουρκῶν μὴ ζήσωμεν·
παιδιά, μαζή μ' ἐλᾶτε!

Nevertheless, such is the tenacity with which we cling to life, that even slavery has generally been preferred to death: M. d'Herculez, Austrian Consul at Khaniá, writing to his government, on the 5th of October, says, "Chaque jour on emmène au marché des malheureuses femmes Grècques, que la faim chasse des montagnes, et qui prefèrent l'esclavage à la mort."

[20] A Greek woman exclaims, in a well-known song, FAURIEL, Tom. I. p. 138.

Κάλλια νὰ ἰδῶ τὸ αἷμα μου
τὴν γῆν νὰ κοκκινίσῃ,
παρὰ νὰ ἰδῶ τὰ μάτια μου
Τοῦρκος νὰ τὰ φιλήσῃ.

Better that I should see my blood
With crimson stain the ground,
Than that I e'er should see my eyes
Kissed by a Turkish hound.

dispose of his property in Sfakiá, being unable to persuade himself to live any longer in the land of his fathers, "now that it is to remain under the Turkish yoke." His name is Manúsos Vardhulákes: he is of a powerful muscular frame, and seems to be as hard as iron: in all probability he is near sixty years of age. Although I resisted his importunity, and escaped staying the greater part of the day with him, as he wished me to do, yet, having on a subsequent occasion seen a good deal of him in the place of his exile, Nauplia, I will detain my reader for a moment with the detail of a few passages in my friend's history, which serve to illustrate the modes of thinking and acting in this district some years ago.

The ancient worthy, who is certainly a good specimen of the wild Sfakian mountaineer of former times, was one of the leaders of the Greek forces when they ravaged Setía in 1829. He admits that he has killed or wounded about ten men in private quarrels in the old times. "Only few people," he adds, "ever died a natural death in Sfakiá;" and when a man was slain it became the duty of his family to avenge his death: if forty or fifty years elapsed before an opportunity offered itself, the obligation still lost none of its force on account of the delay. The debt remained due, and it was a point of honour to exact its payment. Old Manúsos tells me simply that such was the custom[21] of

[21] Ἤτονι τὸ συνηθειον μᾶς. Two hundred and sixty years ago, according to Foscarini, the Sfakians used never to change the black shirt, which they put on upon these occasions, until they had avenged the death of the slain man: they also kept his bloody shirt to remind them of their duty. Foscarini, Relatione, etc. f. 101. "Li parenti et le donne non si spogliavano mai la camisa nera, che si vestivano subito, se non facevano vendetta, conservando la camisa insanguinita del morto." Among the Maniates, at the present day, "When one of a family is slain, the person who takes upon himself to avenge the injury, often vows not to change his clothes or shave or eat meat, until his revenge is satisfied." Leake, Travels in the Morea, Vol. I. p. 238. A similar custom prevails among the Morlacchi; see Fortis, Travels into Dalmatia, p. 58: among the Sardinians, see Captain Smyth's Sketch of the present State of the Island of Sardinia, pp. 142–145: among

Sfakiá, and seems to think it a natural and laudable practice.

Not only were feuds thus perpetuated in families, and transmitted as an inheritance from parent to child, but certain villages were always on ill terms, and sometimes they even made war on one another. The leading hostile hamlets were Gýro and Kámpi, one half of Anópolis siding with Gýro, and the other half with Kámpi. Kalikráti and Askýfo were united, both in their friendship to one another, and in their hatred of Nípros and Asfénto. The strict union which existed between the two latter villages, arose, a long time ago, as follows. A Niprióte, whose name was Oekonomikó, was shot by an Asfentióte. Most of the Nipriótes were connected with their slain fellow-villager by the ties of blood or marriage, and all of them determined to make a memorable example of the then hated village of Asfénto. They, therefore, attacked the Asfentiótes and actually drove them out of the country, and obtained possession of their houses and property. The poor Asfentiótes went and established themselves at Kofinás in Mesará. "On this account the Nipriótes and Asfentiótes are all relations even to this day, and no other place ever had the force of Nípros and Asfénto."

Whenever any Sfakian who was slain had many relations, his murderer had no chance of impunity, and used always to consult his safety by flight[22]. His house was immediately burnt, and his property taken possession of by the relations of the man he had killed.

among the Druses, see BURCKHARDT, Syria and the Holy Land, p. 202: and among the Afghans, see Mr ELPHINSTONE'S Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, p. 166. "Though private revenge is every where preached against by the Moollahs and forbidden by the government, yet it is still lawful and even honourable, in the eyes of the people, to seek that mode of redress. If no opportunity of exercising this right occur, he may defer his revenge for years: it is often transferred from father to son for several generations."

[22] "A Morlack who has killed another of a powerful family, is commonly obliged to save himself by flight, and to keep out of the way for several years." FORTIS, Travels into Dalmatia, p. 58.

It would be easy to fill a volume with instances of the regular exaction of this penalty of blood for blood by the relations of every one who was slain. The usage was by no means confined to Sfakiá, although it seems to have been observed here more invariably than elsewhere in the island, a point which every Sfakian thinks highly honourable to his country. Additional details are however hardly necessary in order to develope the nature of these occurrences. In a country where laws would take the trial and execution of the murderer out of the hands of his accusers, such actions would of course lose the character of honourable vengeance and even stern justice, which they possess in Sfakiá[23], and acquire that of bold and memorable crimes.

These customs remind us of the state of society described in the Iliad and Odyssey, where we find that the murderer either makes compensation to the relations of the man slain by him[24], or goes into exile to avoid their vengeance[25]. Somewhat later there were introduced expiatory rites, which many ancient authors have assigned to the heroic age[26], but which do not seem to have been known to Homer[27]. In ancient times it would every where have been considered a heinous crime, as it would be now in Sfakiá[28], to refuse shelter and protection to such a fugitive.

[23] And which they seem to have had in Scotland only about two centuries ago. See ROBERTSON'S History, and Professor DUGALD STEWART'S, Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man, Vol. I. Chap. III. I. (3). p. 186. foll. ed. 1828.

[24] As in HOMER, Il. IX. 632. XVIII. 498.

[25] HOMER, Il. II. 665. XIII. 696. (and XV. 335.) XVI. 573. XXIII. 86. XXIV. 480. Odyss. XIV. 379. XV. 224.

[26] See LOBECK, Aglaophamus, Vol. II. pp. 967–969. (Epimetrum II.)

[27] SCHOLIA VENETA, on Il. XI. 680. Παρ' Ὁμήρῳ οὐκ οἴδαμεν φονέα καθαιρόμενον, ἀλλὰ ἀντιτίνοντα ἢ φυγαδευόμενον. With MUELLER, (Dorien, II. 8. 6. note m. in the Eng. tr. and Aeschylos Eumeniden,) compare LOBECK, Aglaoph. p. 301. See also Mr THIRLWALL'S observations on this subject in his History of Greece, Vol. I. pp. 170–1.

[28] A refusal was never heard of even when the fugitive was a Turk. The fugitives, from all parts of Syria, find an inviolable asylum with the Druses: BURCKHARDT'S Syria and the Holy Land, pp. 203–204.

The existence of such feuds as these, in many Sfakian families, would greatly have paralysed the exertions of the Cretan insurgents against the Mohammedans in 1821. The Oriental Church, however, invites her sons to become "brothers[29];" and the spiritual relationship, thus entered into, is of so solemn and sacred a nature, that, like gossipred, it for ever prevents marriage between those immediately connected with the contracting parties. This religious ceremony was very generally performed, among the Sfakian mountaineers, in 1821, and they were thus enabled, forgiving all mutual enmities, cordially to work together in every attempt to injure their common foe the Mohammedans.

Maniás repeats to me a distich, according to which

The brothers whom the church doth make
Are dearer to each other
Than those who're tied by bonds of blood,
As children of one mother[30].

The Slavonian ritual, which, I suppose, differs but little from the Greek, also contains "a particular benediction for the solemn union of two male or two female friends in the presence of the congregation[31]." These customs of the mountaineers of Greece and Dalmatia, call to our recollection the old Cretan institutions which sanctioned a close intimacy between those of the same sex[32], and were undoubtedly designed "to revive that generous friendship of the heroic ages, which was so

[29] There is an Ἀκολουθία, or office, for this spiritual fraternization in the Greek Euchology, published by GOAR: (see pp. 898—902.) The custom seems to have prevailed as early as the age of Justinian; (CODINUS, de Orig. C. P. quoted by GOAR, l. c. p. 901.) and although it was forbidden by both Imperial and Ecclesiastical authority, (GOAR, l. c. p. 902.) is still, as we find in Sfakiá, even generally prevalent. Monks, however, were always prohibited from becoming either σύντεκνοι or ἀδελφοποιητοί.

[30] Καλίτεροι οἱ ἀδερφοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
παρὰ οἱ ἀδερφοὶ τῆς κοιλίας.

[31] FORTIS, Travels in Dalmatia, p. 57. [32] STRABO, x. p. 483.

celebrated in song, and to add a new motive to the love of glory in the noblest spirits[33]."

Vasíli Khális, a distinguished leader during the war in this island, was once speaking to me, in the presence of old Manúsos, of the wild and savage ferocity of the Sfakians in olden times, and of the readiness with which they shot any one on the slightest provocation. He mentioned a fact which had happened at Thériso, when he was very young. A man was shot by a Sfakian for having killed *two Sfakian dogs*. Hardly had he pronounced the words before old Manúsos said, laughing, "It was I who killed him[34]." The reckless daring of this man's character, his unscrupulous maintenance of what he thought the rights and privileges of the Sfakians, and his having had a numerous body of relations, must have made him one of the most formidable of the wild race to which he belonged. I wonder not that he should have received the tithe of their flocks from the Greeks of the villages of Hághios Ioánnes and Haghía Ruméli, who thus secured to themselves the benefit of his protection. Flocks thus protected were safe from the attacks of every marauder, for if any one of these his ráyas, as he calls them, was ever robbed of a sheep, Manúsos used either to obtain restitution of the stolen property, and ample satisfaction for the offence, "or to shoot the man who had stolen it." Such protection from a powerful Sfakian was so necessary for all those who dwelt near the Rhíza, that several Mohammedans used likewise to obtain it, in the same manner, giving one sheep in ten as black-mail, to secure from molestation the rest of their flocks.

Manúsos's father left him only two sheep: he says that he possessed a thousand when the revolution broke out in 1821. This is hardly surprising.

[33] THIRLWALL, History of Greece, Vol. I. end of ch. VII. p. 290.
[34] Ἐγὼ τὸν ἐσκότωσα.

Whenever a married woman was *suspected* of faithlessness, or a single one of frailty, her hours were from that moment numbered, and her end was so tragical and shocking to all the feelings of natural affection, and even to the ordinary notions of humanity, that one can hardly believe such a practice to have been observed on the very confines of civilized Europe, and in the nineteenth century, by any Christian people. Her nearest relations were at once her accusers, her judges, and her executioners.

I will mention, in the very words of my informant, a single instance of the ruthless severity with which they punished such an offence. Thirty-five years ago a young wife, the cousin of Manúsos, who was present at the recital, as he was also at the events described, was suspected of having broken her marriage-vow. The charge was not proved, but the suspicion became general, and her father at once consented to leave it to her near relations to decide as they thought best respecting her. Their decision was soon taken, and all those of them whose dwellings were at Askýfo went thence to Anópolis, where their destined victim lived, in order that they might assist in executing the sentence pronounced against her, and of which she was as yet totally ignorant. They went, to the number of between thirty and forty, to her home, seized her, and, after tying her to a tree, made her person the mark at which all their muskets were pointed and discharged. It happened that though more than thirty balls lodged in her body, the next moment her bosom heaved, and she still breathed. One of her executioners immediately drew his pistol from his girdle, placed it close to her breast, and fired. After this she breathed no more.

The suspected partner of her guilt was not shot "for he was of a powerful family;" but the Protópapas[35],

[35] Τὸν ἀφόρισεν ὁ Πρωτόπαπας.

the unfortunate woman's father, excommunicated him, and, in consequence of the sacerdotal ban, he not only perished himself by falling over a precipice, but all his brothers likewise came to untimely ends.

Among the Cretans of ancient times, the adulterer was condemned to the ignominious punishment of being crowned with wool in the presence of the magistrates of the city[36].

[36] Aelian, V. H. XII. 12. Ὅτι ἐν Κρήτῃ, ἐν Γορτύνῃ μοιχὸς ἁλοὺς ἤγετο ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, καὶ ἐστεφανοῦτο ἐρίῳ ἐλεγχθείς· τὸ δὲ στεφάνωμα κατηγόρει αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἀνανδρός ἐστι καὶ γύννις καὶ εἰς γυναῖκας καλός· He was also fined, καὶ ἀτιμότατος ἦν, καὶ οὐδενός οἱ μετῆν τῶν κοινῶν.

CRETAN MOUNTAINEER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ANCIENT AND MODERN COSTUME OF THE CRETANS. DEPARTURE FROM HAGHIOS DHEMETRIOS. ARADHENA. MULES ALONE FIT TO TRAVERSE THE STONY PATHS OF SFAKIA. STEEP AND TEDIOUS DESCENT TO THE SHORE. FOUNTAIN OF ST PAUL. TRADITIONS OF OTHER FOUNTAINS PRODUCED BY MIRACULOUS POWER. CRETE FREED FROM ALL NOXIOUS ANIMALS BY HERACLES OR ST PAUL. ST ISIDORE'S MIRACLE AT CHIOS. ARRIVAL AT THE VILLAGE OF HAGHIA RUMELI. THE SITES OF TARRHA AND POEKILASSOS.

FASHIONS change but little in the east, and the dress of the Cretan peasant is very interesting, even at the present day, from its resemblance to that worn by his ancestors more than two thousand years ago. If we view the Cretan costume in the sixteenth century, we shall find that it still more closely resembles that of the ancient inhabitants of the island. In the engraving on the previous page we notice that the beard, the bow and quiver, the sword and long knife[1], were all preserved. The *χιτών*, *tunica* or shirt, according as we give the garment its Hellenic, its Roman, or its English name, was still exposed in all its amplitude to the eye: and Galen's description[2] of the *ὑποδήματα* or boots, worn by the Cretans of his time, is a sufficiently accurate account, both of those described by Foscarini[3], and of those which I find still preserving their ancient form and name, and alone worn by the rural population in every part of the island.

Thevet, who visited the island near the middle of the sixteenth century, says, that to cut off the beard was as great an indignity, in the opinion of every Cretan, as to

[1] The long sword at his side, and a knife in his girdle, were parts of every Sfakian's dress till the year 1830.

[2] GALEN, Comment. in Hippocrat. de Artic. IV. 14. Vol. XVIII. p. 682. ed. Kuehn. *Ἔτι καὶ νῦν οὗτος ἀσκεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν Ἀσίαν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην οὐχ ἥκιστα, μέχρι κνήμης μέσης ἀνήκων. ἔστι δ' ἱκανῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολυσχιδὲς τὸ δέρμα καθ' ἑκάτερον τὸ μέρος ἀρίστερόν τε καὶ δεξιὸν ἴσον ἐντεταμένον τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ συντετρημένον ἐπὶ τοῖς πέρασιν, ὡς ἰμάντι διεκβαλλομένων τῶν τρημάτων συνάγεσθαι κατ' ἄλληλα τὰ τεταγμένα τοῦ δέρματος τμήματα—χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ μάλιστα παρ' ἡμῖν οἱ κυνηγέται θηρεύοντες, ἐπειδή περ ἐν τραχέσι καὶ ἀνωμάλοις χωρίοις ἀναγκάζονται πολλάκις οὐ τρέχειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ πηδᾶν. ἡ δ' αὐτὴ καὶ τοὺς Κρῆτας αἰτία τοιούτοις ὑποδήμασι χρῆσθαι ἔπεισε, διά τε τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ὀρῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ τὰς τραχύτητας.*

[3] FOSCARINI, Relatione etc. "Li assomiglio quasi alli selvatichi Irlandesi, perchè, come quelli nell' abito, et nell' aspetto, et nelle armi, sono diversi dalli altri; cosi questi, con li capelli et *barbe longhe*, *con stivali alti che si ligono alla cintura*, *che mai li escono di gamba*, *portando la camisa che li pende davanti et da drìedo*, *con un gran pugnal davanti*, *et la spada* all' usanza greca vanno." The two words used by the Cretan to denote his boots are the ancient *ὑποδήματα*, and *στιβάνια*, derived from the Italian *stivale*.

cut off the nose or ears. "Ilz ont les longues barbes en si grande recommandation que les contraindre à icelles raire, ou copper, leur est vn supplice et ignominie, non moindre que si on leur faisoit copper le né, ou les oreilles. Et de fait pour lors que i' estois en ladite ville, ie vizi condemner vn Candiot, qui auoit dõné vn coup de flesche à vn autre, à auoir la barbe abbatue et raise en place publique[4]."

Not only was the bow common in the sixteenth century[5], but wounds from arrows are frequently mentioned in the details of the siege of Candia, which took place only a hundred and fifty-five years ago. In speaking of the Sfakians, Foscarini says (in 1596), that they always carried their bow and quiver, and were most excellent archers: "Vanno sempre con l' arco sulle spalle et al fianco con un carcasso pieno di frezze, tirate da loro eccellentissimamente, come molti anco sono eccellentissimi archibusieri." Garzoni also mentions the difficulties encountered by the Venetians when they attempted to replace the ancient bow by a modern innovation[6].

Another article of dress sometimes used by the Cretans is a very short cloak, falling only a little below the girdle. This I suppose to resemble the *Kretikon*, mentioned by Eupolis[7] and Aristophanes[8], and stated by

[4] THEVET, Cosmographie de Levant, Chap. VIII. fol. 26.

[5] BELON, Singularitez etc. Fol. 6. "Ce n'est pas à tort que les Cretes furent anciennement dediez à Diane: car encore pour le iour d'huy suyuant ceste antiquité, s'adonnent par vn instinct naturel, et des leur enfance, à tirer l'arc Scythique: et mesmement vn petit enfant du berseau courroussé et pleurant, s'appaise en luy monstrant seulement vn arc, ou luy baillant vne flesche en la main." The expression "l'arc Scythique" calls to mind the passage of DIODORUS SICULUS, v. Ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐζηλῶσθαι τὴν τοξικήν, καὶ τὸ τόξον Σκυθικὸν ὀνομασθῆναι. On the Cretan archers, see the passages of ancient authors collected by MEURSIUS, Creta, pp. 177—180. [6] See below, Appendix I.

[7] EUPOLIS, in Photius, Lex. Vol. I. p. 178.

Οὐ πάνυ ταχύ
ῥίψας ἐμοὶ τοῦτ', ἀναβαλεῖ τὸ Κρητικόν;

[8] ARISTOPHANES, Thesm. 730.

Σὺ δὲ τὸ Κρητικόν
ἀπόδυθι ταχέως.

CRETANS IN THEIR CLOAKS.

some lexicographers[9] to have been a short light cloak, just as much as the modern boots resemble the ancient throughout in the island.

It is worthy of remark, that the Sfakian cloak agrees less than that of the other Cretans with the descriptions of the *Kretikon*. The cloak of these mountaineers is large and heavy, and is of its natural whiteness, while those of the rest of Crete are dyed[10], as the Kretikon used to be[11].

It is the Sfakians alone who wear their cloaks through any considerable part of the year: the other Cretans only make use of them a little in the winter months. The ancient Cretan seems to have worn his cloak all the year round[12], just as the modern Albanian puts on his shaggy white capote to defend himself as well from the heat of July and August, as from the cold of December and January.

Little as is the change which has taken place in the fashion of the Cretan's dress, there is yet a considerable difference in its material in ancient times, and at the present day. Both the under and upper garments of the Dorians were woollen; and the same dress was adopted by the Athenians, and had become general in the time of Thucydides[13]. Thus the linen khiton or shirt, among the ancients, was thought a luxury: and yet at the present day the Sfakian mountaineer frequently wears a silken shirt, although probably it is only washed for

[9] PHOTIUS, l. c. Κρητικόν· βραχὺ ἱμάτιον. HESYCHIUS, Κρητικόν· ἱματίδιον λεπτὸν καὶ βραχύ, τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα, Κρητικὰ ἔλεγον.

[10] They are of a brown colour.

[11] PLINY, XXVI. 66, in speaking of the phycos thalassion, says, "Tria autem genera ejus: latum, et alterum longius, quadamtenus rubens: tertium crispis foliis, quo in Creta vestes tinguunt.

[12] STRABO, X. p. 483. Χαμαὶ δὲ καθήμενοι διαιτῶνται μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐν φαύλοις τριβωνίοις, καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ θέρους τὰ αὐτά. HERACLIDES, de polit. (in Gron. Thes. Vol. VI. p. 2824, quoted by MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 184. and by CASAUBON, on Strabo, l. c.) Οἱ ἐν Κρήτῃ μετ' ἀλλήλων διαιτῶνται ἐν ἑνὶ ἱματίῳ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος.

[13] THUCYDIDES, I.

Easter Sunday during the whole time while it is in use. It is occasionally taken off, like that of an Albanian, in order that its owner may free him from some of those active little animals which have long enjoyed an undisturbed shelter within its hospitable folds[14].

*May 6, continued.*

On leaving Hághios Dhemétrios, we crossed the low ridge which bounds the plain of Anópolis in this direction, and in about half an hour arrived at the edge of a chasm running south of the village of Arádhena. It commences to our right near the foot of the loftiest ridge of the Sfakian mountains, and extends down to the sea. It is no easy matter to cross this nearly perpendicular cleft in the solid rock, forming as it does a narrow ravine of several hundred feet in depth, down and up the steep sides of which we have to pass. The road, if road it can be called that road is none, winds along each side, changing its course every ten or twelve paces. These turns were the only very dangerous points: at these I more than once expected to see my horse miss his footing, for the stones on which he had to tread were large and slippery, and more suitable for goats than for horses to step on. The descent and subsequent ascent, on the opposite side, to the village of Arádhena, occupied about twenty-five minutes.

Accounts which I had heard at Anópolis, of ancient remains existing at Arádhena, had led me to expect that I should discover here clearer and greater vestiges of ancient power and prosperity than I had found yesterday at Anópolis; but here, as elsewhere, rude realities destroyed my hopes.

Some slight foundations of the walls of ancient buildings; a few tombs, in one of which several golden

[14] Captain Maniás once told me, that during the war he used always to have two shirts with him, one besides that on his back, in order to be able to change. "Pray how often did you change your shirt then?" "Οταν ἔγενε ψυλλισμένο," was his reply.

ornaments were found about a year ago; and a sepulchral bas-relief, the execution of which is not very remarkable, are the only remains which serve to indicate Arádhena or its immediate neighbourhood as the site of an ancient Cretan city.

The mention of an ancient city called Aradena, along with Anópolis and Port Phoenix in the Synecdemus of Hierocles, seems to point plainly to Lutró as the site of the last-named city; and therefore I will leave the consideration of the other two cities until my arrival at Lutró, on returning from the almost inaccessible fastnesses of Haghía Ruméli, and Samaría.

The modern village of Arádhena contains only thirty-eight houses: the ground capable of cultivation round about it is not very extensive, but is of a decidedly better quality than that of the plain of Anópolis, as is evident from the good crops of barley which now cover it. The chief produce of the village is corn: its silk does not exceed a few okes yearly. The Greek in whose house I took up my quarters, for the short time which I remained in the village, is an Ionian, that is, a native of one of the islands of the Septinsular Republic, and is therefore entitled to British protection. He is thus exempted from the payment of the kharatj, to which all rayas, both of the Porte and of Mehmét-Alí, are still subject. He married a Sfakian woman of this village, having first joined the Sfakians at the outbreaking of the revolution. His long intercourse with them has communicated to him a good many Sfakian modes of expression, although the Italianisms of his native language are still visible through this thin covering.

Some ancient tombs have lately been discovered and opened about three quarters of a mile to the west of Arádhena. I examined one of them: it is six feet wide and ten feet long, and has a niche in each of its four sides.

I left Arádhena at four o'clock, and soon had the village of Livadhianá about a mile and a half on my left,

a little to the west of the chasm which we had crossed before reaching Arádhena. The slope of the mountain is here covered both above and below us with *pévki*. We do not proceed a mile before we fall in with some of Maniás's innumerable Sýntekni and cousins at a sheep-cote. Meat, new cheese, and wine are produced and partaken of by my talkative and amusing guide, as if he was determined to make up, in this single week, for the abstinence of the whole Lent from which he has just escaped.

Soon after this our course changed to the south-west, and we began to approach nearer to the shore. At a quarter past five, Sélino-kastéli became visible. The paths which we followed were over rugged rocks, and none of them, I should think, had *ever* received any labour from the hand of man. Here my horse, though very sure-footed, fell, and made two unsuccessful attempts to rise, each of them followed by a fresh fall, before he recovered himself. On dismounting, to see what hurts he had received, I was surprised to find that they consisted only in some flesh wounds, which bled considerably, inflicted by sharp edges of the rock, on two of his legs.

The only animal which one can ride with pleasure in these regions is a mule. The mere size of a horse's hoof makes it a difficult matter for him to pick his steps in many places; and the very art of picking his steps is but little known to any horse, while every mule is a proficient in it.

Soon after my horse's roll, and my sufficiently narrow escape from what would have been, at least, a very disagreeable fall, we arrived at the summit of a precipice, the zigzag descent down the face of which is so steep, rocky, and dangerous, that I was greatly disposed to send Maniás back with my horse, and to proceed with his mule. It was now, however, late; and, since I might perhaps be benighted before reaching Haghía Ruméli, and was also totally unacquainted with the

wild region before me, I determined to attempt to get down with the two steeds. This zigzag road winds along the face of a rocky and almost perpendicular precipice of very considerable elevation. Had my horse missed his footing at any one of the turns of the zigzag path, it must have been his last trip. After getting down this steep and difficult descent in safety, we were still at a great elevation above the level of the sea. Although the side of the mountain now slopes off at a much smaller angle of inclination to the horizon, yet it is still so steep that the path continues to be of the zigzag kind nearly all the way down: the face of the mountain here presents a loose surface of stones and a little soil, along which we continued to wind to and fro for about an hour and a half.

At length we arrived near the sea-shore, somewhat to the west of the commencement of our descent over the precipice; and going nearly due west for above a mile, we reached the little chapel of Hághio Pávlo. Close by it a most plenteous spring of fresh water rushes out of the beach, and, forming a rapid streamlet, flows for a few paces before it loses itself in the sea. The Florentine traveller in Crete, Buondelmonti, whom I have so often referred to, speaks of this streamlet as being half the size of his own Arno[15]: a most extravagant exaggeration, as every one must admit who visits St Paul's spring after having been

Là dove l'Arno signoril cammina.

Another fountain in the island is also honoured by the derivation of its name from St Paul, who is said to have used its water to baptize the Cretan converts. An English traveller went, about a hundred and fifty

[15] BUONDELMONTI, in CORNEL. Cret. Sac. I. p. 25. and p. 85. He speaks of the lofty cypresses which grow on these rocks of the southern coast, and adds, "Medioque ipsarum, per longum iter Sancti Pauli ecclesiam vidi prope, cujus tam eructatione maximam ex paucis foraminibus frigidissimae aquae exultat, *quia* vix in duplum noster adsumit Arnus, que per modicum spacium in mare prorumpit."

years ago, to see a cave, ten miles to the east of Hierápetra, "where they say St Paul preached: it is a large chapel having twelve pillars all cut out of the rock, which was done by the Christians in the night-time. Close by is a fountain, where they say he used to baptize, and it is now called St Paul's fountain: the water thereof is very good to cure such as have sore eyes[16]."

We may best compare with this Sfakian fountain of St Paul, another of Dionysius, in the Strophades, which is still a living and perennial proof of that saint's miraculous powers. "Its fresh and wholesome waters ooze from the rocks at about fifty yards from the sea, and preserve their purity almost on the brink of the briny element[17]." Another copious source, in Epirus, is assigned to the exertion of miraculous power by St Donatus[18]. Fresh springs, similar to this, are also found close to the sea in Ithaca, and in the neighbourhood of Mount Tor, as well as along the whole shore at the head of the Elanitic gulf near Akaba[19].

A Swiss traveller, who remained about a week in Crete, when on his way to Jerusalem, in the year 1542, speaks of a similar fountain of fresh water, seen close to the shore at Megálo-Kástron, and which had lost its saline nature in consequence of having been blessed by Saint Francis[20].

St Paul is said to have conferred other and even still greater blessings than these springs on the Cretan people, when he visited them after his two years residence at Rome: he freed their island from all wild

[16] RANDOLPH, State of Candia, p. 77. ed. 1687.

[17] WADDINGTON, Letter from the Strophades, appended to the Present Condition of the Greek Church, p. 199.

[18] LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. IV. pp. 64–65.

[19] LEON DE LABORDE, Arabia Petraea.

[20] IODOCUS A MEGGEN, Peregrinatio Hierosolymitana, Dilingae, 1580. cap. v. p. 56. "Huic loco puteus est vicinus sane nobilis, cujus aquam ob vicinum mare olim salsam, post S. Francisci benedictione et prece in dulcem ac potabilem conversam aiunt."

beasts and noxious animals. Unfortunately for the Christian legend, we find that Crete was just as much commended in ancient times[21] as it is by its present inhabitants[22], on account of its freedom from all such animals. The pious heathen used to ascribe this blessing to the beneficent exertions of Heracles[23]: as the Christian attributes it to St Paul[24]. The Cretans, however, bring forward no such conclusive proof of the *destruction* of serpents here, as is vaunted by the inhabitants of Malta, in the so-called *lingue di San Paolo*, which they find imbedded in the common stone throughout their island[25].

[21] AELIAN, N. A. III. 32. Ἡ Κρήτη τοῖς λύκοις καὶ τοῖς ἑρπετοῖς θηρίοις ἐχθίστη ἐστίν. PLUTARCH, de capienda ex inim. util. p. 86. b. Ἄθηρον ὥσπερ ἱστοροῦσι τὴν Κρήτην. GREGORY NAZIANZEN, Carm. XIII. 49.

Χώρην μέν τιν' ἄθηρον ἀκούομεν, ὡς ποτε Κρήτη.

PLINY, N. H. VIII. 83. "In Olympo Macedoniae monte non sunt lupi: nec in Creta insula. Ibi quidem non vulpes ursive, atque omnino nullum maleficum animal praeter phalangium." See also SOLINUS, c. XVII. and other passages in MEURSIUS, Creta, p. 101. or WYTTENBACH on Plutarch, l. c. Tom. VI. p. 614.

[22] A living Cretan poet, PSARUDHAKES, expresses the well-known boast of his fellow-countrymen of the present day, when he says:

Ἄχ! πατρίς μου ποιὸν καλὸν
δὲν ὑπάρχει εἰς ἐσένα;
σὺ οὐδὲ φαρμακερὸν ζῶον
δὲν γεννᾷς κανένα!

My native land! what thing that's good
Is not possessed by thee?
No noxious animal, in Crete,
Can any one e'er see.

[23] DIODORUS SICULUS, IV. 17. Τιμηθεὶς (ὁ Ἡρακλῆς) ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ βουλόμενος τοῖς Κρησὶ χαρίσασθαι, καθαρὰν ἐποίησε τὴν νῆσον τῶν θηρίων· διόπερ ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἀγρίων ζῴων ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, οἷον ἄρκτων, λύκων, ὄφεων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων. Zeus's birth in the island is assigned as the cause of this freedom from wild and noxious animals, by the author of the book de Mirab. Auscult. c. 84. Compare AELIAN, N.A. V. 2.

[24] RANDOLPH, The present state of the Islands in the Archipelago, p. 93. ed. Oxford, 1687.

[25] Every traveller on the *continent* of Greece sees serpents very frequently: thus the stork becomes a valuable friend of man, and, in Thessaly, it was anciently a capital offence to kill the bird, as it has since been in other countries: see the book de Mirab. Auscult. 23. Since the revolution they are said

Doubtless the destroyer of all these noxious animals, whether Heracles or St Paul, was entitled to the gratitude of the Cretans. But still, according to traditions, which undoubtedly equally deserve our attention, other places have received even more signal proofs of favour from other canonized individuals. At Chios, St Isidore converted, at the time of his martyrdom, a useless *liquid* which, till that time, had been constantly dissipated by the rain, as it oozed from the tree which produced it, into *solid* gum mastick, which became the staple produce, and one of the main sources of wealth and prosperity of the island[26].

On leaving the spring and chapel of St Paul, about seven o'clock, we follow the shore, but the shades of evening spread around us, and I see but indistinctly the grand features of the scenery by which we are surrounded. At twenty minutes before eight, we reach the entrance of the valley of Haghía Ruméli, and Samaría. The bold hanging mountains on each side of the glen, and the noise of its river as it rolls along its rocky bed, make me impatient to see, in broad daylight, what I suppose must be the grandest and at the same time the most picturesque spot in the island. A mile's ride up the glen brings us to the village of Haghía Ruméli. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, I got very good lodgings in the cottage of one of the villagers, to whom Maniás, who had never before penetrated into this innermost and most inaccessible fastness

said to have disappeared from many parts of the *kingdom* of Greece, by the emancipated inhabitants of which they were considered as *Turkish birds*, for the humanity and affection of the Mohammedans had been bestowed on them even more remarkably than on the rest of the feathered tribe. In Crete I never saw a serpent during my whole stay in the island: they are, however, sometimes found. See WESSELING, on Diod. Sic. l. c. and SIEBER, Reise nach der Insel Kreta, Vol. II. p. 99.

[26] NICOLAUS PEPAGOMENUS, in Leo Allatius, de quorund. Graecor. Opinat. p. 176. Οἱ τοῦ μάρτυρος ἆθλοι, καὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀγωνίσματα—εἰς ὃ νῦν ὁρᾶται πρὸς λίθου φύσιν ἐγγὺς μετεποίησεν, ἅμα τε τούτου τοσαύτην εἰργάσατο τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, ὡς &c.

of Sfakiá, was known by name, and who made me extremely welcome.

*May 7.*

The villagers point with exultation to the lofty mountains by which they are surrounded, and say that they are the best fortress to be found in all Crete, and the only place within which the Turks never penetrated, during the long war between 1821 and 1830. On walking through the village I find some houses in ruins; and learn, from old people, that they were destroyed by the Mohammedans when they invaded Sfakiá in 1770. Thus the greater part of a century suffices not, in the Ottoman dominions, to repair the destruction caused by a month's warfare!

My hostess's beautiful unmarried daughter, on my asking her whether she had ever been at Khaniá, exclaimed, "God forbid!" and assigned as a reason for not wishing ever to leave her native glen, that she supposes the cottages of Haghía Ruméli appear more beautiful to her now, than they would after she had seen the fine houses of the city.

I learn that at a place called Trypeté[27], near Vukoliási[28], between Haghía Ruméli and Súia, and somewhat nearer to the latter place than to the former, at a spot the road to which from here is so bad that the place may be called inaccessible, except by sea, are found Hellenic remains, situated about a mile from the shore. The hill on which they stand is visible from the sea. It will be very easy to determine the name of the ancient site of which these are remains, if we can succeed in fixing a city on the shore below Haghía Ruméli.

Tarrha, which is interesting as one of the earliest localities of the Apollo-worship, has been supposed, by some very distinguished scholars, to have been inland;

[27] In the island of Mélos also is a village Trypeté, which derives its name "from the small catacombs with which the hill is pierced in every part." LEAKE, Travels in Northern Greece, Vol. III. p. 81.

[28] Εἰς τὴν Τρυπητή, εἰς τὸ Βουκολιάσι.

but I think there is little or no doubt, that its site is on the shore, at the very entrance of this glen of Haghía Ruméli[29].

On examining the spot I found very slight vestiges of antiquity, but the Tuscan priest Buondelmonti describes considerable remains of a temple and other buildings at the site of the ancient city, as existing when he was in Crete, more than four hundred years ago[30].

If Tarrha was at the entrance of this glen, as I think it clearly must have been, it follows that Trypeté is the site of Poekilassos[31].

Perhaps the inscription, of which Buondelmonti speaks[32], may be partly owing to a passage which he had read in Solinus[33].

These words, "aedem numinis, praeterquam nudus vestigia, nullus licito ingreditur," are remarkable, not on account of the singularity of the usage described by them, but, as Lobeck has somewhere observed in his Aglaophamus, on account of the undoubted generality of the practice in question. A similar feeling prevailed among the Jews[34], and with the Pythagoreans[35]. At

[29] The chief authority is the STADIASMUS, p. 496. ed Gail. Ἀπὸ Φοίνικος εἰς Τάῤῥον σταδ' ξ'. πόλις μικρά ἐστιν· ἔχει ὅρμον. Ἀπὸ Τάῤῥου εἰς Ποικιλασσὸν σταδ' ξ'. πόλις ἐστί, καὶ ὅρμον ἔχει, καὶ ὕδωρ.

[30] BUONDELMONTI in Cornel. Cret. Sacr. Tom. I. p. 85. "Portum antiquae urbis desolatum—hodie Romelum—ingentem aspicio templum in subversione volutum, quo omnia genera marmorum—sine ordine jacent. Aspicio idolorum sine capitibus busta, et ab altero latere templi caput Veneris vel Dianae inveni, quod super omnia pulcherrimum videbatur.—Columnae cisternaeque cum hedificiis amplis omnia patescunt."

[31] STADIASMUS, l. c.

[32] BUONDELMONTI, l. c. "Cernimus nimis deletas Graecas literas scriptas, sequimur deinde eas, heu scissum erat, sed per conjecturas sic cernere potui: Munda pedem, vela caput, et intra."

[33] SOLINUS, cap. XI. "Cretes Dianam religiosissime venerantur, Britomarten gentiliter nominantes, quod sermone nostro sonat virginem dulcem. Aedem numinis praeterquam nudus vestigia nullus licito ingreditur. Ea aedes ostentat manus Daedali."

[34] EXOD. III. 5. JOSH. V. 15. ACTS, VII. 33.

[35] IAMBLICHUS, V. P. §. 85. p. 182. and §. 105. p. 228. Θύειν χρὴ ἀνυπόδετον—and Ἀνυπόδητος θῦε καὶ προσκύνει.

A. Schranz del.

L. Haghe Lith.

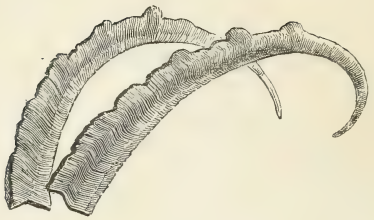
ENTRANCE OF GLEN OF HAGHIA RUMELI.

the present day, an oriental bestows the same mark of respect on every equal or superior in whose presence he may find himself, so that to take off the shoes in the east has almost the same meaning as to take off the hat has with us.

The only Christian nation by whom, as far as I know, the ancient oriental and pagan custom, of entering the house of prayer barefoot, is still practised, is that of the Armenians[36]; who also prostrate themselves to the ground in their adorations, much in the same manner as is done by the Mohammedans[37].

[36] SMITH and DWIGHT, Missionary Researches in Armenia, Letter VII. p. 140.

[37] The Armenian system of religion resembles the Greek in many of its absurdities. One of their authors defends the worship of "the God-bearing cross," on the ground that it is offered "not to the visible matter, but to the invisible God who is in it." More scrupulous, however, in some things, than the Greek, the Armenian extends not his profane iconolatry to the pictures of the saints, but holds that, "as neither a name nor an image, without the substance, is to be worshipped, and as the saints are not every where present to dwell in their images, *as Christ is in his*, their images are not to be worshipped." NERSES SHNORHALI, Unthanragan, pp. 132–133. quoted by SMITH and DWIGHT, l. c. Letter VII. p. 142.



HORNS OF THE CRETAN WILD-GOAT.

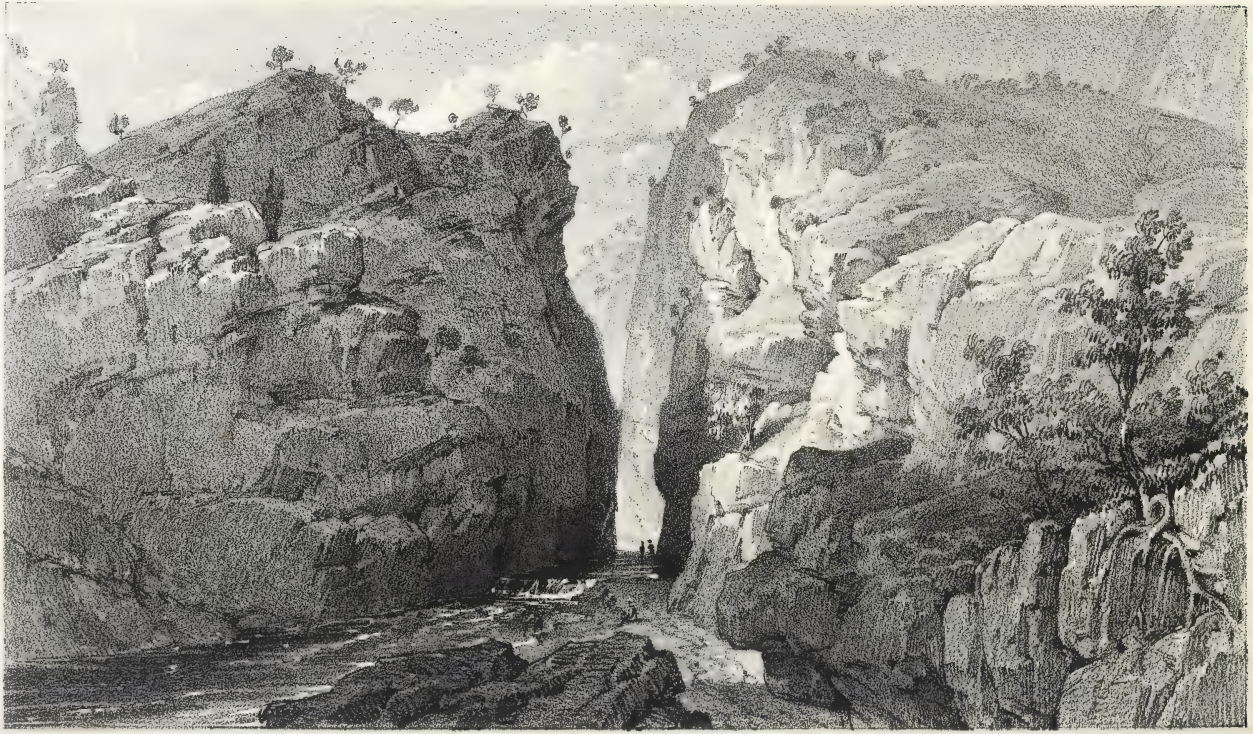
## CHAPTER XXXIX.

HAGHIA RUMELI TO SAMARIA. DIFFICULTY OF PASSING, EVEN WITH A MULE, ALONG THE GLEN. STRIKING PASS CALLED "THE GATES." KEFALOVRYSIS. A SITE CALLED "THE REFUGE OF THE HELLENES." CAENO. LOVES OF APOLLO AND ACACALLIS. CYPRESSES IN THE GLEN OF HAGHIA RUMELI. THE CRETAN AGRIMI IS THE WILD-GOAT, AND NOT THE BOUQUETIN OR IBEX. DEPARTURE FROM SAMARIA.

*May 7, continued.*

At half-past eight I left this sequestered village, intending to explore the inner recesses of the glen as far as Samaría. The path in some parts is so narrow, where it winds round the abrupt precipices, that no horse would be able to pass along it. At one spot it was necessary to take off the saddle from the mule on which I was mounted, during the greater part of the way, in order to avoid the likelihood of precipitating the animal into the river below.

In the first half hour after leaving Haghía Ruméli, I crossed the river five or six times, and then arrived



A. Schranz del.

L. Haghe Lith.

PASS OF HAGHIA RUMELI

at a very striking pass, represented in the opposite plate, and called "The Gates[1]."

The width of this lofty chasm is about ten feet at the ground, and widens to about thirty, or at the most forty feet at the top. The length of way along which we have to pass in the middle of the rapid stream, is about sixty paces: and for a hundred paces further we are more in the water than out of it, having to cross the torrent several times. After gazing awhile on the grandeur of this defile, I left it at half-past nine. In about twenty minutes more the rocks again contract, so as to become nearly perpendicular. I observe several pieces of wood in the river, which elicit an observation from my Rumélióte guide[2]. A little before ten we reach a spot called "the Turk's pass[3]," from the fact of a Mohammedan having been killed there in 1770.

At twenty minutes past ten we arrive at a cluster of fine plane trees, and a copious source called Kefalovrýsis[4], which now supplies the river with half its water; and which, after the melting of all the snow on the mountains above Samaría, towards the end of July or the beginning of August, still causes a considerable stream to flow from this spot to the sea below Haghía Ruméli. The contortions of the rocks in this neighbourhood shew how violent must have been the operation of the causes which threw them into their present shapes.

Cypresses may be noticed scattered over the mountains of this glen along its whole extent; and as we approach Samaría, they are seen in great numbers. We arrived in the village at half-past eleven.

I find the belief in the ancient site said to exist above Samaría, and to have been the last refuge of the ancient Hellenes[5], is entertained by the Samarióte peasant

[1] Τζὴ Πόρταις.

[2] He said, Οὔρα τοῦτα τὰ ξύρα φέρει ὁ πόταμος ἀπὸ μέσα: where οὔρα is used for οὔλα or ὅλα, and ξύρα for ξύλα.

[3] Εἰς τοῦ Τούρκου τὸ πέραμα.

[4] Κεφαλοβρύσις.

[5] Compare what is said above, p. 35.

who undertakes to shew me the way to them, and by most of his fellow-villagers. After reposing for a few minutes, under the shade of an overhanging rock, I commenced the ascent of the lofty and very steep mountain, on which the ancient remains were said to exist, after first winding round the side of an adjacent mountain, to the south-west of the village, and which is thickly covered with pines and cypresses. A good deal of snow is still lying on all the neighbouring mountains.

A steep and tiresome ascent of a full hour brought us to the alleged site of the ancient city. The existing vestiges are remains of walls, constructed of irregularly shaped stones, most of which are small, and which were united by cement. These remains are five or six feet high where they are best preserved, and may be traced for a considerable distance round the mountain.

Just above this wall are seen vestiges of two rooms, each about ten paces square: the wall which divided them is standing to the height of about three feet; and that on the western side is inserted as it were in the side of the mountain, and is ten feet high.

About a hundred paces above these slight ruins, is seen what I suppose once to have been a cistern, although it is not covered over with cement in its interior. Its length is eight paces, and its width three paces and a half. It is partly filled up, its present depth not being above five or six feet.

As to Hellenic remains my ascent ended in disappointment; but I was most amply repaid for my labour by the loveliness of the day, and the wildness and magnificence of the scenery around me. On my throwing out some slight doubts about the vestiges which I saw being *very* ancient, and suggesting that they could hardly belong to the celebrated "Hellenes," my Samarióte guide exclaimed, in the tone of one half offended at my ignorance or incredulity: "*Here* was the end of them, my good Sir[6]!" as if the matter had been one on which

[6] Ἐπὰ ἐτελειώσανι καλέ.

his local information entitled him to pronounce with authority.

The Rumelióte, who, as well as Maniás, accompanied me from Haghía Ruméli, has served as a sailor on board several vessels, and has thus sadly corrupted the purity of his Sfakian Greek. Some of his expressions were hardly intelligible to the Samarióte[7].

I descended into the valley at a distance of about three quarters of a mile from Samaría, on the way to the Xylóskalo, and did not arrive at the village till nearly three o'clock.

Towards the foot of the mountains, to the north-west, in the direction of the Xylóskalo, and about three miles from Samaría, is the monastery of Hághios Nikólaos. It is surrounded by the largest cypresses in the island, as all my three Sfakian companions agree in assuring me. They tell me many stories of these trees, which they would regard it sacrilege to cut; and the events which they believe to have happened, when one of them was felled by an impious hand many years ago, shew that the credulity of these brave and simple mountaineers is full as great as it was when the wonder-working Saint came from the Holy Mountain to visit them, awhile before the out-breaking of the Greek revolution.

The account given, by my guide, of the venerable cypresses, which surround the church of Hághios Nikólaos, reminded me of the Roman poet's description:

> Est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum
> Antiquae Cereris; juxtaque antiqua cypressus,
> Religione patrum multos servata per annos.

The Graces, who were peculiarly an object of religious worship in ancient Crete[8], were identified, as we have already seen, with these beautiful trees[9].

[7] He said "στὴν πορτέλλα," whereon the Samarióte asked him "στὸ παραθύρι ἤτουν;"

[8] Apollodorus, III. 15. 7. and Heyne, p. 331. Compare Pausanias, IX. p. 780. and Siebelis, I. p. 17.

[9] Vol. I. p. 252. It would be easy to give additional instances of the comparison

On the cypresses of Crete in general, and on those of the neighbourhood of Tarrha in particular, it is sufficient to refer to what has been already said[10], and to the observations made by Bentley in his letter to Mill[11].

The ancient legend of Apollo's purification by Carmanor, at Tarrha[12], gives us the name of a city which must have existed among the mountains in this neighbourhood. Carmanor had a grand-daughter Carma, and the Cretan goddess Britomartis, Artemis's favourite companion, was the offspring of Zeus and this damsel. Now the birth-place of Britomartis is said to have been Caeno[13], and it is therefore probable that Caeno was situated somewhere hereabouts, either on this so-called refuge of the Hellenes, or near Hághios Nikólaos; and that the mount Carma mentioned by Pliny[14], was in the immediate neighbourhood of the town.

I have already spoken of the loves of Apollo and Acacallis[15], the daughter of Carmanor: and we now behold their supposed locality.

> Oft in glimmering bow'rs and glades
> He met her, and in secret shades
> Of woody *Tarrha's* inmost grove.

comparison of beautiful women with the cypress-tree there mentioned. The following are Sfakian distichs:

> Τὸ κυπαρίσσι ῥέγομεν
> τὸ μυρισμένο ξύρο,
> ἀποῦ σου μοιάζει, μάθια μου,
> στὸ μάκρος καὶ στὸ ψήρο.

The last word is ψήλος· εἰς τὴν ὑψηλότητα is the sense.

> Τὸ κυπαρίσσι τὸ λιανό
> αἰέρας τὸ ζευλώνει,
> τὴν κοπελιάν τὴν ἀγριάν
> ὁ νέος τὴν ἡμερώνει.

[10] Vol. I. pp. 251—253. Compare THEOPHRASTUS, H. P. II. 2. Κυπάριττος δέ, παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀπὸ σπέρματος, ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ στελέχους, οἷον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κουρᾶς, ἐν Τάῤῥᾳ· παρὰ τούτοις γάρ ἐστιν ἡ κουριζομένη κυπάριττος. Compare BELON, in his Observations, etc.

[11] BENTLEY, Epist. ad Mill, p. 25. [12] See PAUSANIAS, II. p. 180.

[13] DIODORUS SICULUS, v. 76. Βριτόμαρτιν δὲ, τὴν προσαγορευομένην Δίκτυνναν, μυθολογοῦσι γενέσθαι ἐν Καινοῖ τῆς Κρήτης. On this story see Heyne's Excursus on the Aeneid.

[14] PLINY, N. H. XXI. 14. [15] Above, p. 107.

The meal furnished by the hospitality of my Samarióte guide consisted chiefly of the flesh of a wild-goat, killed by him on an expedition from which he had only just returned. I obtained from him three pairs of the animal's horns[16].

The wild-goat or agrími[17] of Crete, is supposed, by Belon and all subsequent writers on Natural History, to be the bouquetin or ibex of the Alps. This, however, does not seem to be the case[18].

The following account of the animal is a close translation of the very words used by an intelligent mountaineer[19] in conversation with me. "The agrímia are so active that they will leap up a perpendicular rock of ten to fourteen feet high: they spring from precipice to precipice, and bound along with such speed that no dog would be able to keep up with them, even on better ground than that where they are found. The sportsman must never be to windward of them, or they will perceive his approach long before he comes within musket-shot. They often carry off a ball, and, unless they fall immediately on being struck, are mostly lost to the sportsman, although they may have received a mortal wound. They are commonly found two, three, or four together: sometimes a herd of eight and even nine is seen. A party of four Therisiótes killed two wild-goats about 1819, one of which weighed twenty-eight

[16] They were all of nearly the same size. The length of each of those engraved at the head of this chapter is, on its outer edge, 2 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and, on its inner edge, 2 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

[17] See above, p. 232. note 4.

[18] As appears from an examination of the horns. My friend Mr Rothman, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, writes to me, on examining them, "it is not the bouquetin, to which however it bears considerable resemblance, but the real wild-goat, the capra aegagrus. Pallas. the supposed origin of all our domestic varieties. The horns present the anterior trenchant edge, characteristic of this species. The discovery of the aegagrus in Crete is perhaps a fact of some zoological interest, as it is the first well-authenticated European locality of this animal."

[19] Captain Vasíli Khális, of Thériso.

okes and the other thirty-five. They are always larger than the common goat. In the winter-time they may be tracked by the sportsman in the snow. It is common for men to perish in the chase of them. They are of a reddish colour, (*κόκκινα*,) and never black or party-coloured like the goat: the number of prominences on each horn indicates the years of the animal's age."

The great activity of the wild-goat is alluded to by the epithet *ἴξαλος*[20] bestowed on it in Homer; and the length of the horns, which I obtained at Samaría, is very nearly that assigned in the well-known description of the bow of Pandarus[21].

Before four o'clock I set out on my return to Haghía Ruméli. Again and again do I "cast a longing, lingering look behind," as each step which I retrace, towards the narrow glen, makes me lose sight of the lofty cypress-clad mountains of Samaría.

> I mark the sable woods
> That shade sublime yon mountain's nodding brow:
> With what religious awe the solemn scene
> Commands our steps!
> As if the form of Minos should forsake
> Th' Elysian seats, and down the embowering glade
> Move to the pausing eye!

On leaving these grand and most beautiful of Nature's works, it is not without a feeling of regret that I have

[20] On which see HESYCHIUS, v. Ἴξαλος. EUSTATHIUS, on Il. iv. p. 342. VISCONTI, Museo Pio-Clementino, Tom. iii. p. 54. HEYNE, on Hom. Il. iv. 105.

[21] HOMER, Il. iv. 105.

> Αὐτίκ' ἐσύλα τόξον ἐΰξοον, ἰξάλου αἰγός
> ἀγρίου, ὅν ῥά ποτ' αὐτός, ὑπὸ στέρνοιο τυχήσας,
> πέτρης ἐκβαίνοντα δεδεγμένος ἐν προδοκῇσι,
> βεβλήκει πρὸς στῆθος, ὁ δ' ὕπτιος ἔμπεσε πέτρῃ.
> τοῦ κέρα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐκκαιδεκάδωρα πεφύκει.

where HEYNE observes, (Tom. iv. p. 573.) "Grammaticus apud Venetum A. xvi. palmos aestimat *δύο ἥμισυ πηχῶν*. Voluit puto dicere *ποδῶν. duobus pedibus cum dimidio.* Scilicet pes Graecorum censetur vi. palmis, *palmus* autem quatuor digitis. (Palmus est *δῶρον, παλαιστή, δοχμή*—) Tam magna esse caprarum agrestium cornua olim dubitatum est."

only been allowed to gaze on them for a few hours, and in all likelihood shall never again behold the glories which are now so rapidly vanishing from my view. I am indeed leaving

> A land whose azure mountain-tops are seats
> For gods in council; whose green vales, retreats
> Fit for the shades of heroes, mingling there
> To breathe Elysian peace in upper air.

END OF VOLUME II.

# HISTORICAL APPENDIX.

# HISTORICAL APPENDIX.

Obstacles having arisen which prevent me from executing my original plan of writing not only Travels in Crete, but also a History of the island, I think it well to publish extracts from some of the authorities which I found among the Manuscripts of St Mark's Library at Venice.

I will begin with some passages of old Venetian chroniclers, which throw light on the history of Crete during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Manuscript with which I will commence is of the fifteenth century, written in a hand very difficult to decipher, and is in the Venetian dialect: it consists of 117 leaves, is in the quarto form, and is numbered "Codice XVII." in the catalogue of St Mark's Library. It is called "Cronaca Veneziana, dal principio della città sino al MCCCX."

Fol. 73. "Piero Ziani Doxe per elecçion monta a questo dogal dominjo chorando li anni del nostro Signor Miixiiij."

He arms thirty-one gallies, of which Miss. Renier Premarin was appointed captain, "lo qual dispartandosse de Veniesia chon quela armada, lo chastello de Chorfu e de Modon e de Choron per força darme elli prese, e andando plu auanti elli prexe naue iiij de çenoexi in Spinalonga, e puo navegado alixola de Crede elli prexe lio bon chapello Chorssero chon alter pluxor çenoesi, li qual' iera chô gallie iiij e naue vj. e tornando lo dito Chapetanio in driedo, lo dito Chorsser

a Chorfu fo apichado per la golla chon molti suo Chonpani insenbra. Anchora li diti Chapetanj avanti che elli tornasse in driedo *elli per força darme la çitae de Chandia e tute le ijsole e chastelli, e forteze, con tutti quelli de Crede elli prexe*, e fo mandado in quella fiada ducha in Chandia Miss. Iachomo Tiepolo el savjo la qual chosa per hordinamento del dito Doxe la ijsola predita de Crede ello devissa e parti entro tuti li nobelli de Veniesia e chi volesse andarla ad habitar dipendando e quella vegniva chamada Chavallarie chomo anch Crede e ave tuto quello che per la Signoria li fo dado alluy e ala so famiija.

Fol. 78. "E comença ladita vera in ann. M.II.LXXXX. e fo Chapetanio di gallie LXVI. Miss. Ruçier Moresini." He recounts some losses of the Venetians at sea. "Anchora durado ladita vera, çenouesi prexe la Chania che lysola de Crede e finalmente de un tratto da le partti si ando mecharçiendo la pace fo fatta entro lor."

Fol. 81. "Anchora in quello tempo quelli de lisola de Crede revella al chomun de Veniessia per la qual cossa el ducha che iera in quel tenpo in Chandia e fo Miss. Zustignian Zustignian aparechia subitamente uno nobele exerçito de zente da pie e da chavallo e dette la bataia per tal che in puochi çorni ello redusse i diti revelli a fedeltae de chomun de Veniesia e questi fo li Chalergi."

Fol. 83. "E in quello tenpo alguni nobil griesi de Crede che non stavva in la çitae fe grandissima assurança de li suo griesi dela detta ysola reuelando al chomun de Veniesia e a tute le çitae e chastelli de ljsolla redugandosse a lo mazor forteçe de lisolla e stagando soura le coste della montagna e domiçando molti luogi della Chavalarie de Chandia e da tute quele partte vexine, la qual rebelaçion siando vegnuda ale orechie dello exçellentissimo Doxe, et per xente chon grande solenitae elletti e mandai ala dita isola pedoni e ballestrieri chon gallie de çipro le qual iera per partir e per andar a marchado ço su li nobelli e valorossi homeni Miss. Nicholo Falier Miss. Zustignian Zustignian Miss. Andrea Morexini el Chavallier li qual fose provede-

dori e testadorj e chapetani de la dita vera. per tal che —— li diti chaporalli chauui de questa rebellaçion fo prexi e dadi in força delli diti Signori li qual unicamente chomo a rebelli e pessimi traditori e produtori elli fe ad alguni tajar le testte façandolli morir crudielmente, e altri alguni si li fe força in mar sichomo se chonvegnivva; li qual altri griesi del puovolo menudo, retorna puuo ala soa fedeltae e abiando messo li provededori, tuta lissola in paxe elli retorna puuo a Veniesia do de essi e fo reçeuudi chon grandissimo honor ello terço che fo Miss. Nichollo fallier paga el debita de la humana natura ela in Chandia el fo sepellido.

Fol. 96. (2). Anchora in M III LXIII del mexe di setenbrio vene novelle a Veniesia chon una galia del golfo ço fo Miss. Nichollo Fallier Sava Chomito digando chomo li çentillomeni de Chandia si aveva tolto çoxo del palaço lo ducha e li chossierj e tuti li altri ofiçiali che per Veniesia se apellavva de la soa Signoria per alguni daçii li qual el chomun de Veniesia aueua mandado —— e tuti fo metudi in presion. Anchora li çencillomeni de Chandia si fexe elli uno per so ducha e retore de la tera per chomandamento de tuti Miss. Marcho Gradenigo dito Spiritello, e si messe in pression Miss. Lunardo Dandolo che iera ducha chon tuti quelli che se trouvaesse de Veniesia e fexe retegnir le nauue e nauuilli da Veniesia ço i paronj e nocheri e marineri le qual naue se trovaesse charegade alle vendeme. Anchora in an M III LXIII del mese de setenbr. se arma v gallie ço fo iij in Veniesia e una a Clotia e una in Chavo d' Istria e fo fato iij nobeli çentilhomeni provededori per meter la tera in paçifico stado. Anchora in M III LXIII del mese de setenbrjo fo fato v nobelissiml çentillomeni ambassadori: li qual andasse a proveder in Chandia, e rechonçilliarlli chon lo chomun de Veniesia e metterlli in paxe e in achordo— e li diti provedidori siando çonti in Chandia e vojando essi a parlare contro de la dita revellaçion apresentandoli lelletere del chomun de Veniesia per li çentillomeni de Chandia no li volse essi dado oldienza alguna elli diti V Savj vene in Veniesia cholle gallie de romania le qual vegnivva da marchado e chonta la novella ala dogal Signoria la qual non li plaoxete niente.

In quello tempo de Miijlxiiii al .... de março siando fato Chapetanio general de tera el nobelle homo Miss. Luchin dal Vermo ello fo de zente per tuto Veniesia e puo dover asunar una gran quantitae de moneda e questo fo per soldar la dita zente da pe e da chavallo e ballestrieri assai; li qual siando tute asenbladi in Veniesia subitamente in puochi çorni fo armado gallie sotil e arsilli grandi per portare li diti chavalli con li soldadi, e altri navillj e navve assai che li porta, e fato la mostra de li diti soldadi da pe e da chavallo el nobile homo Miss. Luchin dal Vermo chapetanjo fexe chargar li chavalli entro li arsilli e apareciarggi de tuto quello chelli bisognava e inllo nome de Dio e della Verçene Maria e del Vangelista Miss. San Marcho die X Avril M III LXiiij el se parti del portto de Veniesia con quelli arsilli e gallie e legni sotil e nave che aveva armado la dita Signoria, siando Chapettanio de mar Miss. Domenego Michiel de Santa Sofia e fu .... in mar façando far vela e navegando die e notte chomo pllasette 'a Dio elli çonsse ala Frasschia a vij di de magigio ella stette tuto quel di chon la dita armado chonzando le suo chosse a mejo che lj sepe e puuo laltro di che fo a viij di magigio elli desschar li suo chavalli in tera chon tute le suo arme e arnexe valenttemente al despetto delli suo innemixi Chandioti façando pavessa tuto intorno la soa hosta e siando vegnudo l' altro di da mattina ço fo alli viiij magigio el nobello homo chapettanio de terra mess. Luchin dal Verme si fe sonar la tronbetta per tuta la hosta ello istesso monta a chavallo tuto armado chavalchando per tuto loste dagando hordene alle schiere e a quelli da pe e da chavallo e ali ballestrieri metandolli alle suo poste façando pavesade e chontraxiando a tuti li suuo innemiçi e fe so banderaro pasquallin minotto lo qual fo ardido e possente çovene elleal senpre portandosse vallentementte ala dita bataja e abiando dado ordene a tuta loste lo dito chapetanjo Miss. Luchin dal Vermo chomo sapientissimo he maistro de guera ello fexe clamare bandir per tuta la hoste che tuti li chaporalli e chontestabelli de da pe a da chavallo vegnisse alla soa tenda, e chosi fo hobedido lo so chomandamento, e siando vegnudi tuti davanti llui ello li fe sentar tuti apresso de si ella in quello luogo elo fexe uno parlamento molto soavve e bello, digandolli chosi: "Fradelli mie charissimi io

ve priego tuti quanti vui li qual se quua al prexentte che vuuj sie llialli e fedelli ala dogal Signoria de Veniesia le qual Sign. ha mandadi quua questo a far e per tanto se vuol che vuj sia prodomeni e valenti a chonbater e no ve infença del ben far che io ve inprometto per lo sagramento, che io ho fato a Dio e al chomun de Veniesia, che quanto per mi vojo esser lo primo ferido un bon sochorsso de quanto io poxo se Dio me impresta tanto de vita che io no me infençio miga del ben fare che avanti io vojo morir chon honor che viver chon vergogna sapiando che se de Dio ne da la graçia che nuuii abiemo vittoria delli nostri nemici, la Signoria de Veniesia e ben si sauvia e si chortexe che li ve radoplera doplamente del ben e de lo honor che vui li avera fatto, e se vui farete lo chontrarjo che vuij non fosse llialli io ve inprometo che chollui che fallirà sara inponido, io faro la çustixia se el fosse mio fio propio, siche in penso de ben far, altro io no ve jo diro mo al presente perche ello tempo de fare fati." e ditte parole ello fo fin a lo so parlare e tuti se refresscha e manca e abiando tuti manca e bev. Miss. lo Capettanio si fe sonar la tronbetta e tuti monta a chavallo ben armadi e chomença a chavalchar in so la çitae de Chandia chon grande ardimento molto ben asscheradi e quelli della tera ensi fuora inchontralli nostri molto ben a ponto da pe e da chavallo e la schomença la bataja mollto crudiel e pericoloxa essende morti e feridi plluxor deli grexi per tal che elli non potte pllus durar ala bataja e si delle spalle allini ritornando in verso la çitae; ello nostro Chapetanio Miss. Luchin dal Vermo pasqualin Minotto che jera banderaro chontinuadamentte li seguiva tajandolli e olçidandolli, e puochi fo delli griexi che tornasse vuivvi in la çitae che non fosse morti davanti la porta da Chandia. E chomo piaxette a Dio Veniçiani sovra li Grexi in quello di e questo fo in an MCCClxiiij a die Viiij magigio e puo a die x del dito mese elli ave la tera liberamente ço fo Chandia, intrando dentro tajando e olçicando molltij delli traditori chelli trouva e montando in sul palaço elli olçixe Miss. Marcho Gradenigo de Chandia che iera fato so ducha e tolsse via la sua insegne de San Titto e messe quella del Vangellista San Marcho chon gran fessta e alegreça."

The great engagement between the Venetians, under Luchino dal Vermo, and the revolted Cretans must have been near

Palaeókastron, and perhaps partly on the hills near Armyró, seen in the view at p. 258, of Vol. 1. The contest is also described in Codice XIX of St Mark's Library, p. 52.

"A di 10 dito, con il nome de Dio el dito Capetanio schomenzo a cavalchar verso la cita de Candia et schomenzo una dura et aspra batagia et li nostri ferendo et ocidendo li Grecj li ando incalzando in fino ale porte dela tera, et qui fo una grandissima ocision da una et altra banda ma ale fin, como piasete a Dio et a M. San Marco, li nostri intro in la tera, per forza, et amazando quanti li vegnivano incontra: et tanto loro fecero che esi ando ala piaza et intradi in palazo loro trova M. Marco Gradenigo che li rebeli havevano fato dose; et li nostri el tagio a pezi et da poi schorsa tuta la tera, per nome de San Marco. Da poi tornadi in piaza el fo butado a tera la insegna de San Tito et fo levado quela de San Marco."

From Codice xx (di fogli 233, del secolo xv. in circa; vedi Il Catalogo della Biblioteca Marciana, p. 227.)

Fol. 62. "Haven° compra la Signoria de Venetia la Isola de Candia dal Marchexe de Monfera mando a tuor el dominio de la dita isola onde per greci fo vidado e contradito di volerse dar segondo i pati del suo Signor. E vedan° questo Miss. Renier Premarin, cap° di mar de larma de la Signoria, se misse in ponto, e conbatti valentemente la dita cita de Candia, e per forza quela prese, e per lo simel tute le so altre cita, e castelli, primte e jurisdiction, sotometandoli ala Signoria di Venetia fazom° quelli luoghi di gran robarie, e metando tuto a sacomano. Dapoi dita armada molto richo torno a Venetia, e questo fo del 1211, e fo deliba di partir la dita isola tra Zentilhomeni e populari, che volesse andar ad habitar in quella isola con le so femene."

Fol. 65. "Del. 1214. In tempo di Miss. Piero Ziani li usl de Zenoa uno de bassa condition chiamado Rigo, homo valentissimo e savio, e tanto fexe con soa industria che l' have gran parte del dominio de la Isola de Candia per la qual caso el fo chiama el Conte Rigo de Malta. In questo tempo era re de Zezilia re Ferigo che havea pocho poder ma de poi vene in gran posanza. El dito Conte Rigo prese con una so nave una

de' Pisani, e dapoi con quelle do nave una di Venetiani, e poi torna a Malta e missesse benissimo in ponto metando su queste tre navi gran quantita de zente e de victuari, e da poi prese una nave grossa richissima de Venetia che vegniva da Constantinopoli: et havendo aguadagnato grande haver, have modo di haver gran quantità de zente sorti a danizar, e ando alissola de Candia, et appandose li greci lo accepto in la dita isola, dandoli gra pre Signoria. E subito el dito Conte Rigo feze far de molti castelli per potersi prevaler da la potentia de la Signoria de Venetia. El primo castel fo el castel de Mirabelo, uno de Monte-ferat, e uno che se chiama Bonifacio, e Castel Nuovo, e Bel Riparo, e molti altri castelli[1], siche i fo per n° xiiij° castelli; anchora tegniva el Castel Termene e possedeva la cita de Candia e la Chania et have animo de mandar a Roma a dir che j lo incoronasse re de quelle isola, e sel se non si havesse trovà un capelan de Venetia che saveva ch' el dito Conte Rigo jera anda furtivamente a tuor deta isola, e desse notitia al papa l' havaria habu . . . . . Donde sapuda che have el papa la cossa, cazo j suoi ambassador via con bruta vergogna. E sapudo che ave M. Piero Ziani doxe delli Venetiani che Conte Rigo havea occupa lisola de Candia, e prese per parte de armar subito xxx[a] galie e otto nave de le mazor de Venetia, e fo Cap° de la dita armada Mess. Jac° Baseio e prontamente el se parti de Venetia, e fato Captanio de le galie de marchado Miss. Renier Dandolo, e Miss. Renier Premarin, e tuti andono de compagnia, e questa armada prese Lio Vechio Corsaro, nemigo de Venetiani, e prese Rigo da Bela pola Zenoexe, con galie xij e cinque nave, perche Venetiani e Zenoexi erano capital nemixi; e da poi lo dito Cap° con le 30 galie e 8 nave e altri navilij assai, con le galie da marchado, se ne ando alisola de Candia, perche el dito Conte Rigo haveva fornido xv castelli de molta zente darmi per esser Zenovese, Zenovexi li avea da granda aidia per esser in guerra con Venetiani, e fo dade molte bataie e niente se pote far, istando alassedio della dita isola el fo preso ala batajo Miss. Renier Dandolo Cap° de le galie de marchado, e fo mena al conte Rigo e fo messo in preson, e siando disdegna el dito Miss. Renier, et non pote mai manzar e mori in preson,

[1] See Vol. I. p. 64. note 8. Vol. II. p. 40. and p. 73.

e da poi fo fato de gran bataie. Miss. . . . Premarin Cap° vene a Venetia per esser compido el so tempo deputado havendo fato valentemente, e in so luogo fo fato Miss. Polo Ziani, el dito Cap° fece guerra valentemente al dito Conte Rigo e cominzo a tuorli di suoi castelli, e vedando il Conte Rigo esser astretto ocultamente lando a Zenova in persona a domadar soccorso, e quelli da Zenova li de gran soccorso di cavalli e pedoni e delli quattro grossissime nave e sie galie Cap° M. Jac Longo, e siando vegnu dita arma per demontar ala isola di Candia, larmada de Venetia li de driedo donde se messe a scampar, e vegando al note adoso con segnali de fuogo ingano larma de Venij che non sape andar dredo, e scampo da quella el Conte Rigo con una galia vene alisola de Candia prestamente scapando larma di Venetiani, e dismonto in terra, e la matina larma de Venitiani vedando aver pso quella de Zenoexi i se ne torno in Candia, et breviter el Conte Rigo vene a pati de doverse render a Venetiani, e fra li altri pati fo che dovesse dar a Venetiani tuti li castelli ch' haveva su lisola di Candia e renuntiar tute le ragion chavesse in dita isola e —— chel fosse tegnudo a mandar un so nevodo a Venetia, e che la Signoria desse per dote al dito so nevo perperi 1500 e desseli una Zentildonna, e a questo modo la Signoria have lisola."

Fol. 72. "Del 1299 Zenoexi prese la cita de la Cania che e suso la isola e quella bruso a robo, e al fin siando strachi una parte e laltra Zenoexi e Venetiani fecero pase."

The Reports of Foscarini and Garzoni to the Venetian Senate, on the condition of Crete towards the latter end of the 16th century, have been frequently referred to by me in both this and the previous volume. Foscarini had been preceded by Basadonna, a small fragment of whose Report is still found in the Library of St Mark. It is numbered Classe VII. Codice CCCIV., and is entitled "Relatione del E^mo S^r P° Basadonna, del Sindicato de Levante, nel 1566." He says, at fol. 2, that such visits of Syndics "Furono con tanto frutto et beneficio publico et con tanta consolatione a quei miserabili paesi, che, non essendosi già stati, molti et molti anni, Sindici in quelle parti, restorono *sollevati da molte grandi et crudelissime oppressioni et tirannie.*"

Again, "Un certo dazio che chiamano dei Parici, appare a molti poveri e più miserabili di quel territorio infima calamità —sono astretti fuggire in Turchia, perciocchè essendo costoro obbligati pagare in camera un aspro per testa all' anno, et in caso di morte lasciare tutti i beni loro al ..... morendo senza figliuoli maschi, i Daziari, et altre genti da loro dipendenti, usano contro questi infelici, et nell' un caso et nell' altro, strane et horrende tirannie—Sarebbe cosa degna della sua clemenza, subito levare una così odiosa et barbara esazione—poichè il conservarla è sottoporre quei miserabili huomeni a crudelissimi serpenti, che lacerino et li divorino afatto, o li sforzino, li pochi che sono avvanzati, *fuggir subito in Turchia, seguendo l' orme d' altri innumerabili, che per questa cagione di tempo in tempo ne sono andati.*"

I will now give some extracts from GARZONI's Report, which is numbered "Classe VII. Codice CCCIV." in St Mark's Library, and is entitled "Relatione del Ecc^mo S^r Giulio de' Garzoni del Sindicato de Levante, nel 1586."

Fol. 9. "Possede questa Eccelsa Repubblica Seren. Principe Ill^mo et Graviss° Consiglio, l' Isola di Candia, degna per il numero degli habitanti, per la nobiltà della Colonia, et per la qualità delle fortezze, che cingono quelle città per sua difesa, d' esser chiamata Regno."

"Parlerò dei popoli et bisogni loro, et loro voluntà, delle spese, fatte dalla Serenità Vostra, per provisione di guerra, et l' entrate rese dall' Isola, et del modo che tengono li Magistrati nel governo del Regno, dalla giustizia de' quali dipende il pronostico di possedere felicemente quello stato.

"Nelle quattro Provincie sue, che sono di Scithia, Candia, Rettimo, et Canea, fuori dalla città si trovarono anime centosettantasei mille quattrocento trentatre[1], delle quali sono da fazione cinquanta quattro mille settecento ottantasette.

[1] The population had been long decreasing. FOSCARINI, Relatione etc. fol. 133, gives 1070 as the number of villages (casali) and 219,000 as the number of souls, of whom 55645 were "da fattion," 29218 of them residing in the cities, and the remaining 26427 in the country. The codex No. 766 in the Racolta Correr at Venice gives the following table, the amount of the population somewhat earlier.

"Di questro membro di cittadini, principaliss° del Regno, darò conto assai particolare, et credo esser bene che le VV. SS. Ecc^me^ comportino, con qualche patientia, il mio ragionamento, potendo essere, che le siano per intendere cose, e nuove, et a proposito per edificare quelle genti a devota fede verso la Serenità V.

"Altre volte quelli popoli furono possessi da particolari Signori, venduti[2], comprati, et comandati come Parici[3], et la Colonia che mandò la Serenità V. successe al dominio de' beni et habitanti suoi, la quale tenne il medesimo stile per lungo tempo: in maniera che le genti, fatte servili per lungo habito di servitù, hanno convenuto riuscire, e vili et senza industria.

Fol. 10. "Hebbero questi Governatori a principio qualche difficoltà a far lasciare l' arco a quelle genti[4], arma sua antica et naturale, per farle prender l' archobuso: ma, havendo alcuno

| | Villages. | Priests. | Monks. | Men and Children. | Women. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Megálo-Kástron | 496 | 492 | 570 | 48628 | 49984 | 100170 |
| Setía | 148 | 256 | 268 | 9255 | 9254 | 19181 |
| Rhíthymnos, City | | 38 | | 3862 | 4138 | 8038 |
| Villages | 296 | 345 | 410 | 34694 | 25590 | 61335 |
| Khaniá, City | | 52 | | 5130 | 5271 | 10453 |
| Villages | 314 | 412 | 516 | 31216 | 28560 | 61018 |
| Akrotéri | | 36 | | 1819 | 1533 | 3388 |
| Sfakiá | | 28 | | 4228 | 3650 | 7906 |
| | 1254 | 1659 | 1764 | 138832 | 127980 | 271489 |

[2] The purchase and sale of *slaves* prevailed at Christian Venice in the fourteenth century. See GAMBA, Serie degli Scritti impressi in dialetto Veneziano, Venezia 1832, who gives at p. 35. an "Istrumento di vendita d' uno Schiavo, scritto l' anno 1365," and observes, "Notabile riescirà il leggere un vecchio Documento di *jus servile* presso i Veneziani, da cui apparisce espresso il consenso di uno Schiavo di passare da un padrone ad altro."

[3] FOSCARINI observes, Relatione etc. fol. 107. that although, when he wrote, that generally notorious and odious "parichia" which existed under the Venetians in Cyprus, did not prevail in Crete, still even here there existed some "*parichi*" by descent, who had still this "obbligo et servitù di parichia," and that all the peasants were obliged to perform "tante angarie," and that some "obblighi" had been introduced of such a kind, "che non saprei se fossero del tutto liberi."

[4] See above, p. 254.

dato principio a valersene alle caccie, è stato di qualche allettamento agli altri, sicchè si lasciarono intendere il desiderarne, et essendo compiaciuti dalla Serenità V. ne furono mandati certo numero, li quali si abbaterono a capitare mentre noi eravamo alla visita sua, et furono dispensati per le nostre mane, accompagnandoli con parole di confidenza, per incorargli alla difesa pubblica, et per introdurgli affetto et hobbedienza alle cose comandate dalla Serenità V. Gli accettarono con allegro animo, et si deve per ragione aspettare ottima riuscita da loro con quell' arma, essendo essi per complessione calda et secca, che gli fa riuscire presti, gagliardi, et vivaci, sono avezzi al patimento per la strettezza del paese, pieno di balze, tutte condizioni accomodate all' archibusiero: sicchè si può credere con fondamento che, per le qualità di quei corpi et per quelle di quel paese ove hanno a maneggiarsi, poco numero di quei soldati, ben disciplinati, sia per travagliare gran quantità di forastieri, potendo loro aggiungere, et fuggire a suo piacere[5], et con poco bisogno di vittuaria, vivendo loro d' aqua et herbe con poco pane. Hanno per suo costume il portare certo sacco alle spalle, dove portano i suoi bisogni in maniera accomodato che non sentono alcun impaccio."

Fol. 12. "Fra queste milizie descritte vi sono li habitanti alla Sfachia, nazione più ardita del resto dell' isola per maggior ferocità di complessione, et per natura di sito, et perchè ancora credono, per certe loro memorie che dicono havere, esser discesi da' Romani, et perciò, con quella credenza, hanno non so che di generoso nelle sue attioni, ne sopportarono al principio il giogo de' Cavallieri, come il resto de' cittadini, o per sua risoluzione, o vero per la sterilità del paese suo non invitò la Colonia a mettervi il piede: ma, sia come si voglia, non hanno alcuna soggettione a quell' ordine di Signori, tanto abborrito dal Regno.

"Si sono quelle genti alle volte mostrate disobedienti alla. Serenità V. et hanno convenuto li Magistrati darli sacco, et tagliarne a pezzi molti, et altri levare dalle proprie habita-

[5] This is just what the Sfakians did in most of their contests with the Mohammedans between 1821 and 1830.

zioni, come fece l' Ecc^mo^. Cavalli[6], con giusta causa nota alla Serenità V. E certo, se non fosse che tutta la Sfachia non è habitata da quelle fameglie pretendenti la insolentia del disobedire, et che tra essi Sfachiotti non sono uniti, difficilissimo sarebbe haverli in obbedientia: ma questi duoi contrarj, et l'esempio delle cose passate, gli indebolisce in maniera che hanno alquanto mortificato l' orgoglio. Sono partiti in due prole l' una detta Patera, e l' altro Papadopula, discese, per quanto dicono, da duoi fratelli, l' uno Patera, che vuol dire capo di monaci, e l' altro Papà cioè prete, et si generò per concorrentia inimicitia tale, che, aumentandosi sempre, sono fatti gli animi suoi implacabili.

"L' Eccell^mo^. Foscarini li visitò et li instituì alcuni ordini per conservarli in obbedientia del Ch^mo^ Rettor della Canea, li gratificò di alcune concessioni, et gli deputò ancora Cap°, per la sua esercitatione, facendoli descrivere nei libri delle battaglie come privileggiati; in maniera che il spavento delle cose passate, la induglienza dell' Ecc^mo^ Foscarini, et la forza delli ordeni posteli gli hanno ridotti a qualche obbedientia. Ma la causa principale, per quello che ho potuto scoprire, della sua alienatione, precipitando nella desperatione, è tutta industria de' Cavallieri, per l' odio che portano a quella gente, come quella dalla quale non possono trahere alcuno utile, et perciò usano ogni potere per rappresentarli alli Ecc^mi^ Rettori per licentiosi, ladri, et homicidiali."

Fol. 13. "Non contenti li Caval^ri^ di aver usata l' industria, con li Ch^mi^. Rappresentanti, per farli concepire mali pensieri contra li Sfachiotti, sono altrettanto industriosi in ispaventare con suoi ragionamenti quegli huomeni per rigore dell' ordine, et così li fanno disobedire; per il qual mancamento li sono poi fulminate adosso proclame et sententie, che gli levano affatto la speranza di esser gratiati. Pare quasi troppo artificio usato da quei gentiluomeni della Canea; nondimeno è pur vero, ma è anco ragionevol cosa il crederlo, poichè dipende da interessi di quel paese interessantissimo, et in questa maniera riescono alle volte gli Sfachiotti suspetti di fede.

[6] See above, p. 154.

"Al nostro arrivo nel territorio della Canea erano passati alquanti anni che non havevano prestata la debita obedientia di appresentarsi, per la diffidenza che io ho detta di sopra. Io di manco anni et di miglior forza di corpo del Ecc^mo^ mio Collega, volsi fare quella visita, salii quei monti, o per dir meglio li penetrai, poichè vi sono alcune strade piutosto voragini, fatte per discesa d' acque, che per uso di viandanti[7], havendo prima, per via d' un proveditore che si tiene a quel governo dal Consiglio della Canea, fattogli intendere la mia andata, per consolarli et gratificarli dove avessi potuto farlo honestamente: et capitato a' confini de' suoi casali, fui incontrato da cinque cento huomeni, tutti armati di archobusi et archi, tra quali vi era la famiglia de' Pateri, al numero di dugento huomeni, li Papadopuli suoi contrarij non si videro per la inimicitia. Si appresentarono quelle genti con riverenza, et io li accolsi in nome della Serenità V. con quelle parole che mi somministrò la mia buona volontà per bene edificarli all' obbedienza de' Magistrati. Et capitato al suo principal casale che è grande, situato, nella discesa di un alto monte verso la spiaggia, dalla banda di Ostro, dove è anco il Castello della Sfachia, posto sopra un sasso al mare, sicuro per la battaglia da mano, nel quale risiede il Proveditor loro, feco chiamare a me li Capi senza la moltitudine, a' quali parlai con qualche austerità, riprendendoli della poca obbedientia prestata alli Ecc^mi^ Rettori della Canea, in esecutione dell' ordine Foscarini. Con molta modestia mi risposero, anzi con tanta, che non solo non l' aspettai da huomeni fieri, rozzi, et sospetti di mala volontà, come furono rappresentati anco a me, ma da huomeni civili, riconoscenti l' autorità del Superiore, non si havrebbe potuto aver più discretta risposta, allegando per sua difesa le cose discorse di sopra. Gli feci capaci dell' intenzione della Serenità V., et di che maniera deve essere eseguito dal Ecc^mo^ Rettore, quando siano obbedienti all' ordine Foscarini, in maniera che accettorono la riprensione, et restorono consolati, et loro stessi mi ricercarono nuovo ordine per castigo di quelli che non saranno pronti a prendere li ladri e consegnarli alla

[7] FOSCARINI observes, in recounting his visit to Sfakiá, where he remained six days, fol. 106. "Il sito et asprezza di quelli luoghi sono veramente accommodati et proprii alla ferocità di quella gente, ch' è bellissima, bellicosa, et brava."

giustizia. Li tenni ragione, et accomodai alcune sue differentie, vidi il modo del governo di quel Proveditore, il qual trovai senza alcuna forma, si per poca obbedienza, come per venalità di quelli che sogliono andare a quei carichi. Mi fecero la mostra, et riuscì bellissima.

"Sono quegli huomeni più alti, et più formati di vita, con faccia di più spirito, del resto de' Contadini, et per la pretensione della nobiltà passata del sangue suo, et per le proprie forze presenti, riescono più ubidienti, et perciò più pronti all' arme, sono più esercitati nell' archobuso per le caccie, delle quali si può dire che vivono.

"Io mi posi fra loro, et li feci maneggiare secondo la volontà del Collonello Emiliani che era meco, mostrando loro piacere di essere comandati da me, et io mostrai di sentire contento di così allegra obbedienza. Li feci tirare a . . . d' arco et d' archobuso dispensando li pretii di mia mano, per meglio manifestare il piacere da me sentito per la sua pronta obbedienza.

"Andai al Castello S. Nichita habitatione de' Papadopuli, e seco feci il medesimo per consolarli, havendo questi ancora causa di maggior disperatione, come più poveri, et inferiori di numero alli suoi inimici.

"Vivono quelle Prole principalmente dell' industria degli animali di pascolo, de' quali ne hanno quantità per l' abbondanza de' monti non usati d' altri vicini, et per la difficoltà della sua ascesa, et per lo rispetto che si fanno portare da' vicini. Gli altri habitanti alla Sfachia vivono di far barche, et navilj, per la comodità de' legnami et pegole che si trovano in questa parte dell' isola; et a tempo di bisogno sono passati al servitio dell' arsenale della Canea.

"Il quarto giorno del mio arrivo parti, lassando ordine alli capi dell' una et l' altra Prole che venissero alla Canea, che gli avrei fatto perdonare il fallo passato con quella obbedienza. Vennero pochi giorni dopo—et all' hora conobbe il Ch^mo^ Rettore le false informazioni dateli da' Cavalieri; poichè a quel tempo non comparse alcuna querella contra gli Sfachiotti, cosa che il fece maggiormente affezionare a loro, et puote confermare li miei officii: et presi gli ordini fatti col consiglio del Ecc^mo^ mio Collega, per dar forma megliore al governo del suo Proveditore,

se ne tornarono lieti alle loro case ; et essendo poco dopo capitato il Ch^mo Cap^no Barbarigo alla Canea, desiderando S.S. vedere le mostre generali et però comandate le cernede, gli Sfachiotti che non solevano comparire, o con poco numero, vennero intorno a seicento, et furono veduti con gran gusto di quel Signore."

Fol. 15. (2). " Hora dico in tanti casali, nei quali si habbiamo trovato, habbiamo vedute le case de' cittadini, nella maggior parte delle quali non si è veduto cosa alcuna per l' uso del vestire, ne del posare : et per il vito, sono senza pane o grano, non hanno vino, le donne spogliate, li figliuoli nudi, gli huomeni poco coperti, et le case vuote del tutto, senza alcun segno di habitazione humana. Et quella meschinità di huomeni è obbligata per antico uso al Cavaliere duoi angarie personali l' anno, ch' è il lavoriero di dodici giorni, et convengono ancora lavorare pur, per antica istituzione, il resto di quello che bisogna al medesimo Cavaliere nel suo casale, a otto soldini il giorno, che importa una gazzetta[8], et un quintodecimo di essa perciò introdotto gia ducento anni et non più accresciuto. Sono in obbligo di aver polli, et galline per porta, così li Padroni havendo introdotto questo nome di porta per casa, le qual case sono anco fabbricate dagli stessi contadini, ne alla sua partita hanno altra ragione che portare seco la porta, et perciò li Cavalieri, industriosi del suo utile, hanno fatto ad ogni istantiola una porta, per moltiplicare le regalie. I buoi da lavoro, chiamati donnegali, sono in obbligo di lavorare certa quantità di terreno, per lo quale, seminato o no, bisogna che il contadino paghi la terzaria. Sono ancora i donnegali tenuti a farli due angarie l' anno. Muli, et altri anemali da basto convengono fare due agozi, cioè due viaggi, alla città per il patrone, gli anemali da pascolo pagano la decima, chiamata da loro Decata, et altre mille invenzioni per assorbire tutti gli frutti della terra. Se il contadino ha vigne cioè la superficie (essendo il terreno sempre del Cavaliere) piantate, et allevate da lui, benchè in terreno prima silvestre, conviene pagare al patrone, prima che faccia la divisione per regalia, tornando per antica istituzione il terzo al Cav^re et due terzi al contadino, cinque . . . da loro chiamati mistacchi, per vigna, sotto pretesto

[8] Two Venetian *Soldi*.

di quello che mangia il Contadino avanti le vendemie per la spesa del Pattichier, chiamando così loro un certo luogo fabbricato per franger l' uva, et sotto altre inhonestissime invenzioni: et per avvantaggiarsi ancora questa regalia, dividono in tante parte le vigne, che poche rendono più di quindici mistacchi; in maniera che con la fraude fondata sopra la forza si appropriano li due terzi a loro, e lassono l' uno al contadino. Sicchè posso affermare con verità, come affermo per la dovuta riverenza che porto alla Serenità Vostra, non aver veduto in casa di alcun cittadino vaso per custodir vino, segno manifesto di non raccoglierne, et se ne vogliono avere, lo prendono a poco a poco dal Cavaliere, promettendo per ricompenza, oglio e seta, ovvero del medesimo vino venturo, a quelli prezi che detta l'appetito suo: et le medesime invenzioni che servono a gravare le persone et gli animali da opera, et a rapire quelli da pascolo, l' oglio, il vino, et il grano, la medesima industria usan per levargli ancora li altri frutti della terra, benchè silvestri, et di piccola importanza.

"Sono deputati per giurisdicenti di questi territorij, come ho detto, Castellani, Scrivani che servono per Cancellieri et capitanj contra Fures, li quali sono tutti volti rapacemente a' danni di quella povera gente, pegnorando quel poco che alcuno di loro sia trovato havere ascoso da' Cav^ri^, sotto pretesto di disobedienza della quale il contadino abbonda per la disperazione, poichè in ogni maniera è meschino. Gli Castellani non possono per legge giudicare il valsente di più di zecchini due, nondimeno qualche Ch^mo^ Regimento gli ha concesso autorità fino alla summa di perperi ducento, che sono intorno a zecchini quattordeci: et perchè hanno de caratte otto percento, fanno riuscire ogni causa di ducento perperi per piccola che sia per aver li sedici di caratti, con mille altre invenzioni di estorsioni per mangiare a' poveri. Li capitanj contra Fures, il nome de' quali denota il suo carico, hanno le sue utilità da' ladronezzi, et sempre inventano per trarne utile, caluniando li buoni et escusando li rei, con rovina universale. E però vero che li contadini invilliti per la loro inopia, e portati dalla necessità, commettono qualche furto, ma di poca importanza. Li giusdicenti furono introdotti a tempo della Colonia, e dovevano essere Nobeli Veneti o Cretensi; nondimeno a poco a poco si sono domesticati in maniera gli elctori che hora sono esercitati per sostituti, et

sono li Scrivani delli cav^ri^ li quali per lo più hanno comperato la Castellania, e tutti quelli che hanno avuto carico di riformare, hanno regolato prohibendo la sostituzione, et comandato alli Regimenti il fare la Rettoria giusta la forma delle leggi: con tutto ciò non si è potuto ottenere nè l' uno nè l' altro.

"Alcune di quelle Castellanie sono state concesse in vita dalla benignità della Serenità V. et così, come è liberal gratia a quelli che l' hanno ricevuta, così è grave disgrazia alli sudditi di quel Castello, poichè per la lunghezza del tempo, sendo gli altri di due anni solamente, si fanno patroni, non solo usando le estorsioni solite de' Castellani, ma quelle de' Cavalieri ancora; et se non havessimo havuto rispetto alla grazia che ella ha fatto ad alcuno di quelli, per la nobiltà della famiglia, et per le disgrazie patite dalla sua patria, molto inclinando la Serenità V. al suo sollievo, gli haveressimo dato qualche castigo, per il poco rispetto che ha havuto alli sudditi della Serenità V."

Fol. 18. "Quei Capitani per fama universale sono pieni di sete per succiare il sangue a' poveri: nondimeno hanno tanti modi di occultare le sue tristizie, che per esquisita diligentia usata dal Ecc^mo^ mio collega nell' inquisitione non se vi è scoperto altro che uno."

Fol. 18. "Gli huomeni deputati alla Galera sono in continuo terrore d' andarvi et quelli che hanno il modo, benche strettamente, per qualche vignetta, o terreni, o anemali, il tutto gettano spensieratamente a vil pretio per aver denari per pagare l' andiscaro che importerà quindici o vinti zecchini, spesa insopportabile alle loro forze. Li più meschini, impotenti ad aver l' andiscaro, fuggono alla montagna, et poi, assicurati dalli Cavalieri, tornano alli casali loro, tanto più soggetti, quanto sono temidi della giustizia, et con il suo esempio tanto più obbedienti gli riescono gli altri casaliotti, attribuendo l' autorità del salvargli dalla galera agli Cavalieri: et per ciò con questi et altri pretesti di sopra discorsi, se ben per decreto publico è levato il nome della Parichia, convengono vivere nella medessina soggezione.

"E adunque la contadinanza aggravata per le Galere, per le angarie, per le rapacità de' giusdicenti deputati per suo governo et per la crudeltà de molti Cavalieri, aggiuntovi ancora

l' estorsioni ch' ella riceve per mille accidenti estraordinarij, essecutioni di debiti civili, visite di Rettori et altri ministri, a' quali convengono dare il vivere a pretii vilissimi."

Fol. 19. "Si che il contadino, di questa maniera vessato, et per tante parti stracciato, impreso da' ragionamenti de' papati è fatto nemico del nome Veneto, nè è capace della distinzione dagli Nob. Veneti loro Cavalieri a quelli che manda la Serenità V. di la, per suo governo, et è ridotto a tale per le cose dette che credo poter dire con verità, escludendo però li privilegiati, che desiderano mutazione di governo: et sanno non poter capitare in mano d' altri che del Turco; nondimeno, credendo non poter peggiorare di stato, inclinano anco a quel tiranico Dominio."

"Ma non mi spaventano tanti mali detti, et altri lasciati per strettezza di tempo, et per altri rispetti ancora, poichè quella massa d' huomeni sono di maniera bramosi del sollievo, con sete cosi ardente di gratia, che conseguita con ogni picciol segno fatto dalla Serenità V. a sua protetione, portando il loro stato di miseria a qualche miglioramento, sono per riuscire li più fedeli figliuoli che habbia questa Eccelsa Repubblica, addolcendo l' amaro delle sue disgrazie con la benignità della Serenità V. Con questo pensiero habbiamo dato qualche principio noi, a farli capire il proposito ch' Ella tiene di sollevarli, castigando i Cavalieri, Castellani, Capitanj contra fures, et altri ministri, condennando fino a cento ducati, et privando di esercitare ufficj pubblici, ch' è il termine della nostra autorità per raffrenarli dal tiranneggiare."

Fol. 21. "Vivono adunque li papati in quella Isola senza capo del suo rito, et con poco rispetto all' arcivescovo Latino; biasmano tutte le sue ationi, predicandole per ingiuria a' popoli con impressione d' odio verso i Franchi, et però dalla malvagità et ignorantia di quegli Ecclesiastici non si può dissegnare alcuno conciliamento, senza darli capo a loro superiore, del medesimo ritto Greco, et a me piacerebbe che si gli desse nome di Vescovo, la qual cosa riuscirebbe di somma consolatione alla moltitudine, et se il Vescovato si potesse avere in persona soggetta, et dipendente dalla Serenità V. crederei &c."

Fol. 21. "Sarà ella mirabilissimo istrumento a conciliare l' animo di quelli che per differentia di rito, sono infetti di mala volontà, et a cacciare le superstitiose disseminazioni de' Papati, castigando ancora le persone senza scandalezzare le genti a loro soggette, come occorre ad ogni minimo atto di riprensione, nonchè di castigo, dell' Arcivescovo Latino, che pur ha voluto ponere qualche freno, benchè giusto, a' Clerici di quel rito: nè si può sospettare altro cattivo effetto dal governo del Vescovo Greco alorchè non potrebbe la persona costituita in quella dignità, con tre et più mille ducati d' entrata, migliorare di conditione per qual si voglia revolutione: et havemo esempio, sebene di cosa piccola, assai chiaro, nelle città ove sono i protipapati eletti dal Regimento, perciochè li Preti di qualche considerazione sono tutti ad adulare, nonchè compiacere li Rappresentanti della Serenità V. per ottener gratia di quel loco quando occorre la vacantia, et però nelle città non si ha alcun disgusto de' popoli minuti per cattivi officj de' papati come occorre ne' territorj."

Fol. 26. (2). "In Candia li Cretensi sono molto humili, sendo stati sopramontati dalla forza de' Veneti, et quasi che si possono nominare nell' ordine del popolo. Hebbero altre volte forza e riputatione per pretensione di antichità, et facoltà che possedevano, ma ora fatti poveri, dicono loro per la potenza de' nobeli Veneti—dicono essere arrichiti quelli per possedere la maggior parte de' feudi in feudi, et per gli augumenti de' precii per le militie, dove hanno possuto dare consumo alle sue entrate senza consegnarle ad altri per mercantarle in altri paesi, come si soleva fare prima, et era quella l' industria de' Cretensi. Per le richezze adunque, congiunte con la nobiltà. si mantengono avantaggiati, et rispettati, et dalli Magistrati ancora favoriti, in maniera che non possono più aspirare li Cretensi di tornare alla conditione della Colonia, se non di equalità almeno forti a' loro vicini di riputazione. A Rettimo sono più accomodati di facoltà li Cretensi, et in maggior numero delli Veneti, et perciò più stimati, partecipando loro ancora con qualche vantaggio degli officj della Città. Alla Canea posso dire di esservi equalità, tra l' uno et l' altro ordine, di rispetto, sebbene vi sono maggiori ricchezze ne' nobeli Veneti; di numero vi è

poca differenza, ma le discordie di quella città nate per superbia la tiene in continuo travaglio."

Fol. 47. "L' Isola abbonda di terreni, se ben montuosi attissimi al grano, et fanno rendita di dieci, dodici, et quindici per uno. Ho veduto campagne grandi et piane ancora atte a fertilità, se fossero coltivate, non solo per li habitanti loro, a' quali manca il vivere per soli tre ovver quattro mesi all' anno, ma ancora per mandarne fuori. Il ridurla a coltura è difficile per doi contrarij, l' uno che ognuno è volto all' utile delle vigne et ulive, che fanno riuscire l' Isola abbondantissima di vini et oglio, non solo per l' uso suo, ma per la navigazione, come è noto ad ogniuno[9], l' altra l' infingardagine de' villani, nata dalla poca speranza d' adunare cosa che gli resti, come ho discorso. Le vigne[10] et olive per l' utile che rendono a' Cavalieri li distraggono dal pensiero del grano, per la viltà del pretio suo, nè si dobbiamo maravigliare, che ogniuno applichi il suo terreno al maggior utile, per meglio accomodare la famiglia sua, poichè è commune questo desiderio. Fu per l' Ecc^mo Foscarini[11], con

[9] This exportation, (see above pp. 52—55.) spread the fame of the Cretan wine far and wide: Iodocus a Meggen, Peregrinatio Hierosolymitana, p. 57. "Nam quid de vino dicere attinet, *cum vina Cretica toto orbe celebrentur?*"

[10] There was a considerable quantity of raisins as well as of wine annually exported from Crete till the outbreaking of the Greek revolution. The following sentences are found in a letter of Monsieur Bertrand, written at Khaniá, and addressed to the English Ambassador at Constantinople, dated 19th September, 1801. (It is preserved among the records of the Austrian Vice-Consulate at Khaniá.) "On fait très peu de raisins secs dans le district de la Canée, mais Candie, et ses environs, en fournissent, année commune, au delà de cent mille quintaux. La récolte des vins qui se fait à Candie, peut s'évaluer, année commune, aux environs de 200 mille mistaches de huit ocques l'une. Les qualités y varient: il y en a de doux, et de l'âpre, mais en général assez bon. Celle des vins du district de la Canée en donne beaucoup plus: on en évalue la quantité à 300 mille mistaches de 9 ocques, année commune. Ces vins ont tous un filet de douceur. Ils sont rouges, le prix ordinaire est de 7 jusqu'à 10 parats l'ocque, suivant la qualité. Il en est du même du prix des vins de Candie."

[11] Foscarini, like some other advocates of corn-laws, seems to have thought it important that a country should produce its own bread, at any price, rather than buy it, at however cheap a rate, if grown elsewhere: he says at fol. 108, of his Relatione etc. that it had been his object "tentar ogni cosa et far ogni esperientia per che Candia nutrisca li proprii suoi popoli *et non vadi mendicando il viver.* Io per questo ho mantenuto per tre anni che non si sono ammazzati animali bovini."

molta prudentia terminato che più non si piantassero vigne, con un honestissimo temperamento, dichiarando, che quelli terreni nei quali non era stata vigna per dieci anni avanti e che vi potesse entrare aratro, che là non si debba più piantare vigne, ma lassarlo per il grano."

THE just and honourable opinions expressed in these Reports of Garzoni and Foscarini do not appear to have been so acceptable to the Venetian Senate as the language held by Fra Paolo SARPI, who addressed the Most Serene Republic, on the subject of her Greek Colonies and possessions, in the following terms[12]:

"For your Greek subjects of the island of Candia, and the other islands of the Levant, there is no doubt but there is some greater regard to be had of them, first, because that the Greek faith is never to be trusted; and perhaps they would not much stick at submitting to the Turk, having the example of all the rest of their nation before their eyes: these therefore must be watch'd with more attention, lest, like wild beasts, as they are, they should find an occasion to use their teeth and claws. The surest way is to keep good garrisons to awe them, and not use them to arms or musters, in hopes of being assisted by them in an extremity: for they will always shew ill inclinations proportionably to the strength they shall be masters of, they being of the nature of the gally-slaves, who, if they were well us'd, would return the kindness, by seizing the gally, and carry it and its commander to Algiers: wine and bastinadoes ought to be their share, and keep good nature for a better occasion.

As for the gentlemen of those Colonies, you must be very watchful of them; for besides the natural ferocity of the climate, they have the character of noblemen, which raises their spirits, as the frequent rebellions of Candia do sufficiently evidence. The use of Colonies was advantageous to the Roman Commonwealth, because they preserv'd even in Asia

[12] The opinion of Padre Paolo, &c. (delivered in 1615.) translated by AGLIONBY, Lond. 1689. See pp. 38—41. for the extract here given.

and Africa, Roman inclinations, and with them a kindness for their country. *If the gentlemen of these Colonies do tyrannize over the villages of their dominion, the best way is not to seem to see it, that there may be no kindness between them and their subjects;* but if they offend in any thing else, 'twill be well to chastise them severely, that they may not brag of any priviledges more than others: It will not be amiss likewise to dispute all their pretensions to any particular jurisdiction; and if at any time their nobility or title be disputed, it will do well to sell them the confirmation of it at as dear a rate as possible: and, in a word, remember that all the good that can come from them, is already obtain'd, which was to fix the Venetian dominion; and for the future there is nothing but mischief to be expected from them."

# STATISTICAL APPENDIX.

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1. Exports.

2. Imports.

3. Branches of Revenue farmed by certain Contractors.

4. The amount of the *seventh* of the Island's produce, as received by the Government.

5. Balance-sheet of the Revenue and Expenses of the Government.

6. The Villages and Population of the several Districts of Crete.

7. Summary of the present Population.

8. Population of Crete at different epochs.

# EXPORTS.

| Article. | Quantity. | Value in Turkish Piastres. | Duty. | Amount of Duty. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oil | 3,500,000 okes | 8,750,000 | 16 paras per oke | 1,400,000 |
| Soap | 50,000 quintals | 6,500,000 | 11 piastres the quint. | 550,000 |
| Almonds | 20,000 measures | 140,000 | 3 per cent. and 20 paras the measure | 14,200 |
| Almonds shelled | 10,000 okes | 55,000 | 3 per cent. and 5 paras the oke | 1,900 |
| Cheese | 50,000 okes | 137,500 | 3 per cent. and 10 paras the oke | 16,625 |
| Silk[1] | 11,000 okes | 1,320,000 | 3 piastres the oke and 3 per cent. | — |
| Carobs | 40,000 quintals | 320,000 | 20 paras the quintal | 20,000 |
| Vallonea | 2,500 id. | 80,000 | 3 per cent. and mirí | 10,000 |
| Wax | 15,000 okes | 202,500 | 1 piastre the oke | 15,000 |
| Honey | 14,000 id. | 42,000 | 6 paras the oke | 2,100 |
| Chesnuts | 200,000 id. | 100,000 | 3 paras the oke | 15,000 |
| Raisins[2] | 6,000 quintals | 168,000 | 3 per cent. and 30 paras the quintal | 9,540 |
| Wool | 130,000 okes | 390,000 | 4 paras the oke | 13,000 |
| Apples and Pears | 150,000 id. | 75,000 | 5 piastres for 1000 | 7,500 |
| Oranges & Lemons | 2,500,000 in number | 200,000 | 4½ piastres for 1000 | 11,750 |
| Linseed | 25,000 okes | 15,620 | 3 per cent. and 2 paras the oke | 1,710 |
| Indian Corn | 30,000 id. | 30,000 | id. id. | 2,400 |
| Snails[3] | 20,000 id. | 15,000 | 2 paras the oke | 1,000 |
| | | 18,540,620 | | 2,091,725 |

[1] This exported silk ought to pay 72,600 piastres of duty, but no duty whatever is obtained, since all the silk is smuggled out of the island. The merchants of Megâlo-Kástron and Khaniâ, themselves the exporters of it, are my authority for its amount.

[2] The exportation of raisins, before the vineyards were destroyed by the revolution, used to amount to 60,000, 80,000, and even to 100,000 quintals annually; and, were the country well governed, would soon again reach and exceed its old amount. On the exportation of both raisins and wine, from Crete, at the beginning of this century, see also above, p. 296.

[3] See the observations made above, p. 163. With respect to the third article mentioned in the opposite list of imports, it may be observed that every Cretan peasant wears *boots*, (see above, p. 253.) which cost him from 60 to 80 piastres: allowing that he uses one pair annually, and that 35 piastres will suffice for the shoes of his wife and family, we should obtain about 2,800,000 for the 25,000 families of the island. I mention this to confirm the truth of these items; for although they are obtained after a very careful investigation, and repeated conversations with all the principal merchants in the island, yet, when a country is possessed by Turks, every statistical enquiry is difficult, and its results need all the confirmation which independent calculations can give them.

# IMPORTS.

| Article. | Quantity. | Price in Turkish Piastres. | Value in Turkish Piastres. | Duty. | Amount of Duty. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manufactured Goods[1] | —— | — | 3,630,000 | 3 per cent..... | 108,900 |
| Woollen Cloths[1].... | 400 pieces ... | 400 | 160,000 | id. ..... | 4,800 |
| Buffalo Hides, other Skins, Morocco Leather, &c. &c. | —— | — | 2,800,000 | id. ..... | 84,000 |
| Wheat[2] ..... | 70,000 quilots.. | 14 | 980,000 | Free. | — |
| Barley[2] ..... | 360,000 id..... | 6 | 2,160,000 | | |
| Beans, Peas, Chicory, &c. ..... | 90,000 id..... | 12 | 1,080,000 | | |
| Rice[3] ..... | 280,000 okes..... | 2 | 560,000 | | |
| Soda (for making soap) | 35,000 quintals | 45 | 1,575,000 | 3 per cent..... | 47,250 |
| Cod Fish[4] ..... | 2,500 id..... | 100 | 250,000 | id. ..... | 7,500 |
| Other Salt Fish..... | 3,500 id..... | 150 | 525,000 | id. ..... | 15,750 |
| Tobacco..... | 160,000 okes..... | 4 | 640,000 | 5 paras the oke | 20,000 |
| Snuff..... | 2,000 id..... | 25 | 50,000 | 1 piastre the oke | 2,000 |
| Coffee..... | 50,000 id..... | 8 | 400,000 | 5 paras the oke | 6,250 |
| Sugar..... | 80,000 id..... | 5 | 400,000 | 3 per cent..... | 12,000 |
| Rum[5] ..... | 250 cases.... | — | 57,500 | Farmed. | — |
| | 20 barrels.. | | | | |
| Wine..... | 5,000 id..... | 50 | 250,000 | | — |
| Rakí..... | 25,000 okes..... | 3 | 75,000 | | |
| Wood..... | 60,000 planks... | 4 | 240,000 | 3 per cent..... | 7,200 |
| Ditto from Constantinople..... | 10 cargoes.. | 15,000 | 150,000 | id. ..... | 4,500 |
| Firewood[6] ..... | 60 id..... | 5,000 | 300,000 | Free | |
| Butter[7] ..... | 50,000 okes..... | 7 | 350,000 | 3 per cent..... | 10,500 |
| Oxen ..... | 400 head..... | 200 | 80,000 | id..... | 2,400 |
| Sheep..... | 5,000 id..... | 30 | 150,000 | id..... | 4,500 |
| Drugs and Groceries..... | 15,000 okes.... | mean price 10 | 150,000 | id..... | 4,500 |
| English Tin..... | 30 barrels... | 1,500 | 45,000 | id..... | 1,350 |
| Lead..... | 10,000 okes ..... | 2 | 20,000 | id..... | 600 |
| Nails..... | 200 barrels .. | 200 | 40,000 | id..... | 1,200 |
| Bar Iron ..... | 1,500 quintals | 60 | 90,000 | id..... | 2,700 |
| Cutlery[8] ..... | —— | — | 300,000 | id..... | 9,000 |
| Steel..... | 100 cases..... | 180 | 18,000 | id..... | 540 |
| Paper..... | 1,500 reams ... | 15 | 22,500 | id..... | 675 |
| Pottery..... | 20,000 dozen.... | 6 | 180,000 | id..... | 5,400 |
| Glass ..... | 100 cases..... | 500 | 50,000 | id..... | 1,500 |
| Salt..... | 20,000 measures | 2 | 40,000 | 20 paras mirí | 10,000 |
| | | | 17,818,000 | | 375,015 |

[1] Cotton twist, calicoes, silk stuffs, linen, &c. It must be remembered that these manufactures serve to clothe a population of more than 25,000 families; so that although the sum seems considerable, yet it only amounts to about 150 piastres for each family. The calicoes and cotton goods in general come from England, by way of Sýra; most of the silks are of Turkish manufacture. The woollen cloths pass from the manufactories of Belgium, to Trieste, and thence to Crete.

[2] Before the revolution the island, though its population then amounted to near 300,000, *exported* wheat annually, and sufficient wheat and barley remained for the home consumption.

[3] Rice, though free from duty on importation, is liable to a duty of one para per oke, if re-shipped for any other part of the island. This duty has been imposed by the Egyptians.

[4] This codfish is brought by French ships. The French government, desirous of encouraging the cod-fishery, gives a considerable bounty on the exportation of the fish from France.

[5] Leghorn and Smyrna are the ports whence the rum is usually brought to the island.

[6] For the soap manufactories. This firewood is from the forests of Karamania, Anatolia, and Rumelia.

[7] The butter is usually imported from Barbary; a small quantity is sometimes brought from Russia.

[8] Trieste is the great mart whence Crete, as well as most of the Levant, is supplied with cutlery, paper, pottery, glass, &c. of German manufacture, far inferior in quality, and at somewhat lower prices than the ordinary produce of English art.

# BRANCHES OF REVENUE FARMED BY CERTAIN CONTRACTORS.

| Article. | Megálo Kástron. | Rhithymnos. | Khaniá. | Total in Turkish Piastres. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Butcher's Meat[1] | 57,000 | 9,000 | 14,800 | 80,800 |
| Tobacco[2] | 42,500 | 25,000 | 50,000 | 117,500 |
| Snuff | 8,000 | 3,000 | 6,000 | 17,000 |
| Roasted Coffee | 18,000 | 2,200 | 12,650 | 32,850 |
| Fresh Fish | 5,000 | 435 | 2,500 | 7,935 |
| Wine and Spirit | 55,000 | 15,000 | 36,060 | 106,060 |
| Hides and Leather | 50,000 | 47,000 | 66,100 | 163,600 |
| Porters[3] | 12,000 | 2,500 | 4,800 | 19,300 |
| Oil Porters[4] | ..... | ..... | 2,400 | 2,400 |
| Wax | 6,000 | 1,000 | 7,050 | 14,050 |
| Octroi on all articles of consumption which enter the city | 60,000 | 2,500 | 4,560 | 67,060 |
| Duty on the hire and sale of horses[5] | 7,000 | ..... | 6,996 | 13,996 |
| Dyers[6] | 16,000 | 4,500 | 6,600 | 27,100 |
| Salt | 26,400 | ..... | 20,100 | 46,500 |
| The Weighers[7] | ..... | 2,800 | ..... | 2,800 |
| | | | | 718,951 |

[1] In each of the three principal towns the contractor pays the government the sum mentioned, and receives, at the gate of the town, ten piastres for every bullock, one piastre for every sheep, &c. as they enter.

[2] The contractor collects and retains the duty of one piastre on each oke of tobacco, paying annually to the government the sums mentioned. So of the other items.

[3] Here those who exercise the calling of porter have to give one tenth of all their earnings to the government contractor.

[4] Probably there is a separate contractor for the oil-porters at Megálo-Kástron and Rhithymnos, as well as at Khaniá.

[5] I am not sure of the accuracy of this sum for Megálo-Kástron: at Khaniá the amount annually paid by the contractor is exactly 6,996 piastres, as mentioned.

[6] The dyers can only purchase their drugs of these contractors, who alone can import the drugs required for the art of dyeing into the island.

[7] I know not whether the office of weighers be paid for at the other two towns. The farmer or his deputy, by virtue of this purchased privilege, weighs articles of exportation on the quay, and receives a certain small payment for his trouble.

# SEVENTHS RECEIVED BY THE GOVERNMENT IN CRETE.

One of the Consular Agents at Khaniá furnished me with what he called a Table of the Revenues of Crete: but the document was so wide of the truth, in almost all its details, that I only made use of it to shew him how imperfect had been his estimates, and how erroneous were his calculations. Since, therefore, my Table is solely the result of my own investigations, I will explain the data on which the determination of the amount of the principal items depends.

The most important article of produce and exportation is oil: the amount exported differs greatly in different years, the crop of olives being very variable: but all persons acquainted with the subject agree that the mean annual exportation, from all the ports of the island, amounts to not less than 3,500,000 okes, and that about 50,000 quintals of soap are also exported; so that if, to simplify the question, we state both soap and oil under the latter title, we shall have an annual exportation of about 5,000,000 okes of oil.

If we can ascertain the home consumption of oil we shall plainly know the whole produce.

Now there are about 26,000 families in the island, and the result of inquiries, more than once alluded to in the previous pages, as to the annual consumption of each house was always the same: every body asserting that each Cretan family consumes *at least* ten to twelve mistata, or about one hundred okes annually. Wherever any one's condition is at all superior to that of a common peasant, the consumption is much greater. Hence, therefore, the whole home consumption amounts to about 2,600,000 okes, and, with the exported oil and soap, gives 7,600,000 okes as the mean annual produce, after the payment of the government's seventh, taken always in kind and usually sent to Alexandria, which seventh consequently will be,

| | | Okes. |
|---|---|---|
| | | 1,266,666 |
| Home consumption | 2,600,000 | |
| Exported | 5,000,000 | |
| | | 7,600,000 |
| Whole produce | | 8,866,666 |

| | Piastres. |
|---|---|
| Now these 1,266,666 okes of seventh are worth | 3,166,665 |
| And the seventh (τὸ ἕβδομον) of all other articles of produce, such as corn, carobs, almonds, wax, honey, silk, &c. is, in *every part* of the island, equal to that of oil, and in *most parts* exceeds it very considerably, and may therefore safely be put down at | 4,333,335 |
| Whence the total amount of the seventh is | 7,500,000 |
| The Viceroy, however, not having yet deprived all the owners of Mukatás of their tithes, we must deduct, as received by those who still enjoy their old fiefs | 1,100,000 |
| And we, therefore, have as the amount of Territorial Revenue annually received by the government | 6,400,000 |

As a confirmation of these calculations I may mention that on learning from certain officers, who are entrusted with the collecting of this seventh of every kind of produce for certain cantons, its amount for their respective districts, and making these data the basis of an independent calculation of the amount of tithe obtained by the government from the whole island, I obtained a result so nearly agreeing with this as fully to establish the accuracy of my calculations.

## BALANCE SHEET OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES

### RECEIPTS.

| | Piastres. |
|---|---|
| Tithe (the seventh) of all produce | 6,400,000 |
| Duty on sheep and goats | 200,000 |
| Duty on all the exports[1] (oil, soap, cheese, wax, carobs, &c.) | 2,091,725 |
| Import duties | 375,015 |
| Branches of revenue farmed out to contractors, octroi, &c. | 718,951 |
| | 9,785,691 |

Thus the net revenue of the island is a little more than 100,000*l.*, and is therefore greater than would be the amount of any reasonable expenses of governing it, whether by Mehmét-Alí or by a European power, as England.

[1] It is probable that the government may not receive quite so much as these 2,091,825 piastres, for the merchants themselves admit that a great deal, even of oil, is exported without paying the duty. This is only a natural consequence of the very low salaries paid to all the custom-house officers, who are consequently easily bribed.

## OF THE GOVERNMENT IN CRETE.

### EXPENSES.

| | Piastres. |
|---|---|
| Salary of the Governor General[1] | 800,000 |
| Expenses of the Councils, viz. at Megálo-Kástron, Khaniá, Rhíthymnos, and Sfakiá | 535,540 |
| Treasury | 120,000 |
| Custom-house department | 49,744 |
| Government printing-office | 27,335 |
| Old Turkish court of justice | 24,000 |
| Regular Arab troops—1 general, 2 colonels, 2 lieut.-colonels, &c. &c. 384 corporals, and 3,840 privates, band of music, instructors, &c. &c | 2,464,040 |
| 5,500 daily rations | 2,007,500 |
| Arms, accoutrements, and the expense of keeping some mules | 1,630,000 |
| The Albanians—(1,500 irregular troops, some mounted,) cost annually about | 1,760,000 |
| | 9,418,159 |

[1] Mustafá-pashá's salary is nominally 2,500,000 piastres: but Méhmet-Alí takes the rents of all his estates in Egypt, (formerly the property of his uncle Khassán-pasha,) and, *as governor of Crete*, he cannot be considered as receiving more than the sum put down, between 8,000*l.* and 9,000*l.*, which exceeds the salaries of most governors in British possessions.

THE

# VILLAGES AND POPULATION

OF THE SEVERAL

# DISTRICTS OF CRETE

## In 1834.

* *The letters* C. F. *mean "Christian families," and* M. F. *"Mohammedan families."*

### KISAMOS.

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Polemárkhi | 38 | 4 |
| Rhodhopú | 96 | 3 |
| Skutelónas | 60 | 0 |
| Afráta | 20 | 0 |
| Rhavdhúka | 20 | 0 |
| Kamarakumúli | 18 | 2 |
| Nokiá | 28 | 0 |
| Spélaea | 60 | 1 |
| Vuvés | 28 | 2 |
| Múleti | 30 | 2 |
| Ghavalomúri | 20 | 2 |
| Vukoniés | 0 | 50 |
| Anoskelí | 50 | 0 |
| Karéa | 0 | 18 |
| Aspriliáno | 0 | 15 |
| Stazipragú | 3 | 20 |
| Rúmata | 35 | 35 |
| Kakópetro | 4 | 4 |
| Panéthimos | 30 | 10 |
| Maláthero | 20 | 5 |
| Perivolákia | 0 | 20 |
| | 560 | 193 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Nopía | 4 | 0 |
| Kotsianá | 0 | 10 |
| Dhrapaniá | 30 | 0 |
| Potamídha | 50 | 10 |
| Vurgháro | 20 | 8 |
| Murí | 30 | 2 |
| Topoliá | 50 | 2 |
| Hághios Kyr Iánnes[1] | 15 | 2 |
| Kaláthines | 30 | 2 |
| Kalerianá | 26 | 5 |
| Kurfalónas | 6 | 2 |
| Kísamo-Kastéli | 0 | 30 |
| Palaeókastro | 35 | 5 |
| Priniákos and Lusákies | 40 | 6 |
| Mesóghia[2] | 216 | 15 |
| Sirikári | 60 | 0 |
| Enneá-Khoriá | 286 | 45 |
| | 898 | 144 |
| | 560 | 193 |
| Total | 1458 | 337 |

[1] Called *Kyrghiani*, in Lapie's map and elsewhere.

[2] The villages of this district are Haghíus Pántas, Kamártzo, Hághio Gheórghi Kalérghi, Neokhorió, Kalyvianć, Piperianá, Azogeraća, Télipho, and Kutrí.

## SELINO.

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Sklavopúla . . . . | 38 | 0 |
| Kalámi . . . . . | 12 | 0 |
| Mustáko . . . . . | 6 | 2 |
| Khasí . . . . . | 5 | 35 |
| Hághio Thódhoros. | 12 | 4 |
| Pelekánas . . . . . | 6 | 10 |
| Katsivelianá . . . . | 2 | 3 |
| Stavrós . . . . . | 4 | 5 |
| Mesóruma . . . . . | 0 | 12 |
| Khádhros . . . . . | 0 | 0 |
| Sarakéna . . . . . | 0 | 20 |
| Kontokynéghi . . . | 0 | 1 |
| Tsalianá . . . . . | 3 | 0 |
| Vasiláki . . . . . | 3 | 0 |
| Kálamos . . . . . | 0 | 12 |
| Spaniáko . . . . . | 2 | 18 |
| Vlithiás . . . . . | 8 | 3 |
| Makhiá . . . . . | 10 | 3 |
| Kakotíkhi . . . . . | 15 | 20 |
| Sfakó . . . . . | 12 | 2 |
| Gligorianá . . . . | 5 | 3 |
| Kopetí . . . . . | 1 | 5 |
| Dhryes . . . , . . | 0 | 16 |
| Psaroghárianá . . . | 0 | 3 |
| Alighí . . . . . | 0 | 12 |
| Kántanos[1] . . . . | 6 | 70 |
| Spína . . . . . | 10 | 0 |
| Floriá . . . . . | 0 | 15 |
| Azoeré . . . . . | 0 | 15 |
| | 160 | 289 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Akhladhiákes . . . | 0 | 10 |
| Stráti . . . . . | 0 | 12 |
| Teménia . . . . . | 14 | 8 |
| Asfendílias . . . . | 5 | 3 |
| Strovoliés . . . . . | 6 | 30 |
| Mylonés . . . . . | 0 | 8 |
| Sasalos . . . . . | 4 | 18 |
| Papadhianá *cum* Merté . . | 2 | 2 |
| Kamaliá . . . . . | 7 | 2 |
| Rhodhováni . . . . | 30 | 1 |
| Moné . . . . . | 4 | 12 |
| Livadhá . . . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Krustoghérako. . . | 20 | 0 |
| Agrilé . . . . . | 18 | 6 |
| Livádhes . . . . . | 8 | 7 |
| Marália . . . . . | 17 | 2 |
| Kabanú . . . . . | 37 | 4 |
| Skáfi Ergastéri . . . . | 27 | 10 |
| Lukianá . . . . . | 2 | 6 |
| Tzagariáko . . . . | 0 | 10 |
| Tzikianá . . . . . | 7 | 1 |
| Prínes . . . . . | 22 | 7 |
| Epáno-khorió . . . | 30 | 1 |
| Haghía Iréne . . . | 50 | 2 |
| | 340 | 162 |
| | 160 | 289 |
| Total . . . | 500 | 451 |

[1] A district containing the villages of Kufalatós, Plemmeniana, Trígonos, Trakiniákos, Aniseráki, and Babakádhos.

## KHANIOTIKA.

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| KERAMIA, containing Kontópulo, Gheroláko, Dhrakóna, Speliariá, and *Papadhiana*[1] | 194 | 0 |
| Thériso | 80 | 2 |
| Mesklá | 72 | 3 |
| Láki | 140 | 2 |
| Sévronas, Néa Rúmata, Prasés, Skoedhiá, Khosté, Orthúni, Karés, Kháranos, Skafidhákia | 150 | 12 |
| Kámpi | 0 | 0 |
| Sirilé | 10 | 6 |
| Mése Sirilé | 10 | 6 |
| Néo-khorió | 3 | 2 |
| Vlakeronétissa | 14 | 2 |
| Pyrgo-Psylónero | 10 | 1 |
| Xeniko-khóri | 2 | 1 |
| Psylles | 10 | 0 |
| Kontomarí | 3 | 0 |
| Derés | 4 | 3 |
| Skonízos | 12 | 2 |
| Vatólako | 50 | 15 |
| Alikianú | 40 | 9 |
| Kúfo | 6 | 4 |
| | 810 | 70 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Furnés | 30 | 6 |
| Skénes | 20 | 4 |
| Papiólos | 6 | 3 |
| Apothékes | 7 | 0 |
| Manoilótos | 14 | 3 |
| Psathoghiáno | 14 | 12 |
| Lutráki | 6 | 2 |
| Gheráni | 16 | 8 |
| Módi | 18 | 18 |
| Patelári | 6 | 4 |
| Platanias | 40 | 4 |
| Galata | 70 | 10 |
| Episkopé | 0 | 1 |
| Haghía Marína | 20 | 8 |
| Daratzús | 20 | 5 |
| Varypetro | 18 | 0 |
| Stalo | 12 | 0 |
| Katsistro-khóri | 4 | 0 |
| Perivólia | 30 | 6 |
| Murniés | 70 | 8 |
| Tzikalariá | 40 | 0 |
| Nerokúru | 30 | 6 |
| Maláxa | 25 | 0 |
| Zurva | 15 | 0 |
| Vrysis | 20 | 10 |
| Kertomádho | 6 | 5 |
| Haghiá | 8 | 4 |
| AKROTERI | 250 | 45 |
| Omissions | 30 | 10 |
| | 845 | 182 |
| | 810 | 70 |
| Total | 1655 | 252 |

[1] Papadhianá again contains Akhládhes, Hághio Gheórghi, Lúlos, Aletrivári, Panaghiá, Khorafianá.

## SFAKIA.

| | C. F. | M. F. | | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Samaría . . . . . | 10 | 0 | Vraska[3] . . . . . | 0 | 0 |
| Haghía Ruméli . . | 38 | 0 | Vuvas . . . . . | 1 | 0 |
| Hághio Iánnes . . | 40 | 0 | Asfénto . . . . . | 55 | 0 |
| Arádhena . . . . | 36 | 0 | Anomikianá[4] . . . | 1 | 0 |
| Livanianá . . . . | 20 | 0 | Kolokásia[4] . . . . | 0 | 0 |
| Lutró[1] . . . . . | 3 | 0 | Kalikráti . . . . . | 85 | 0 |
| Anópolis . . . . | 115 | 0 | Patsianó[5] . . . . . | 14 | 0 |
| Murí . . . . . | 50 | 0 | Askŷfo . . . . . | 160 | 0 |
| Sfakiá[2] . . . . . | 60 | 0 | | 316 | 0 |
| Komitádhes . . . . | 80 | 0 | | 532 | 0 |
| Nípros . . . . . | 80 | 0 | | | |
| | 532 | 0 | Total . . . | 848 | 0 |

The number of Sfakians capable of bearing arms at the present day is about 1200. There are nearly 200 Sfakian families now settled out of Crete, at Mélo and elsewhere. The number of souls in Sfakiá before the year 1821 was about 12,000. Maniás and others say, that they might be considered as forming three bodies, one of which lived by their flocks: another third were sailors, the port of Lutró and also that of Sfakiá possessing several vessels, those of the former being large enough to trade to Smyrna and Alexandria. The third division were πραγματευτάδες, or travelling merchants (pedlars) who used to hawk their goods all over the island.

[1] That is, three permanent residents: Lutró is the winter-village of Anópolis (see above, p. 242.) and during the winter-months its population is much the same as that of Anópolis in the summer.

[2] Sfakiá is the chief winter-residence of the Askyfiótes: a few families go elsewhere, as to Dhrámia: see above, Vol. I. p. 73.

[3] The winter-village of Nípro.

[4] Winter-village of Asfénto.

[5] Winter-village of Kalikráti.

## APOKORONA.

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Karés | 30 | 1 |
| Rhamné | 25 | 3 |
| Melidhóni | 20 | 0 |
| Khiliomudú | 9 | 0 |
| Samónas | 7 | 0 |
| Kyriakusália | 6 | 0 |
| Stylo | 5 | 1 |
| Próverma | 16 | 2 |
| Makérus | 30 | 2 |
| Neo-khorió | 50 | 3 |
| Nero-khóri | 9 | 3 |
| Paidho-khóri | 10 | 5 |
| Pemónia | 25 | 10 |
| Fré | 80 | 1 |
| Kúkos | 6 | 0 |
| Sifianá | 4 | 0 |
| Tzifés | 40 | 3 |
| Ἴpos | 70 | 4 |
| Prósnero | 75 | 15 |
| Vaffé | 65 | 3 |
| Alíkampo | 75 | 0 |
| Phílippos | 15 | 0 |
| Máza | 15 | 0 |
| Khábatha | 6 | 0 |
| Phoné | 18 | 0 |
| Aprískia | 15 | 0 |
| Mathés | 15 | 0 |
| Murí | 10 | 2 |
| Kurna | 70 | 4 |
| | 821 | 62 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Kástelos | 20 | 0 |
| Pátema | 15 | 2 |
| Flakí | 25 | 4 |
| Goniá | 65 | 0 |
| Dhrámia | (Sfakians) | |
| Xópolis | 10 | 6 |
| Azoeromúri | 2 | 6 |
| Katuna | 10 | 0 |
| Kalamítzi | 45 | 4 |
| Karydhi | 6 | 3 |
| Vámos | 30 | 15 |
| Arménus | 60 | 15 |
| Varás | 16 | 4 |
| Kalyves | 50 | 20 |
| Dulianá | 10 | 0 |
| Kavallo-khóri | 10 | 20 |
| Koprána | 5 | 6 |
| Hághio Vasíli | 2 | 5 |
| Kokkino-khorió | 40 | 0 |
| Pláka | 20 | 0 |
| Dhrápanos, Kefalás, Xerostérni, Vuri, Seliá, Likotinará | 300 | 25 |
| | 741 | 135 |
| | 821 | 62 |
| Total | 1562 | 197 |

## HAGHIO VASILI, OR LAMPE.

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Kapsodhásos . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Skaloté . . . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Argúles . . . . . | 15 | 0 |
| Rhodhákino . . . | 45 | 0 |
| Phoenikiás[1] . . . . | 6 | 0 |
| Seliá . . . . . | 40 | 0 |
| Myrthió . . . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Mariá . . . . . | 14 | 0 |
| Asómatos (village) . | 15 | 0 |
| Levkoïa . . . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Ianniú . . . . . | 15 | 0 |
| Préveli . . . . . | 5 | 0 |
| Keramé . . . . . | 40 | 0 |
| Vrímisko . . . . . | 5 | 5 |
| Váto . . . . . | 25 | 0 |
| 'Ardhakto . . . . . | 25 | 0 |
| Kissós . . . . . | 15 | 15 |
| Total . . . | 385 | 20 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Vrysis . . . . . | | |
| Akúmia . . . . | | |
| Dumaghérgo . . | | |
| Platané . . . . . | | |
| Krya-Vrysis . . . | | |
| Mélabes . . . . | | |
| Aktúdha . . . . | | |
| Saktúria . . . . | 388 | 0 |
| Murn . . . . . | | |
| Daravianá . . . | | |
| Mixóryma . . . | | |
| Haghía Pelagía . | | |
| Hághio Vasíli . . | | |
| Hághio Iánni . . | | |
| Kalé Sykiá . . . | | |
| Speli . . . . . | | |
| Labiné . . . . . | | |
| Koxaré . . . . . | | |
| Láko . . . . . | | |
| Diblokhóri . . . | | |
| Vratí . . . . . | 50 | 188 |
| Korédho . . . . | | |
| Atspadhiá . . . | | |
| Tzikalariá . . . | | |
| Palaeolutrá . . . | | |
| Kuselianá . . . . | | |
| | 438 | 188 |
| | 380 | 20 |
| Total . . . | 818 | 208 |

[1] This hamlet is little more than a metókhi of the monastery of Prophét-Elías at Rústika, on which see Vol. I. pp. 97—99.

## RHITHYMNIOTIKA.

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Episkopé . . . . : | 35 | 25 |
| Arkhúdhona . . . | 30 | 30 |
| Pólis . . . . . | 95 | 2 |
| Hághio Gheórghios | 20 | 6 |
| Hághio Konstantíno | 40 | 10 |
| Rústika . . . . . | 50 | 10 |
| Palaelímno . . . . | 0 | 25 |
| Kalonykti . . . . | 6 | 5 |
| Epáno-Vasermónero | 0 | 25 |
| Káto-Vasermónero . | 0 | 30 |
| Hághios Andhréas | 4 | 20 |
| Koniá . . . . . | 25 | 4 |
| Metókhia . . . . . | 24 | 0 |
| Iarrán . . . . . | 30 | 5 |
| Priné and Alitsópulo . . . | 40 | 90 |
| | 399 | 287 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Peghé . . . . . | 38 | 2 |
| Haghía Paraskevé | 8 | 3 |
| Marulá . . . . . | 65 | 5 |
| Bagalokhóri . . . . | 10 | 5 |
| Khamalévri . . . . | 10 | 5 |
| Arsáni (monastery) | 2 | 0 |
| Hághio Iánni . Haghía Kyriaké Mése Kyrianá . Pikré, Amnáto . Lútra, Adhíli . | 50 | 180 |
| Gherâñi and other villages omitted, about . . . . . | 60 | 65 |
| | 243 | 265 |
| | 399 | 287 |
| Total . . . | 642 | 552 |

## AMARI.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Amári . . . . . | 20 | 1 |
| Mérona . . . . . | 54 | 6 |
| Edánoso . . . . . | 8 | 7 |
| Patsó . . . . . | 0 | 20 |
| Karínes . . . . | 4 | 3 |
| Ghenní . . . . . | 2 | 4 |
| Gerakéres . . . . | 20 | 20 |
| Elaínes . . . . . | 6 | 4 |
| Gurgúthos . . . . | 12 | 0 |
| Tze Vrysis . . . . | 25 | 0 |
| Smilé . . . . . | 1 | 5 |
| Tze Dhryés . . . | 5 | 2 |
| Anómeros . . . . | 50 | 0 |
| | 207 | 72 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Khordháki . . . . | 0 | 8 |
| Hághio Iánni . . . | 15 | 0 |
| Apodhúlo . . . . . | 14 | 6 |
| Haghía Paraskevé . | 15 | 0 |
| Vathiakó . . . . . | 0 | 15 |
| Sáhta . . . . . | 1 | 6 |
| Klíma . . . . . | 20 | 0 |
| Lokhrié . . . . . | 6 | 0 |
| Ardhakto . . . . . | 0 | 10 |
| Plátanos . . . . . | 15 | 20 |
| Níthavri . . . . . | 13 | 2 |
| | 99 | 67 |
| | 207 | 72 |
| | 306 | 139 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Kurútes | 5 | 16 |
| Fúrfuras | 40 | 6 |
| Visári | 20 | 0 |
| Plataniá | 10 | 6 |
| Bístaghi | 50 | 2 |
| Kaloghéru | 7 | 0 |
| Thrónos | 9 | 6 |
| Klisídhi | 0 | 10 |
| | 141 | 46 |
| | 306 | 139 |
| | 447 | 185 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| 'Opsighas | 7 | 1 |
| Monasteráki | 20 | 0 |
| Laviótes | 8 | 0 |
| Aposéti | 12 | 1 |
| Ghénna | 0 | 20 |
| Apostólus | 3 | 4 |
| Voliónes | 0 | 35 |
| | 50 | 61 |
| | 447 | 185 |
| Total | 497 | 246 |

## MYLOPOTAMO.

I have mislaid my list of villages of Mylopótamo, and cannot lay my hand on it while this sheet is passing through the press. The principal village is Margarítes, with a population of a hundred Christian families. The village Tripódhos (see Vol. I. p. 314.) is in Mylopótamo, near Elévtherna. The whole population of the eparkhía is, C. F. 920. M. F. 310.

## KASTEL-PRIOTISSA.

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Hághio Iánni | 8 | 3 |
| Khamelári | 30 | 0 |
| Itsídhia | 30 | 0 |
| Síva | 22 | 0 |
| Kalývia | 0 | 15 |
| Vórus | 25 | 5 |
| Phaneroméne | 10 | 10 |
| Kissús | 0 | 14 |
| Kalokhorafí | 4 | 4 |
| | 129 | 51 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Megarikhári | 25 | 2 |
| Gligoriá | 3 | 18 |
| Temenéli | 0 | 5 |
| Kamáres | 8 | 8 |
| Lagolió | 2 | 4 |
| Dibáki | 95 | 3 |
| Hághia Triádha | 6 | 0 |
| | 139 | 40 |
| | 129 | 51 |
| Total | 268 | 91 |

## KAENURIO KASTELI.

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Bobia | 50 | 0 |
| Petrokefáli | 12 | 5 |
| Khusé | 4 | 0 |
| Lístaro | 6 | 0 |
| Alithini | 3 | 12 |
| Péri | 4 | 0 |
| Akustulianá | 12 | 0 |
| Plóra | 18 | 3 |
| Anoía | 5 | 15 |
| Plátanos | 15 | 0 |
| Lakiákes | 2 | 1 |
| Agavalianá | 3 | 0 |
| Pigaithâki | 6 | 1 |
| Manusaná | 2 | 0 |
| Myres | 6 | 6 |
| Kaparianá | 0 | 7 |
| Siferianá | 0 | 10 |
| Talia | 0 | 15 |
| Monókhoro | 3 | 0 |
| Metrópolis | 5 | 5 |
| Vreli | 1 | 5 |
| Apólykhnos | 0 | 8 |
| Hághii Dhéka | 10 | 10 |
| Ampelússa | 5 | 6 |
| Rufá | 0 | 10 |
| Plutó | 0 | 12 |
| | 172 | 131 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Moróni | 0 | 30 |
| Kirmusí | 0 | 10 |
| Makrianá | 3 | 0 |
| Paliamo | 6 | 0 |
| Panaghiá | 5 | 0 |
| Kúrtes | 0 | 20 |
| Vorízo | 35 | 0 |
| Zaró | 50 | 6 |
| Zérzeri | 41 | 4 |
| Panasú | 6 | 12 |
| Múlia | 5 | 10 |
| Priniá | 15 | 2 |
| Ráfti | 0 | 18 |
| Varvulíti | 0 | 12 |
| Vasiliké | 5 | 10 |
| Kadhílo | 5 | 0 |
| Króta | 8 | 0 |
| Miamú | 15 | 0 |
| Diskári | 12 | 0 |
| Monastéri | 3 | 0 |
| Nívreto | 5 | 5 |
| Skúrvula | 3 | 0 |
| Omitted, a few metókhis, | 12 | 8 |
| | 234 | 147 |
| | 172 | 131 |
| Total | 406 | 278 |

## MONOFATSI.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Megále Vrysis | 25 | 2 |
| Perveliană | 10 | 0 |
| Hághio Thómas | 20 | 1 |
| Argáthia | 8 | 4 |
| Axéndhi | 0 | 30 |
| | 63 | 37 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Haghía Varvára | 32 | 8 |
| Grándhos | 0 | 5 |
| Katomuliá | 0 | 5 |
| | 32 | 18 |
| | 63 | 37 |
| | 95 | 55 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Vurió | 0 | 5 |
| Valí | 0 | 10 |
| Xerókampos | 0 | 2 |
| Gangális | 0 | 24 |
| Stólus | 0 | 6 |
| Riziká | 0 | 4 |
| Oeniá | 0 | 8 |
| Laráni | 0 | 20 |
| Atzipádhes | 2 | 8 |
| Akria | 0 | 10 |
| Lúres | 0 | 8 |
| Asémi | 8 | 7 |
| Sokará | 2 | 38 |
| Apoénia | 0 | 5 |
| Velúdhi | 0 | 2 |
| Protória | 12 | 8 |
| Dhamántri | 0 | 3 |
| Plakiótissa | 0 | 2 |
| Iligórtyno | 2 | 15 |
| Teféli | 0 | 30 |
| Karáki | 0 | 6 |
| Voreá | 0 | 10 |
| Kutú | 0 | 2 |
| Futikastéli | 0 | 8 |
| Kakó-khorió [1] | 0 | 20 |
| Hághio Gheórghi Epáno-Siphes (monastery) | 2 | 0 |
| Madhé | 0 | 10 |
| Aposeléni | 0 | 6 |
| Armanóïa | 0 | 5 |
| Kefála | 0 | 8 |
| Dhamánia | 0 | 12 |
| | 28 | 302 |
| | 95 | 55 |
| | 123 | 357 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Arkádhi | 0 | 6 |
| Kólona | 0 | 2 |
| Dhúli | 0 | 15 |
| Méso-khorió | 6 | 9 |
| Fléga | 0 | 2 |
| Rotás | 0 | 20 |
| Pyrgo | 2 | 30 |
| Dhukári | 1 | 25 |
| Kháraka | 25 | 10 |
| Haghía Photía | 0 | 2 |
| Akéntria | 0 | 20 |
| Ethiá | 10 | 5 |
| Murniá | 0 | 1 |
| Priniá | 2 | 0 |
| Amygdhalo | 0 | 12 |
| Paranyphus | 5 | 1 |
| Platánia | 0 | 4 |
| Kapitanianá | 30 | 0 |
| Kalálaga | 4 | 0 |
| Zábres | 0 | 2 |
| Stérnes | 5 | 4 |
| Panaghía | 0 | 12 |
| Dhionysia | 0 | 20 |
| Kária | 0 | 4 |
| Akámuto | 0 | 4 |
| Avgés | 4 | 4 |
| Vagoniá | 6 | 8 |
| Gumása | 5 | 0 |
| Lúkia | 8 | 0 |
| Selámi | 1 | 0 |
| Furnofárago | 1 | 5 |
| Six other villages [2] | 0 | 1 |
| | 115 | 228 |
| | 123 | 357 |
| Total | 238 | 585 |

[1] See Vol. I. p. 32.

[2] Five of which have not had a single inhabitant in them since they were destroyed by the Christians during the war.

## MALEVIZI.

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Akhládha . . . . . | 40 | 0 |
| Rhogdhiá . . . . . | 50 | 0 |
| Tylisso . . . . . | 90 | 10 |
| Moné . . . . . | 30 | 5 |
| Kamári . . . . . | 30 | 10 |
| Korufés . . . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Keramútzi . . . . | 0 | 20 |
| Pedamódhi . . . . | 5 | 15 |
| Vútes . . . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Kalésia . . . . . | 25 | 0 |
| Stavrákia . . . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Petrokéfalo . . . . | 14 | 12 |
| Hághio Myro . . . | 100 | 2 |
| Pyrgu . . . . . | 25 | 0 |
| | 499 | 74 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Sárkos . . . . . | 20 | 0 |
| Kitharídha . . . . | 15 | 0 |
| Khrusónas . . . . | 140 | 0 |
| Káto-Asítes . . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Epán-Asítes . . . | 25 | 3 |
| Priniá . . . . . | 15 | 6 |
| Syva . . . . . | 22 | 3 |
| Kerásia . . . . . | 25 | 4 |
| Avgenikí . . . . . | 35 | 2 |
| Dháfnes[1] . . . . . | 35 | 2 |
| Goniés . . . . . | 40 | 0 |
| | 402 | 20 |
| | 499 | 74 |
| Total . . . | 901 | 94 |

## TEMENOS.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dháfnes . . . . . | 20 | 0 |
| Veneráto . . . . . | 25 | 0 |
| Kaní-Kastéli . . . | 28 | 18 |
| Arkhánes . . . . . | 160 | 6 |
| Kát-arkhánes . . . | 30 | 0 |
| | 263 | 24 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sílamos . . . . . | 10 | 0 |
| Ten or twelve other hamlets | 16 | 94 |
| | 26 | 94 |
| | 263 | 24 |
| Total . . . | 289 | 118 |

[1] Only part of the village is in Malevízi.

## PEDHIADHA.

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Karteró | 9 | 7 |
| Skalára | 10 | 6 |
| Patsídhi | 4 | 6 |
| Kunávi | 10 | 10 |
| Katalagári | 16 | 0 |
| Kudhétsi | 20 | 5 |
| Hághio Vasíli | 15 | 10 |
| Skylus | 10 | 12 |
| Melísses | 16 | 4 |
| Haghías Paraskés | 12 | 12 |
| Sgurokephâli | 25 | 0 |
| Episkopé | 20 | 15 |
| Haghía Tanía | 25 | 0 |
| Stamniú | 10 | 0 |
| Elaiá | 20 | 16 |
| Vathiá | 0 | 10 |
| Kato-Vathiá | 10 | 3 |
| Kaenúrio-khorió | 20 | 20 |
| Ghálipi | 15 | 10 |
| Ghalífa | 30 | 0 |
| Kharasó | 15 | 0 |
| Smári | 25 | 0 |
| Apostólus | 16 | 16 |
| Zophórus | 10 | 10 |
| Trapsanó | 38 | 0 |
| Rússo-khorió | 0 | 12 |
| Voni | 0 | 30 |
| Muktárus | 30 | 3 |
| Varváro | 3 | 10 |
| Varvárus | 10 | 12 |
| Sklaverokhóri[1] | 5 | 1 |
| | 449 | 240 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Lulianó | 3 | 1 |
| Kastéli | 18 | 15 |
| Dhiavaidhé | 4 | 6 |
| Peghaidhúri | 5 | 4 |
| 3 Metókhis | 25 | 0 |
| Xydhá | 20 | 0 |
| Kastamonítsa | 35 | 0 |
| Amarianó | 15 | 0 |
| Mathiá | 17 | 0 |
| Haghía Paraské | 6 | 0 |
| 'Ipito | 15 | 0 |
| Gheráki | 24 | 0 |
| Epídheikto | 10 | 0 |
| Navlí | 0 | 12 |
| Kasámi | 5 | 5 |
| Panaghía | 15 | 15 |
| 'Ebaro | 10 | 15 |
| Askús | 20 | 2 |
| Avdhú | 75 | 6 |
| Goniés | 38 | 0 |
| Gherá | 18 | 0 |
| Krási | 60 | 0 |
| Mokhó | 120 | 1 |
| Mália | 100 | 0 |
| Khersónesos (with the two other neighbouring villages) | 60 | 3 |
| Stravorína | 20 | 0 |
| | 738 | 85 |
| | 449 | 240 |
| | 1187 | 325 |

[1] This and a few of the preceding names seem to indicate a Slavonian immigration into this part of the island, which is in the immediate neighbourhood of Khersónesos and Lýttos, the locality in which an earlier and more important colony established itself: see PLUTARCH, de virt. mul. Tom. II. p. 247. d.

| | C.F. | M.F. |
|---|---|---|
| Kóxari | 8 | 5 |
| Vurú | 3 | 1 |
| Skoteinó | 8 | 5 |
| Gúves | 35 | 10 |
| Anópolis | 25 | 0 |
| Potamiés | 10 | 10 |
| Keliá | 5 | 5 |
| | 94 | 36 |
| | 1187 | 325 |
| | 1281 | 361 |

| | C.F. | M.F. |
|---|---|---|
| Philíssa | 6 | 5 |
| Pezá | 5 | 5 |
| Skótola | 0 | 15 |
| Gaidhuriáni | 3 | 6 |
| Komés | 2 | 4 |
| Sphendíli | 8 | 0 |
| Kerá | 25 | 0 |
| | 49 | 35 |
| | 1281 | 361 |
| Total | 1330 | 396 |

## RHIZO-KASTRON.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Khristós | 38 | 1 |
| Parsá | 29 | 0 |
| Epáno-Símí | 96 | 0 |
| Káto-Símí | 38 | 10 |
| Kalamí | 44 | 0 |
| Sykológo | 37 | 0 |
| Epáno-Pévko / Káto-Pévko | 56 | 0 |
| Kéfalo-vrysi | 18 | 8 |
| Myrá | 62 | 1 |
| Vakhó | 10 | 1 |
| Hághio Vasíli | 34 | 7 |
| Virevatá | 8 | 2 |
| Viáno | 103 | 90 |
| Káto-Viáno | 0 | 16 |
| Khondhró | 10 | 40 |
| Mesé | 3 | 1 |
| Skhoeniá | 11 | 0 |
| Dhemáti | 11 | 1 |
| Kastelianá (with the neighbouring metókhis) | 11 | 0 |
| | 619 | 178 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Fabrianá | 0 | 4 |
| Phílippo | 0 | 8 |
| Kalyvia | 5 | 3 |
| Akhendhriá | 6 | 0 |
| Kakú, | 0 | 11 |
| Tourlotí | 0 | 5 |
| Katsikali | 0 | 4 |
| Gharípa | 0 | 12 |
| Káto-Gharípa | 0 | 4 |
| Pyrathi | 0 | 3 |
| Kamáres | 0 | 1 |
| Amurghiéles | 0 | 9 |
| Gurniá | 0 | 6 |
| Sitironá | 0 | 4 |
| Nispitá | 0 | 4 |
| Bathiá | 1 | 13 |
| Partirá | 0 | 22 |
| Vitsiliá | 0 | 6 |
| Haghía Simé | 0 | 9 |
| Epáno-Myliárisi | 1 | 4 |
| | 13 | 132 |
| | 619 | 178 |
| | 632 | 310 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Káto-Myliárisi . . | 0 | 2 |
| Vutufú . . . . . | 5 | 6 |
| Puliá . . . . . | 0 | 16 |
| Nusúta . . . . . | 1 | 12 |
| Arkhalokhóri . . . | 7 | 10 |
| Ghasi . . . . . | 0 | 8 |
| Kuméri . . . . . | 3 | 5 |
| Zidá . . . . . | 1 | 13 |
| Patsídhero . . . . | 7 | 4 |
| Rúma . . . . . | 0 | 0 |
| | 24 | 76 |
| | 632 | 310 |
| | 656 | 386 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Hághii-Apóstoli . . | 0 | 0 |
| Alagni . . . . . | 6 | 7 |
| Monasteráki . . . | 0 | 6 |
| Igni . . . . . | 0 | 5 |
| Makherá . . . . . | 0 | 13 |
| Mitsitséri . . . . . | 0 | 4 |
| Sorokhíano . . . . | 1 | 4 |
| Vakhiotes . . . . | 0 | 4 |
| Laguta . . . . . | 0 | 14 |
| Kefalá . . . . . | 0 | 0 |
| | 7 | 57 |
| | 656 | 386 |
| Total . . . | 663 | 443 |

## MIRABELLO.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mílato . . . . . | 35 | 0 |
| Latsídha . . . . . | 35 | 5 |
| Vulisméne . . . . | 50 | 15 |
| Kaenúrio-khorió . . | 100 | 2 |
| Neokhorió . . . . | 20 | 20 |
| Vrakhási . . Vrysis . . . Kommeriakó Platy-Pódhi . Nikithianó . Lémnes . . . | 80 | 80 |
| Krítsa . . . . . | 180 | 2 |
| Krusta . . . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Prina . . . . . | 40 | 0 |
| Kaló-khorió . . . . | 10 | 0 |
| Alúdha . . . . . | 40 | 0 |
| Spína Lónga . . . | 0 | 81 |
| Vruká . . . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Lúma . . . . . | 15 | 0 |
| | 665 | 205 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Skoeniá . . . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Furné-kastéli . . . | 50 | 0 |
| Káto-Furné . . . . | 40 | 0 |
| Epáno-Furné . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Four monasteries . | 35 | 0 |
| Omissions . . . | 50 | 30 |
| LASITHI. | | |
| Gaidhurómadra and Gerontomurí | 30 | 0 |
| Pláti . . . . . | 25 | 0 |
| Psykhró . . . . . | 35 | 0 |
| Maghulá . . . . . | 25 | 0 |
| Kamináki . . . . | 30 | 0 |
| Avrakódi . . . Kudhumaliá . . . Platianó . . . . . Hághio Gheórghi | 100 | 0 |
| | 480 | 30 |
| | 665 | 205 |
| | 1145 | 235 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Hághio Kostantíno | 30 | 0 |
| Mésa Lasitháki . . | 30 | 0 |
| Mésa Lasíthi . . . | | |
| Monastery of the Panaghía Marmakéto . . . . . | 25 | 0 |
| | 85 | 0 |
| | 1145 | 235 |
| | 1230 | 235 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Farsáros and Dzermiádha . . . . | 120 | 0 |
| Lagú with Pinikianó | 20 | 0 |
| Potámus[1] . . . . . | 20 | 0 |
| | 160 | 0 |
| | 1230 | 235 |
| Total . . . | 1390 | 235 |

## SETIA.

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Orno . . . . . | 30 | 4 |
| Stavrodhoxári . . . | 25 | 4 |
| Lápitho . . . . . | 5 | 0 |
| Graeés . . . . . | 15 | 2 |
| Tornó . . . . . | 16 | 0 |
| Pévkus . . . . . | 20 | 1 |
| Dháfne . . . . . | 4 | 15 |
| Hághio Mámas . . | 5 | 3 |
| Rhukáka . . . . . | 18 | 14 |
| Krýa . . . . . | 7 | 3 |
| Iskhiá . . . . . | 5 | 10 |
| Lithínes . . . . . | 15 | 2 |
| Vuriá . . . . . | 5 | 3 |
| Papá-jannádho . . | 8 | 0 |
| Lutráki . . . . . | 0 | 5 |
| Nethiá . . . . . | 2 | 10 |
| Arméni . . . . . | 20 | 6 |
| Kandhrá . . . . . | 20 | 7 |
| Voilá . . . . . | 1 | 5 |
| | 221 | 94 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Zíro . . . . . | 30 | 30 |
| Apídhi . . . . . | 10 | 0 |
| Léthi . . . . . | 3 | 0 |
| Tzo . . . . . | 25 | 0 |
| Kaló-khorió . . . . | 15 | 0 |
| 'Aspro-neró . . . . | 3 | 5 |
| Kamétulos . . . . | 5 | 0 |
| Lamnóni . . . . . | 0 | 8 |
| Zakro . . . . . | 20 | 0 |
| Adhravásto . . . . | 10 | 0 |
| Klisídhi . . . . . | 5 | 0 |
| Azokéramo . . . . | 8 | 0 |
| Kelaria . . . . . | 10 | 0 |
| Magasiá . . . . . | 75 | 8 |
| Xerolímni . . . . | 10 | 0 |
| | 229 | 51 |
| | 221 | 94 |
| | 450 | 145 |

[1] This village is not on the edge of the great plain of Lasíthi, but just over one κορυφή, as the Lasithiótes told me.

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Mesérios | 10 | 0 |
| Khónos | 3 | 6 |
| Karýdhi | 15 | 1 |
| Sítanos | 15 | 2 |
| Spélaea | 8 | 0 |
| Kalamávki | 0 | 10 |
| Katsidhóni | 10 | 0 |
| Sandali | 1 | 6 |
| Sfakiá | 0 | 14 |
| Vavélus[1] | 0 | 25 |
| Kanénes | 12 | 0 |
| Sklávus | 8 | 2 |
| Turtúli | 5 | 10 |
| Episkopé | 2 | 10 |
| Sotéra | 2 | 3 |
| Marónia | 8 | 0 |
| Zú | 0 | 9 |
| | 99 | 98 |
| | 450 | 145 |
| | 549 | 243 |

| | C. F. | M. F. |
|---|---|---|
| Arnéku-Metókhia | 22 | 0 |
| Haghía Phothía | 5 | 0 |
| Episkopé (a second) | 0 | 8 |
| Piskokéfalo | 26 | 14 |
| Russiá-Ecclesiá | 20 | 0 |
| Akhládhia | 10 | 5 |
| Paraspóri | 0 | 15 |
| Skopé | 18 | 3 |
| Kamézi | 20 | 4 |
| Metokhiá | 22 | 2 |
| Turloté | 37 | 0 |
| Sfáka | 32 | 7 |
| Lástro | 27 | 6 |
| Káto (or Péra) Mulianá | 60 | 8 |
| Mésa Mulianá | 50 | 3 |
| Palaepétsi | 0 | 6 |
| | 349 | 81 |
| | 549 | 243 |
| Total | 898 | 324 |

## HIERAPETRA.

| | C. & M. F. |
|---|---|
| Anatolé | 60 |
| Malés | 200 |
| Kalamávka | 100 |
| Meseléri | 40 |
| 'Istronas[2] | 20 |
| Makriliá | 10 |
| | 430 |

| | C. & M. F. |
|---|---|
| Kapístri | 15 |
| Vasiliké | 25 |
| Kavúsi | 100 |
| Monasteráki | 10 |
| | 150 |
| | 430 |
| | 580 |

[1] This place had 150 tufeks, nearly six times its present number, at the outbreaking of the Greek insurrection in 1821.

[2] Also called Kaló-khorió.

| | C. & M. F. | | C. & M. F. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Epáno-khorió . . . . . | 50 | Hághio Iánnis . . . . | 40 |
| Káto-khorió . . . . . | 70 | Iannítsi . . . . . | 10 |
| Episkopé . . . . . | 25 | Kendhrí . . . . . | 35 |
| Papadhianá . . . . . | 15 | The Kastéli . . . . . | 300 |
| | 160 | | 385 |
| | 580 | | 740 |
| | 740 | Total . . . | 1125 |

Of these 1125 houses there are in the Kastéli 200 belonging to Mohammedans, and in the villages the number of Mohammedan families is about 85, which gives 840 as the number of Christian families of the district. No doubt this is very correct, the kharatjis of the district being exactly 900.

## SUMMARY OF THE POPULATION OF CRETE IN 1834.

| Name of District. | Chief Place. | C. F. | M. F. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kísamos . . . . . | Kísamo-kastéli | 1458 | 337 | 1795 |
| 2. Sélino . . . . . | Rhodhováni . | 500 | 451 | 951 |
| 3. Khaniotika . . . . . | Khaniá . . . | 1655 | 252 | 1907 |
| 4. Sfakiá . . . . . | Askyfo . . . Anopólis . . . Sfakiá . . . . | 848 | — | 848 |
| 5. Apokórona . . . . | Fré . . . . . Kefalá . . . . | 1562 | 197 | 1759 |
| 6. Hághio Vasíli . . . | Mélabes . . . | 818 | 208 | 1026 |
| 7. Rhithymniotiká . . . | Rhíthymnos . | 652 | 552 | 1204 |
| 8. Amári . . . . . | Anómeros . . | 497 | 246 | 743 |
| 9. Mylopótamo . . . . | Margarítes . . | 920 | 310 | 1230 |
| 10. Kastel-Priótissa . | | 268 | 91 | 359 |
| 11. Kaenurio-kastéli . | Ampelússa . . | 406 | 278 | 684 |
| 12. Monofátsi . . . . | | 238 | 585 | 823 |
| 13. Malevízi . . . . . | Hághio Mýro. | 901 | 94 | 995 |
| 14. Témenos . . . . . | Arkhánes. . . | 289 | 118 | 407 |
| 15. Pedhiádha . . . . . | Mokhó, Mália | 1330 | 396 | 1726 |
| 16. Rhizó-kastron . . . | Viáno . . . . | 663 | 443 | 1106 |
| 17. Mirabéllo . . . . . | Kaenúrio-khorió | 1390 | 235 | 1625 |
| 18. Setía . . . . . | Mulianá . . . | 898 | 324 | 1222 |
| 19. Hierápetra . . . . . | The Kastéli . | 840 | 285 | 1125 |
| | | 16133 | 5402 | 21535 |

or Mesará

Therefore the rural population consists of about 81,000 Christians and 27,000 Mohammedans: a total of . . . 108,000

Add the three chief cities—

| | |
|---|---|
| Megálo-Kástron . . . . . | 12,000 |
| Rhíthymnos . . . . . | 3,200 |
| Khaniá . . . . . | 5,800 |
| So that the whole population of the island in 1834 amounts to about . . . . . | 129,000 |

This is about half its amount at the outbreaking of the Greek Revolution in 1821.

## POPULATION OF CRETE AT DIFFERENT EPOCHS.

---

When, in the sixteenth century, the inhabitants of Crete had been reduced to about 250,000 souls, we find Proveditors complaining in their dispatches to the Senate at Venice, of the depopulation of the island, and speaking of whole tracts of ground, and, in some places, even of olive-trees, as left entirely neglected. An English traveller in Crete, a few years after the Mohammedan conquest, Randolph, estimates its reduced population at less that 80,000 souls. In spite of the fearful insecurity, for both person and property, which prevailed up to 1821, we find that the natural fertility of the country had reproduced, by that year, not less than 260,000 or 270,000 inhabitants, who were nearly equally divided between the two prevalent religions.

The fertility of Crete is such as warrants us to suppose, that in ancient times its population must have been somewhere near a million of souls. This amount would not people it so densely as either Malta or the adjacent island, called Gozzo by the Italians; in both of which the population is about 600 on the square mile, at the present day. The supposition of a million of inhabitants in *ancient* Crete, agrees very well with passages of old Venetian chroniclers, from which it may be inferred, that when the Venetians first attempted to acquire the island, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, its population was very much indeed greater than it was in the sixteenth. Probably the Venetians found 500,000 or 600,000 souls in the island. The century and a half of almost constant warfare, which followed their first landing, may well have produced a greater destruction of human life than has been effected by the few years of the recent war, which, as we see, have reduced the number of inhabitants to half their former amount.

# ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

## VOLUME I.

P. 11. lin. 15. for *Grece*, read *Greece*.
p. 298. 1. for *site; I*, read *site, even if I*.

## VOLUME II.

p. 36. not. 21. A learned friend points out to me a passage of Herodotus, (VII. 37.) which it is extremely interesting to compare with the words of my ignorant Greek peasant.

p. 38. lin. 15. for *Mahommedans*, read *Mohammedans*.

86. 27. and 32. for *Kalamydes*, read *Kalamyde*.

221. 36. for πρυὶ, read πρωΐ.

285. 5. of not. 1. for *Racolta*, read *Raccolta*.

286. not. 2. (Compare Vol. I. p. 117. not. 51.) The *jus servile* forms a considerable title in all our old law-books, under the name of *villenage*. We had not only serfs or villeins regardant, who went with the land; but villeins in gross, who might be sold like any other chattels. (See ROLLE, Abr. II. 732. foll. CO. LITT. 116. 120. &c. DYER, Rep. p. 48. b.) The civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster did much to extinguish this villenage, (as similar causes extinguished it in Italy much earlier). Nevertheless it prevailed in various parts of England under Elizabeth, and a case of it occurred as late as the reign of James I. It has been observed that, although the clergy tried to effect the enfranchisement of villeins belonging to the laity, yet the Church still retained its own serfs in bondage. "The holy fathers—had convinced the laity how dangerous a practice it was for one Christian man to hold another in bondage: so that temporal men—were glad to manumit all their villeins. But the said holy fathers, with the abbots and priors, did not in like sort by theirs; for they also had a scruple in conscience, to impoverish and despoil the Church;——and so kept their villeins still." SMITH'S Commonwealth, III. 10. quoted by BLACKSTONE, Com. Vol. II. p. 96. Compare BARRINGTON, Observations on the more ancient Statutes, p. 277.

CRETE
BY
ROBERT PASHLEY, ESQR M.A. F.A.S.
Ancient ruins are in Brackets as CYDONIA
Vestiges of an ancient site
Kh° Khoria Village
A Monastery
Ruins of a Castle or Fortress
Hagkios or Hagkia (Saint) H
The Author's Routes are indicated thus
CRETAN SEA
AFRICA
GULF OF KISSAMIA
GULF OF MESSARA
CAPE SPADA
CAPE KRIO
CAPE SIDERO
CAPE SALOMON
CAPE PLAKA
CAPE MATALA
CAPE LITHINO
CAPE SIDERO
CAPE SIDHERO
CAPE SPADA
CAPE KRIO
CAPE SALOMON
CAPE PLAKA
CAPE MATALA
CAPE LITHINO
CAPE SIDERO
CAPE SIDHERO
Dhia
Dhionysiadhes
DIONYSIADES
Kalo Limano
PANORMOS
OSMIDA
ANHERSONESOS
Elaphonesion
MOUSCHONES
Rivers Krisi
CAIRMETOPON
Rivers Flori
Rivers Platanes
Rivers Lissos
Rivers Platanes
Rivers Flori
Rivers Krisi
CAIRMETOPON
Elaphonesion
MOUSCHONES
ANHERSONESOS
OSMIDA
PANORMOS
Dhionysiadhes
DIONYSIADES
Kalo Limano
CAPE SPADA
CAPE KRIO
CAPE SALOMON
CAPE PLAKA
CAPE MATALA
CAPE LITHINO
CAPE SIDERO
CAPE SIDHERO
CRETAN SEA
AFRICA

2 in IV.

Eq
286
302